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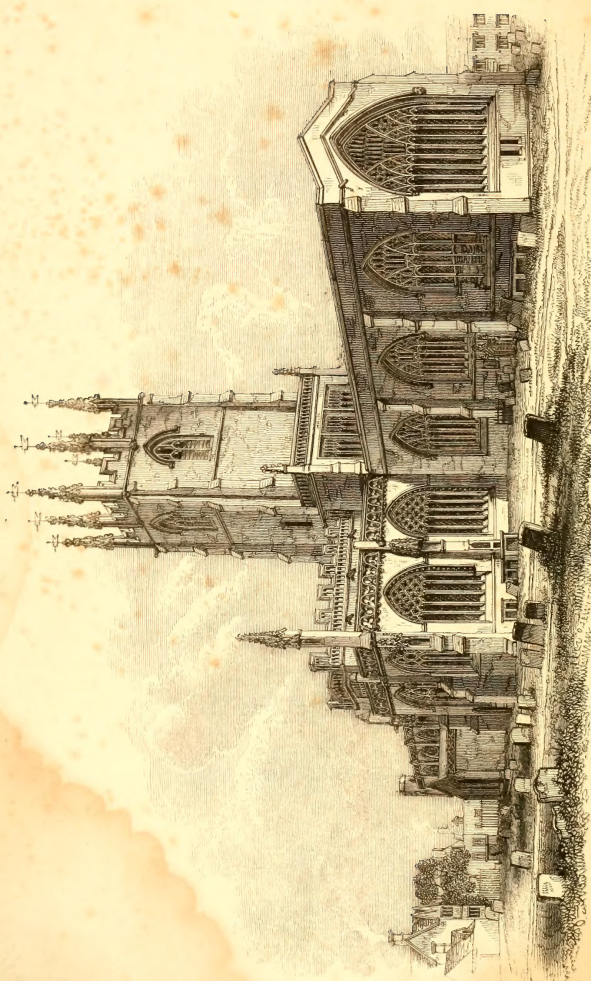
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HISTORY OF BANBURY:

England

INCLUDING

COPIOUS HISTORICAL AND ANTIQUARIAN NOTICES
OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD.

BY ALFRED BEESELEY,

MEMBER OF THE CAMDEN SOCIETY, AND MEMBER OF THE SHAKSPEARE SOCIETY.

—
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BANBURY, 20th December, 1841.

AFTER the labours of many years spent in the collection of materials for this HISTORY of my native Town, I arrive at the only portion of my Work the performance of which oppresses me with a painful feeling, and that owing to my inability adequately to express my acknowledgements to those numerous antiquarian, literary, and local Friends, whose cheering assistance and encouragement, and kind approval of my exertions, have enabled me to carry on the Publication, and at length to bring it to a close. Could the task be required of me of acknowledging the services rendered by each individual, I should have a most difficult part to perform; for the calendar of names which I should have to record would be nearly as long as that of my Subscribers. From eminent Antiquaries and Literary men in almost all parts of England, (who, up to the period of the announcement of this History, and the publication of the first portion of it, were personally quite unknown to me,) I have received the most valued information and assistance. As regards local encouragement, I have received the aid of almost every person of every party;—not only those to whom my frequent and perhaps inconvenient appeals had occasion to be made, but numerous volunteers who possessed information of which I was ignorant and therefore could not solicit.

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TO THE
REV. J. R. RUSHTON, B.D.,
INCUMBENT OF HOOKNORTON, OXON.:

TO WHOM
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 Walford, T. W. Esq., Uxbridge
 Walford, W. Esq., Banbury
 Wall, Mr. James, Banbury
 Walsh, Percival junior Esq., Oxford
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 Wilson, Mrs. Myrry, Banbury
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 Wing, Mr. W., Steeple Aston
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 Wyatt, C. F. Esq., Christ Church
 Wyatt, Mr. Alderman James, Oxford
 Wyatt, Rev. T., M.A., Vicar of Wroxton

CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTORY:—

Situation &c. of Banbury	P. 1
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BRITISH AND ROMAN PERIOD:—

The Dobuni.....	4
Druidical Remains	4
British Camps	8
Crouch Hill.....	9
Tumuli	14
Trackways: Banbury Lane, &c.	14, 15
British Settlements	17
Roman Invasion.....	20
Subjection of the Dobuni	21
Fortified Line of Ostorius	22
Roman Remains at Banbury	23
Amphitheatre	25
The Portway	25
Brinavis	26
Wattlebank	28, 29
Sites near the Portway	30
Other ancient Remains	39
Christianity	45

SAXON PERIOD:—

Battle of Beranbyrig [Banbury]	47
Mercia and Wessex	50
See of Dorchester	51
St. Rumbald	51
Incursions of the Danes	53
Battle of Hooknorton	54

PERIOD AFTER THE CONQUEST:—

Norman Period	59
See of Lincoln	60
Domesday Book	60
Prebend of Banbury	62
Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln	63
Banbury Castle Erected	63
Norman Castles	69

PERIOD AFTER THE CONQUEST:—

Norman Period, continued	P. 70
Market and Fair	70
Tournament.....	71
Robin Hood and the Tinker of Banbury	72
Hospitals of St. John and St. Leonard at Banbury	76
Wroxton Priory	79
Chacombe Priory	85
Clattercot Priory	87
The Reigns of John, Henry III., and Edward I.	87
Hundreds of Banbury and Bloxham	94
St. Stephen's Well	97
Banbury Bridge	98
The Broughton Family: Broughton Castle	100
The Reign of Edward II.	103
Piers de Gaveston	103
Robert de Arden	106
Mansion at Wickham	107

ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE:—

Churches, Chapels, and Crosses of the Neighbourhood of Banbury	108
The Old Church of Banbury	148
Banbury Cross	159

THE PERIOD FROM EDWARD III. TO HENRY VIII.:—

Reign of Edward III.	162
Contest with the Pope respecting the Prebend of Banbury.....	164, 168
Richard II. to Edward IV.	170
Chantry of St. Mary	175
Battle of Danesmoor	178
Edward IV. to Henry VII.	187
Danvers of Calthorp	188
William Cope the Cofferer	190
Hardwick: Hanwell	191
Banbury Grammar School: John Stanbridge and Thomas Stanbridge	194
The Reign of Henry VIII.	197
Valor Ecclesiasticus	197
Compton of Compton Wynyate	205
The Town of Banbury: the Gates or Bars	205

EDWARD VI. TO CHARLES I.:—

Reign of Edward VI.	211
Chantry of St. Mary	211
Prebend of Banbury Dissolved	216
Reign of Queen Mary	218
Northumberland's Rebellion	218
Charter to Banbury	219
Reign of Elizabeth	230

EDWARD VI. TO CHARLES I.:—

Fiennes, Lord Saye and Sele	P. 237
Sir Anthony Cope	238
The Puritans: Thomas Brasbridge	241
Banbury Cross Destroyed	245
Rectory of Banbury	246
Decree concerning Charities	248
Reign of James I.	251
Charter to Banbury by James I.	254
Sir William Pope, Earl of Downe	262
Knollys, Earl of Banbury	266
William Whateley	267
The Town of Banbury	273
The Great Fire in 1628	277
Reign of Charles I.	280
Puritan Divines	283

THE CIVIL WAR:—

Banbury	291
The Fiennes Family	291
Refusal to pay Ship Money	293
Spencer, Earl of Northampton	294
Conferences at Broughton Castle and Fawsley	295
First Military Proceedings at Banbury	298
Lord Saye's Forces	304
Progress of the Campaign of 1642	307
The King comes before Banbury.....	309
The Field of Edgehill	310
Beacon House	311
Battle of Edgehill	312
The Royal Standard taken, but recovered	318
The King takes Broughton and Banbury	326, 327
Subsequent Events in 1642	329
Effects of the War	333
The Plague	334
Appearances in the Heavens.....	334
The Year 1643	340
Death of Lord Brook and of the Earl of Northampton	341
William Needle: Mrs. Phillips	343
Banbury Fired	345
Battle of Middleton Cheney	345
The King and Queen pass through Banbury	348
Chamberlayne of Wickham	349
The Year 1644	354
Cromwell at Banbury	355
Compton Wynyate taken by the Parliamentarians	356
The King at Banbury	358
Skirmish at Neithorp	359
Battle of Cropredy Bridge	360

THE CIVIL WAR :—

Banbury Besieged	P. 366
Sir William Compton: Gallant Defence of the Castle ..	370
Raising of the Siege	381
Thomas Lydyat	386
The Year 1645	388
Attack on Compton Wynyate by the Royalists from Banbury	390
Subsequent Events in 1645	393
The Year 1646	413
Banbury again Besieged	413
Colonel Edward Whalley	413
Bravery of Sir William Compton	416
Articles for the Surrender of the Castle.....	419
Desolation of the Town	424
Sir William Compton	426
Destruction of the Castle	427
Events till the Murder of the King	432
Efforts to save the life of the King	435

THE COMMONWEALTH :—

The Levellers	438
Nathaniel Fiennes	449
Lord Saye and the Quakers	451
Zeal of Banbury	454
Biographical Notices relating to this Period	462
Hanwell Castle: Proceedings there, previously to the Restoration	471
Tradesmen's Tokens	477

PERIOD AFTER THE RESTORATION :—

Reign of Charles II.	480
Biographical Notices	485
Monuments in Banbury Church and Church-yard	492
Astrop Wells	498
Reign of James II.	500
The North Family: the Lord Keeper	500
The Reign of William III.	504
Dashwood of Wickham	507
Reign of Queen Anne	509
Reign of George I.	513
The Nonjurors	513
Charter to Banbury by George I.	516
Reign of George II.	519
Biographical Notices	522
Reign of George III.	527
The Culworth Gang	528
Demolition of the Old Church	532
Reign of George IV.	544
Reign of William IV.....	544

PERIOD AFTER THE RESTORATION:—

The Reform Bill	P. 545
Municipal Report.....	546
Reign of Victoria	550

DESCRIPTION OF THE TOWN, &c. :—

Banbury	552
The New Church	553
Dissenters	556
Public Institutions	559
Market, Fairs, &c.	559, 560
Population of the Town and Neighbourhood	561
Manufactures	566
Banbury Cheese and Cakes	568

Botany and Geology of the Neighbourhood.....	571
Vertebrate Animals of the Neighbourhood	600

ADDENDA :—

British Period	606
Tumuli	608
Roman Period	609
Religious Houses	610
Churches &c.	611
Miscellaneous	614
Period of the Civil War	617
The Quakers; and Samuel Wells, Vicar of Banbury....	623
Miscellaneous	625
Botany of the Neighbourhood	626

Index of Persons.....	629
Index of Places	651
Index of Subjects	658



LIST OF THE ENGRAVINGS, WITH THE PAGES TO WHICH THEY REFER.

Tail-Pieces. <i>On pages</i> iii, xiii, xvi.	
Map of Sites of British and Roman Remains. PLATE IV.	Pp. 4—45
Druid Circle at Rollrich. PLATE I.	Pp. 4—7
Ditto, From Camden's Britannia. <i>On page</i> 6.	
Ditto, Ground Plan. <i>On page</i> 5.	
Cromlech at Rollrich: "The Five Knights." PLATE I.	P. 7
Ditto, Ground Plan. <i>On page</i> 5.	
Cromlech at Enstone, Ground Plan. <i>On page</i> 8.	Pp. 7, 8
Crouch Hill. PLATE II.	Pp. 9, 358
Nadbury Camp. PLATE III.	P. 10
Madmarston Camp. <i>On page</i> 18.	Pp. 10, 11
Ditto, Section. <i>On page</i> 11.	
Tadmarton Camp. PLATE II.	Pp. 11, 12
Ditto, with Tumuli, the Well, &c. <i>On page</i> 56.	
Ilbury Camp. PLATE V.	P. 12
Gredenton Camp. PLATE III.	P. 13
British Site at Black Land, near Madmarston Camp.	
<i>On page</i> 18.	Pp. 17—19
Roman Coins found at Banbury, Chipping Wardon, Drayton, Hanwell, Madmarston, and Warkworth.	
PLATE VI.	Pp. 19, 23, 28, 44, 45
Ancient Bead found at Adderbury. PLATE VIII.	Pp. 19, 20
Roman Amphitheatre at Banbury. PLATE VII.	P. 25
Ditto, Ground Plan. PLATE VII.	
Arbury Banks: with Ancient Site at Black Grounds &c., Chip- ping Wardon, Ground Plan. <i>On page</i> 27.	Pp. 26—30
Druid's Bead found at Black Grounds. PLATE VIII.	P. 28
Roman Urn found at Black Grounds. PLATE VIII.	P. 28
Roman Urn found at Thenford. PLATE VIII.	P. 31
Roman Knife-blade found at Thenford. PLATE VIII.	P. 31
Bone Pin found at Black-Lands-Piece, King's Sutton. PLATE IX.	P. 34

Celt of Serpentine found at Black-Lands-Piece. PLATE IX.	P. 34
Rainsborough Camp. PLATE V.	Pp. 36, 37
Celt found at Aynho. PLATE IX.	P. 37
Roman Pavement at Beaconsfield Farm. PLATE X.	Pp. 39—41
Roman Pavement at Great Tew. PLATE X.	P. 41
Roman Pavement at Wigginton. PLATE XI.	P. 42
Bottle found at Wigginton. PLATE IX.	P. 42
Roman Remains at Wigginton, Ground Plan. <i>On page 42.</i>	Pp. 42, 43
Hooknorton Camp. <i>On page 56.</i>	P. 43
Plan illustrating the Battle of Hooknorton. <i>On page 56.</i>	Pp. 54, 55
Plan of the Site of Banbury Castle. <i>On page 65.</i> ..	Pp. 63 &c., 430 &c.
Seal of the Hospital of St. John at Banbury.	
<i>On page 610.</i>	Pp. 76 &c., 610
Crucifix found on the Site of St. John's Hospital. PLATE XII.	P. 78
Stoup found on ditto. PLATE XII.	P. 78
Banbury Bridge: Boundary Post. <i>On page 98.</i>	Pp. 98, 99
West Arches of ditto. PLATE XVIII.	
Broughton Castle. PLATE XXIV.	Pp. 100 &c., 295
Weeping Cross. PLATE XVIII.	P. 115
The Old Church of Banbury, S.E. PLATE XIII. FRONTIS-PIECE.	Pp. 148—158
Ditto, W.S.W. PLATE XIV.	
Ditto, N.N.W. PLATE XIV.	
Ditto, N.E. <i>On page 150.</i>	
Various Remains of the Old Church. PLATE XV.	
Ditto. PLATE XVI.	
Ditto. PLATE XVII.	
Ditto. <i>On page 628.</i>	
Ancient Doorway of the White Horse Inn. PLATE XIX.	Pp. 158, 159
The Field of Danesmoor. <i>On page 180.</i>	Pp. 178—186
Bolt-head found near Danesmoor. PLATE XII.	P. 184
Hanwell Castle. PLATE XX.	Pp. 191, 471
John Stanbridge, Master of the Hospital of St. John, Banbury. PLATE XXVI.	P. 195
St. John's Gate. PLATE XXI.	P. 207
Town Seal in 1574. PLATE XXVI.	P. 233
Arms of the Corporation. PLATE XXVI.	P. 233
Ditto. PLATE XXVI.	P. 233
Rev. William Whateley. PLATE XXII.	Pp. 267—272
Ancient House in the High Street. PLATE XXIII.	P. 276
Map illustrating the Period of the Civil War.	
PLATE XXV.	Pp. 291—427

The Beacon-House at Burton Dasset. PLATE XIX.	Pp. 311, 323
The Vicarage House. PLATE XXI.	P. 433
Tavern Token, Unicorn Inn. PLATE XXVI.	P. 477
Tavern Token, Raindeer Inn. PLATE XXVI.	P. 478
View of Banbury, N.E., in 1730. <i>On page 150.</i>	P. 519
Town Seal in 1836. <i>On page 549.</i>	P. 548
The Original Banbury-Cake Shop. <i>On page 569.</i>	Pp. 568—570
Betty White, Banbury-Cake Maker. <i>On page 570.</i>	P. 569
FINIS. <i>On page 667.</i>	



THE HISTORY OF BANBURY.

INTRODUCTORY.

BANBURY is situated in the hundred of Banbury, near the northern extremity of Oxfordshire, at a part where the river Cherwell divides that county from Northamptonshire. The ecclesiastical boundary of Banbury includes the adjoining townships and hamlets of Neithorp, Calthorp, Wickham, Hardwick, and Easington, all in the same hundred and county, and also Grimsbury and Nethercot, which lie on the eastern side of the Cherwell in the Sutton hundred of the county of Northampton.

Banbury, in Saxon times, was called *Bananbýrig*¹ (Baranbyrig) or *Baneþbýrig*² (Banesbyrig), and, during the Norman period, Bannebyri, or Bannebury. In the British language Ban signifies *clamour*, and it has been constantly used in the sense of *proclamation* or *public notice*³. In the Saxon, Bana signifies *manslaughter*, and thence Bane has been used for *destruction* or *overthrow*. Assuming either derivation, it is probable the town received its name from being the place of a battle. The Saxon termination *býrig* signifies a *town*, a *place of retreat or defence*.⁴

(1) Camden, edit. 1586. Bishop Gibson however contends that the name *Bananbýrig* applies not to Banbury, but to Barbury castle in Wiltshire.

(2) Camden, edits. 1695 and 1722.

(3) Bailey defines it "a Proclamation made at the head of an army, by sound of trumpet or beat of drum, requiring the observance of martial discipline for declaring a new officer, or for punishing a soldier." It is worthy of notice that a large Stone (apparently British) which lies within the line of the Roman entrenchment at Bredon Hill in Worcestershire is called the "Banbury Stone." The name also occurs elsewhere, as "Banbury Rings," an Entrenchment.

(4) In Domesday book the name is given *Banesberie*; but the orthography of the names of places in that record is not to be depended on. Berie, from the Saxon, implies a wide open situation; and many such places are still called Beries or Berifields. This description is not applicable to Baubury, which lies in a deep valley. The other Norman records sufficiently shew that *býrig* was the proper Saxon termination of the name of Banbury.

NEITHORP, the most considerable of the townships comprised in the parish of Banbury, is mentioned in old deeds under its perfect name of Netherthorp; *neodæn* (neother) in Saxon signifying *lower*, and *þorp* (thorp) a *street* or *village*.

HARDWICK, or HERDWICK, is a hamlet lying on the slope of the steep hill which rises to the north of Banbury. The last syllable is a Saxon appellative signifying a *village* or *dwelling place*: and the entire name *þeord-pic* (Heord-wic) signifies the *herdsman's village* or *residence*.⁵

EASINGTON (called Essingdon and Easingdon in documents of the date of 1606) lies southward of Neithorp and Banbury. One mile and a half further south, on the London road, formerly stood Weeping Cross, an erection apparently of the fifteenth century: and it has been a popular opinion that, in olden time, persons under censure of the Church went thither from Banbury for purposes of penance, and that the name of Easington was derived from its being on the way homeward after their penance had expired.⁶ The concluding syllable of Easington, derived from the Saxon *tan*, implies a *hedge* or *wall*; or, from *ðun*, refers to the *hill* on which it stands; and the entire name may perhaps merely signify the *resting place*.

WICKHAM is southward of Easington. The Saxon *pic* (wic) implies a *village* or *dwelling place*; and ham has a similar signification, as a *sheltered habitation*, a *house*, or *little town*.

CALTHORP is situated to the south of Banbury and the east of Easington. The name is written in old records Colthorp and Cothorp. The termination *þorp* signifies *street* or *village*: the first syllable appears to be the same as that of Cole-bar-street, sometimes written Cobar-street (now Broad Street), through the once existing bar or gate of which, and through Colthorp hamlet, the road from the gates of Banbury Castle towards both Oxford and London formerly led. The English word *coal* is derived from the Saxon *col*, or from a similar British word; and this possibly gave a name both to Cole bar and Colthorp. In the "Orders and Paines established

(5) Such a name occurs in ancient documents—"Et unum *herdewycham* apud Hethcotun in Peco," &c.; referring to a grange or place for cattle and husbandry.—*Cunningham's Law Dict.*

(6) The notion is that they were compelled to go to Weeping Cross with peas in their shoes, and that they were at liberty to remove these when they got to Easington. There is no reason however for supposing that the name of Weeping Cross was given from penances having been performed there. Bodicot chapel-yard was not consecrated till 1751, before which date the dead from Bodicot were carried to Adderbury for interment. At Weeping Cross, directly in the way, the bodies were often set down, and hence the more obvious origin of the name of the Cross.

made and confirmed by the Grett Inqueste of & for our Sou'aue lady the Quene within the Toune and Borowe of Banbury " in the year 1564, "yt ys agreed that no man shall sell any charcolle a boue iiijd the stryke." In the same "Orders" the bar or gate of Cole Bar Street is called "*Colle barre*," and this may have been the part of the town where coal or charcoal was sold.

These constitute the Oxfordshire portion of the parish.

On the other side of the Cherwell, in Northamptonshire, are Grimsbury and Nethercot. GRIMSBURY is called in Domesday book Grimberie, in the reign of Henry II. Grimesbery, and frequently in the older registers of the parish Grymesberie or Grimsbery. The termination berie refers to the *flat* and *wide mead* on which Grimsbury stands; and the first syllable was probably given from the line of Embankment which passed from Aston-le-Walls (see pp. 14, 28), by this part, to Kirtlington.⁷ NETHERCOT is on the south of Grimsbury. An adjacent elevated member of Warkworth parish is called Overthorp, signifying *upper village*; and the name of Νεοθερκοτ (Neothercot) implies the *cottage below*.

(7) Grimesdike is a very common appellation given to the ancient earthen dikes, defences, or boundaries. Dr. Stukeley observes—"I have very often found this name applied to a road, a wall, a ditch of Antiquity; which would make one fancy it is a Saxon word signifying the witches' work; for the vulgar generally think these extraordinary works made by the help of the Devil."—*Itin. Curios.*, 1776, p. 179.

BRITISH AND ROMAN PERIOD.

THE DOBUNI.

During the early British period, before the Roman invasion, the northern parts of Oxfordshire and great part of Gloucestershire were peopled by the tribe whom Ptolemy calls Δοβουνοι (Dobuni), and Dion Cassius Βοδουνοι (Boduni). The particular tract is described by some writers as probably extending, on the west, to the hills bordering upon the Severn; and on the south, as far as the hill of Wotton under Edge in Gloucestershire and the banks of the Isis and Thame in Oxfordshire. The possessions of the Dobuni appear to have been bounded northward by the chain of hills extending along the northern limits of Oxfordshire, and now marking the general boundary between the table land of that county and the deep Vale of Warwickshire. (See the Map, Plate 4.) On the southeast the limit was probably the natural barrier of hills on the Buckinghamshire side of the Thame. The neighbouring tribes, on this northeastern border of the Dobunian territory, were the Carnabii in Warwickshire and the northwest; the Coritani in Northamptonshire and the northeast; and the Cassii or Cattieuchlani on the east, in Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, and Hertfordshire.⁸

Corinium⁹ (Cirencester) is mentioned as the chief town or place of resort of the Dobuni; and Alauna¹⁰ (supposed,¹¹ though without any grounds of evidence for the supposition, to have been Alchester, in the parish of Wendlebury, one mile and a half S.S.W. from Bicester) was another station within their territory. There are traces of several British settlements and fortifications in the neighbourhood of Banbury.

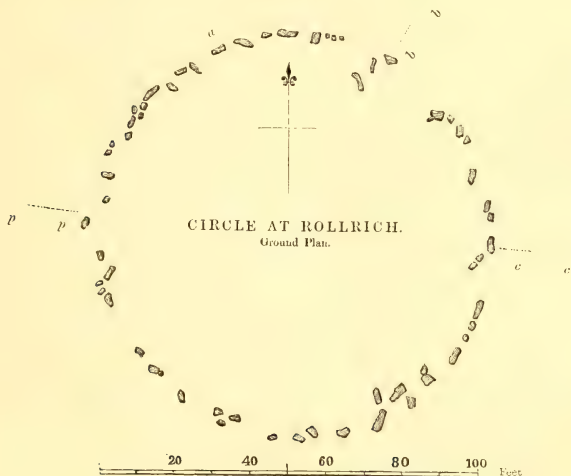
The most interesting remain of this period within the territory of the Dobuni, or indeed any where in the central part of the island, is the Druidical Temple at ROLLRICH. These stones are eleven miles southwest from Banbury, on the top of the range of

(8) Camden; Kennet's Paroch. Antiq.; MS. Hist. Alchester, 1622, printed in Kennet Brewer's Oxf. (9) Ptolemy, Geog. lib. ii. p. 37.

(10) Richard of Cirencester, edit. 1809, pp. (35), 46.

(11) Stukeley's Itin. Curios.; Brewer's Oxf.

hills just mentioned, which marks the boundary between the table land of these parts of Oxfordshire and the great Vale of Warwickshire, and formed the extreme frontier of the territory of the Dobuni towards that of the Carnabii. The principal stones form a circle, the diameter of which from north to south is 107 feet, and that from



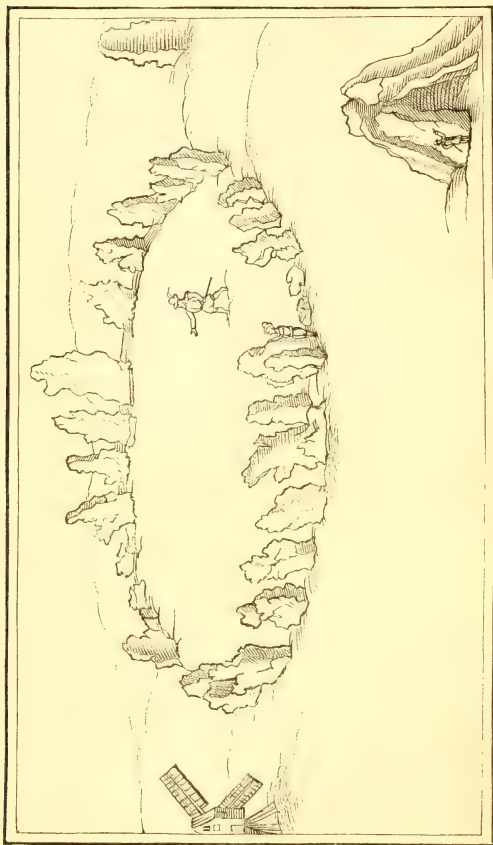
east to west 104 feet. The area is now planted with fir trees, which it has been found necessary to omit in the sketch given in Plate 1. The original number of stones in this Circle appears to have been about sixty. This very nearly corresponds with the present number, but from mutilations and the effects of time many of the stones are now almost levelled with the ground.¹² There are at present only twenty-eight which rise more than one foot above the soil; and of these only ten exceed four feet in height. The highest stone (which is marked (a) in the ground plan above) stands 23° west of the north point of the



FIVE KNIGHTS.
Ground Plan.

(12) Dr. Stukeley graphically describes the Rollrich Stones as being "corroded like worm-eaten wood, by the harsh jaws of time, and that much more than Stonehenge."—*Stukeley's Abury*, v. 2, p. 10.

area, and is seven feet four inches in height and three feet two inches in breadth. The thickness of the stones is generally not more than fifteen inches. The best representation of them in a state less imperfect than that in which they now are, is a print in the folio edition of *Camden's Britannia* printed in 1607, stated by him



ROLLRIGHT STONES, FROM CAMDEN'S BRITANNIA, 1607.

In this view the King's Stone and the Five Knights are, for convenience, introduced much too near the Circle.

to have been done "iam olim" (a long time, or good while, ago). Opposite to the highest stone, at the part of the circle between south and southeast, are the remains of some large stones which were originally set together in that part just within the circle. The entrance seems to have been on the northeast, nearly in the direction of the King's Stone. This stone is 83 yards distant from the outer edge of the Circle, in the direction marked (*b—b*) in the ground plan, and is now (after considerable mutilations) eight feet six inches in height and five feet three inches in breadth. Such large stones placed singly in the vicinity of Druidical temples have been by some imagined to have served as pedestals for idols. About 390 yards nearly due east of the Circle (in the direction *c—c*) are five large stones called the Five Whispering Knights, which stand together, leaning towards each other, with an opening from the west. (See Plate 1, and the Ground Plan at p. 5.) The tallest of these is now ten feet ten inches in height. They are most probably the remains of a Cromlech, or altar for the idolatrous sacrifices; but the upper or table stone has fallen or been removed.¹³ On the opposite side of the Circle to that occupied by the Knights, (in the direction *d—d*), a large stone once stood on a bank or hill, 141 yards westward from the circle.¹⁴

Dr. Stukeley derives the name of Rollrich from Rholdrwyg, the *Wheel* or *Circle of the Druids*; or from Roilig, in the old Irish, signifying the *Church of the Druids*.¹⁵ In the seventeenth century Ralph Sheldon Esq. caused the area of the Circle to be dug up to a considerable depth, but no remains of any description were discovered.¹⁶ A sacrificial celt¹⁷ found in the parish of Long Compton, immediately below Rollrich, is in the possession of M. H. Bloxam Esq. of Rugby. It is of white flint, perfectly smooth, and of an oval form, with the sides flattened.

At ENSTONE, six miles and a half S.E. from Rollrich, is another Druidical remain, a ruined Cromlech, popularly called the "Hoarstone."¹⁸ The principal stone stands upright, and measures nine

(13) The tradition of the neighbourhood is that a farmer once carried away one of the large Rollrich stones to make a bridge, but that experiencing remorse he brought it back again. Dr. Stukeley says of Rollrich, more than a century ago, "Many of the Stones have been carried away within memory, to make bridges, houses, &c."—*Stukeley's Abury*, v. 2, p. 10.

(14) See a ground plan &c. among Mr. Gough's collections in the Bodleian Library, where this stone is described as having been long thrown down.

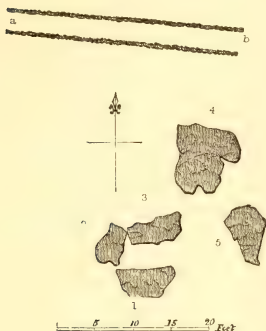
(15) *Abury*.

(16) Gibson's *Camden*.

(17) *Celt*. See note in the section on the Portway.

(18) The name Hoarstone implies a *border* or *boundary stone*. Such appear to have been erected from the earliest times. See Josh. xv. 6.—"And the border went up to the stone of Bohan the son of Reuben." A stone on the borders of Warwickshire having the same name of Horestone is mentioned hereafter.

feet five inches in height, six feet seven inches in breadth, and three feet five inches in thickness. Two stones of inferior height, on the



ENSTONE STONES. Ground Plan.

1. The Hoarstone, 9ft. 5in. high
2. Leans very much inward
3. A low stone : leans inward
4. Table stone, lying flat
5. Lying and imbedded
- a b. Ancient road.

north side, incline towards the principal stone, leaving an opening of three feet five inches towards the east, in which direction, at six feet distance, a large stone lies imbedded. On the side N.E. from the three standing stones, lies a huge flat stone, measuring eight feet five inches by eight feet one inch, which was probably the table stone of the Cromlech. There is a tradition that a city once existed near this spot, and remains of wells have been found in the neighbouring fields.¹⁹ An ancient trackway, marked in some old maps as the "London Road" (communicating with the country

about Worcester and Hereford), runs westward from the Hoarstone, passing near several Tumuli which will be mentioned hereafter. Nearly a mile south from this trackway, and two miles and a half westward from the Hoarstone, is a large single stone, seven feet five inches high, called the "Hawkstone."

This northern part of Oxfordshire, forming the northeastern portion of the territory of the Dobuni, was called Dobuni Dofn, from the *fat* and *fertile soil*.²⁰ It is a district of table land, elevated far above the Carnabian or Warwickshire Vale ; but it is intersected with deep valleys, in one of which Banbury is placed. The forts and settlements in this part, northward of the fancied site of Alauna, are not mentioned in history ; but many remains besides Rollrich and Enstone mark it as having been a district of importance during the British period. Four CAMPS, at Nadbury, Madmarston, Tadmarton, and Ilbury, undoubtedly of the earliest antiquity²¹ among

(19) Information from the Rev. E. Marshall of Enstone.

(20) MS. Hist. Alchester, 1622 ; Kennet's Paroch. Antiq.

(21) The remains found at several of the Camps would alone suffice (if other evidence were wanting) to shew that they were of earlier origin than the later British, the Saxon, or the Danish period ; and there is nothing Roman in the construction of any one of them.

the earthworks of this island, are all situated within the part of the Dobunian territory about Banbury. Besides these there are neighbouring British Camps at Rainsborough, Arberry Hill, Gredenton Hill, and the Castle Hill at Brailes. The distance from Nadbury (which is the most northerly of the four first-mentioned camps, or those within the Dobunian territory, it being situated on the edge of the table land overlooking the Warwickshire or Carnabian Vale,) to Madmarston is five miles and a half; from Madmarston to Tadmarton two miles; and from Tadmarton to Ilbury four miles and a quarter. The whole distance from Nadbury camp to Ilbury is eleven miles. (See the respective positions in the Map, Plate 4.) The face of this whole tract, and of the district to the east and west of it, is peculiarly adapted for communication by signals from height to height across the intersecting vallies; and accordingly each camp is formed on a lofty elevation, from which (even now that the enclosures have done so much to limit the bounds of sight) there is a very extensive prospect, especially in the direction of the other camps. Thus, from Nadbury camp the view is open, southward and eastward, even as far as to the most distant camp at Ilbury and to that at Rainsborough in Northamptonshire; and, in the opposite directions, across the Carnabian Vale. From the Tadmarton entrenchment, on a clear day, the eye reaches over the Tew hills, and beyond the intervening valley of Oxford to some of the Chalk hills of the Chiltern range. Yet it is observable, with reference to the art with which these great Earthworks were formed, that few of them occupy the most conspicuous parts of hills; those elevated spots having been generally chosen which were less likely to attract the notice of an enemy, especially if, as seems the case, they were usually surrounded with woods. The construction of the British fortresses on a plan so calculated to combine facility of communication with security is a strong ground, in addition to many others, for believing that the ancient Britons were not such a race of mere barbarians as many writers have been accustomed to represent them.

It would appear that still further means were taken for making observations, and for the communication of intelligence by signals. CROUCH HILL, a lofty eminence one mile southwest from Banbury Church, the conical top of which is artificial, has a small circular entrenchment, now overrun by the plantations, around its summit. (Plate 2.) An outer work of irregular form, very nearly coinci-

ding with the boundary of the present plantation, appears to mark the limits within which the hill was artificially raised for the purpose of communicating with the different camps. Actual examination by digging, &c. has proved this part to be entirely made ground;²² and for no other purpose than that of communication with the hill fortresses at a distance can it be conceived that a work of such immense labour was undertaken. Crouch Hill commands the most surprising panoramic prospect to be obtained in the neighbourhood, over those camps, and in every other direction.

The traces of some of the Camps are rapidly disappearing under the plough or by means of other agricultural operations, and none of them can be expected to remain long in the state in which they are at present. It is therefore desirable that they should be particularly described.

NADBURY CAMP is six miles and a quarter N.W. from Banbury, in the parish of Ratley, and on the top of Edgehill. Its shape resembles that of a paper-kite, with the tail, or point, to the N.W. The area of this camp within the vallum is about eighteen acres, and its shorter diameter is 269 yards. (Plate 3.) The camp at present has the appearance on the southeast side of having had only a single artificial vallum, in consequence of the outer vallum in that part having been entirely levelled in the years 1826 and 1827. On the southwestern side also the outer vallum has been greatly reduced. The whole northern side, exterior to the vallum, is traversed by an ancient road, below which the natural hill descends sheer into the Warwickshire Vale. In removing the outer embankment on the east and southeast, it was found to be composed of earth, or stones irregularly heaped together with a covering of earth. Many skeletons were found.²³ The entrance to the camp was at the northwest, or tail part of the kite, by two roads, the traces of which are still visible. Dugdale records that in his time a sword of brass and a battle-axe were found at this camp.²⁴

MADMARSTON CAMP is in the parish of Swalecliffe, at the distance of four miles and a quarter W. by S. from Banbury. The hill on which it is formed is conical at the base, but has a nearly flat top, which corresponds with the dimensions of the camp. The

(22) An old tradition says that the three churches of Bloxham, Adderbury, and King's Sutton, were built by three masons who were brothers; that the Devil served them all as a labourer; and that one day he fell down with a hod of mortar and made Crouch Hill. This tradition may have originated from a knowledge that the hill was artificial.

(23) Information from Mr. John Harbage of Fenny Compton.

(24) Dugdale's Warwicksh.

ground has been for many years under the plough, and the earthworks are now much less conspicuous than they were within memory; the valla having been lowered several feet and the depth of the fosses proportionably decreased. On the southwest side, however, traces of a triple vallum are conspicuous. The form of the camp is irregular, but approaching to pentagonal. (See the Plan of the camp and site of remains found near it, p. 18.) The inner vallum, on the southern side, is 117 yards in length; the curved southwestern side, in which is the principal entrance, 102 yards; and the western side 73 yards; at the termination of which part the section is as in the margin. The middle vallum has here 14 yards ascent on the slope: from the top thereof to the middle of the fosse which separates it from the inner vallum is seven yards: and thence to the top of the inner vallum is 16 yards. Continuing the circuit of the camp from this point, the northern vallum measures 186 yards in length; and the eastern one 110 yards. The area within measures five acres. Besides the principal entrance on the S.W., traces of other entrances are visible on the north, west, and south. The region around and beyond Madmarston is so hilly as to be almost mountainous, and some of the hills appear to bear traces of earthworks. The hill lying to the S.W., known by the name of Great Hill (a part of which, shewn in the Plan, p. 18, is called Money Acre), is one of these. An account of the remarkable and extensive remains which have been found around the foot of Madmarston hill will be given hereafter (p. 17—20).



TADMARTON CAMP is five miles S.W. by W. from Banbury. It is nearly circular. (Plate 2.) The inner vallum remains entire, still rising five or six feet above the level of the interior of the camp, although it is formed on sandy soil. The circumference, measured along the top of this vallum, is 590 yards; the diameter of the enclosed space 190 yards. The fosse also remains, being about nine feet in depth below the top of the inner vallum; and there are traces of a second vallum exterior to it, which are seen most distinctly towards the north. On the east, northeast, and west, are indications of a third vallum. The principal entrance was from the southeast, which entrance is covered by the outer vallum. The point of approach thus formed between the two valla is further covered by a small outwork at the distance of about 70 yards.

This outwork is a trapezium, of which the sides are 60, 50, 42, and 51 yards. There are traces of other points of entrance through the inner vallum. Through the whole entrenchment passes an ancient trackway, which appears to have been connected, through Banbury, with the Banbury Lane leading to Northampton (see p. 15, and the Map, Plate 4). This trackway, westward from Tadmarton, unites with another which runs from Rollrich Stones and continues northward in a direct line along the top of the range of hills (Plate 4) that separates the territories of the Dobuni and the Carnabii. Along these ancient trackways about Rollrich and Tadmarton, and other roads connected with them, drovers could until lately travel more than one hundred miles without passing through a tollbar.

To the N.W. of the Camp, at the distance of about 430 yards from its centre, are two Tumuli, the base of each of which is about twenty yards in diameter.²⁵ At the distance of 490 yards eastward of the centre of the Camp is a copious and ever-flowing spring of pure water, called Holy Well, which rises from the side of a steep mount near a lone farm house, and flows, in a stream which would be sufficient to turn two or three overshot wheels, down a dell to Lower Tadmarton village. There existed, not many years ago, remains of a paved way made of broad flags, leading to this spring from the camp or the outwork near the entrance.²⁶ Brewer mentions the discovery of many Roman coins at the Tadmarton entrenchment,²⁷ and Dr. Warton, in 1783, notices²⁸ some which he had seen, and which had been found not long before within the Camp. On the reverse of one of them was "a Fortuna, with some singularities." These coins were then in the possession of the Rev. Mr. Harrison, the rector of Tadmarton and Broughton.

ILBURY CAMP is six miles S. by W. from Banbury. This too is of the earliest character, and tradition asserts that the bones of ancient Britons lie buried there.²⁹ Its area within the vallum is eight acres. At the W.N.W. extremity the ascent of the vallum is nearly 30 feet, at an angle of about 45 degrees. It has only a single vallum, but the natural form of the lofty hill on which this is

(25) See the small ground plan of the Tadmarton and Hooknorton Camps, given under the Saxon period.

(26) Information from the Rev. Chas. Winstanley, formerly curate of Wigginton. And see the plan mentioned in the last note. The small work without the Camp at Tadmarton deserves examination, as being probably the site of Roman remains.

(27) Brewer's Oxf.

(28) Warton's Hist. Kiddington, edit. 1783, p. 50.

(29) Information from the Rev. M. Terrington, rector of Over Worton.

thrown up seems to obviate the necessity for an outer embankment. The principal entrance is on the west side. (Plate 5.)

Another earthwork or site considered to be British occurs four miles and a half S.S.E. from Ilbury, in the parish of Steeple Barton; called MAIDEN BOWER, from the Celtic Maidian, *strong*, and burg or beorgh, a *place* or *fortress*.³⁰

All the Camps above named are within the territory of the Dobuni.

On two lofty elevations, each two miles within the great Warwickshire Vale, and possibly within the territory of the Carnabii, (see Plate 4,) are two other Camps of the British period. One of these is on CASTLE HILL in the parish of Brailes, N.W. of the church of that village, and nine miles west from Banbury. The other is at GREDENTON HILL, seven miles and a half N.N. W. from Banbury. The area of the Gredenton Camp, which is of horseshoe form and measures 228 yards in length, occupies the summit of a lofty hill commanding an extensive prospect towards the north and northwest over the Warwickshire Vale. (Plate 3.) The steep sides of the hill bear conspicuous traces of six complete lines of defence, of that kind of work called linchets or steps, with scarcely any appearance of fosses. These occupy the whole circuit of the hill except on the southwest, where the hill is connected with, and the Camp overlooked from, the Dasset range. Near the foot of an adjoining hill, contiguous to the same Dasset range, and southeastward from Gredenton Hill, are two long lines of similar earth fortifications.³¹

Looking from Crouch Hill in the direction between the N.E. and S.E., the sites of two other British Camps, lying in Northamptonshire and probably within the territory of the Coritani (see Plate 4), are distinctly visible. These are at ARBERRY HILL, north of Thenford village, and at RAINSBOROUGH. The former is more than three miles, and the latter two miles, beyond the division of the

(30) Warton's Kiddington, p. 63.

(31) Burton Dasset, rather more than half a mile west from Gredenton Camp, is more properly Burton Derset; presumed to have been called Dcorset by the Saxons as signifying a place of resort for wild beasts. (Dugdale). Some of the hills there are judged to be artificial. The village is situated on the slope of the Dasset hills, which project northwestward beyond the table land of Oxfordshire far into the Carnabian or Warwickshire Vale. Burton Derset was once a considerable place, and was called Cheping Derset, from a market having been held there on Fridays under a charter granted 51st. Henry III. There was also an annual fair there which lasted three days. (Smith's Warwicksh.) That the place was at some period destroyed by fire appears from ashes, charcoal, and stones that have undergone the action of fire, which have been found in considerable quantities around the vicarage. (Information from the vicar, the Rev. J. Morgan.) Whether this were a British Settlement I have not sufficient evidence to enable me to judge. The fine church is partly Norman and Semi-Norman.

counties; and both lie on the eastern side of the great line of vallum which appears to have extended from Aston-le-Walls on the north to Kirtlington on the south. Remains of this embankment, which seems to have marked the boundary between two tribes or kingdoms, yet exist in many parts, and, with the two Camps just named, will be described (p. 28, &c.) when we come to treat of the Portway, which ran near them.

In proceeding to notice the TUMULI or BARROWS in the district around Banbury, it may be well to premise that they are doubtless of British character. It does not appear (Mr. M. H. Bloxam observes) that the Romans customarily raised Barrows over their dead; and even those Tumuli which are found to contain Roman urns and funeral relics, are considered to have been constructed over the remains of British chieftains engaged in the Roman service. Those Tumuli which occur on eminences along and near the ancient TRACKWAYS probably served as exploratory mounts, beacons, or signal posts, for which purposes alone many of them seem to have been thrown up.³² The Tumuli within the district of which we are treating appear in general to be strictly of this character; and hence it appears desirable to notice them in connection with the British Trackways and with the aid of the map (Plate 4).

Along the range of hills which separated the dominions of the Dobuni and the Carnabii runs an ancient Trackway, before mentioned (p. 12), which extends from Rollrich as far as to Nadbury Camp. On that part of its course which lies due west of Madmarston Camp are three Tumuli, or rather a single Tumulus and a Twin-Tumulus, which were probably thrown up for the purposes of communication with other Tumuli on the same line, or for observation over the British Camp at Brailes and the adjacent country, or for communication and the interchange of signals between that camp and some of the camps of the district lying around Crouch Hill. The single Tumulus is on the western side of the Trackway, in a field adjoining the south side of the present turnpike road to Shipston. The base is twenty yards in diameter; and, although by the operation of the plough the Tumulus has been brought nearly to the level of the field in which it stands, it still commands a view of immense extent along the southern half of the horizon. The Twin-Tumulus is situated

(32) Bloxam's Monumental Architecture, p. 24.

nearly half a mile to the N.N.E. of this, on the east of the Trackway and on the north of the turnpike road. This also has been nearly levelled by the plough, but it still commands a view of vast extent in every direction.

Another Twin-Tumulus, also commanding an extensive prospect, occurs four miles and a half southward of these, near Berryfields farm, between Hooknorton and the village of Great Rollwright, and not far from the same range of hills.

At a like distance of four miles and a half still farther southward, are two Tumuli, between the Hoarstone and the Hawkstone, not far from the ancient Trackway which passes near those remains. Another Tumulus occurs westward of these, near the same Trackway, and one mile and a quarter N.W. from the Hawkstone.

Branching off in an E.N.E. direction from the Trackway which ran from Rollrich along the range of hills that separated the Dobsonian from the Carnabian territory, is that other Trackway already mentioned (p. 12), running through the British Camp at Tadmarton. Near this Trackway are the two Tumuli already noticed (p. 12) in connection with the camp. The traces of this ancient road are apparently lost in modern improvements from the part where it joins the turnpike road at the brook at Lower Tadmarton village; but its direction points nearly in line with the present turnpike road (see Plate 4) by the foot of Crouch Hill towards Banbury, and towards that ancient Trackway beyond the town which yet exists under the name of BANBURY LANE and runs for twenty miles, in the same E.N.E. direction, by the British Camp on Arberry Hill, and the ancient village of Culworth, to Northampton. By the side of this Trackway, in the parish of Sulgrave, and seven miles and a half N.E. by E. from Banbury, is a Tumulus or Barrow still called Barrow Hill, the use of which as an exploratory mount may be correctly conceived from Morton's description of it. Here, he says, "no fewer than nine counties do present themselves to one view, that is, the counties of Northampton, Warwick, Worcester, Oxford, Gloucester, Berks, Bucks, Bedford, and Hertford; and 'tis thought that a part of Wiltshire or Hampshire is likewise to be seen from thence."³³ The base of this Tumulus is 25 yards by 19, and the summit 12 yards by 10. Upon it grows a great Ash tree, now going to decay, which is

(33) Morton's Northamp., 1712, p. 22.

considered to be four centuries old.³¹ The Banbury Lane continues its course, crossing the Watling Street at Forster's Booth, and passing by other earthworks, to the British camp at Hunsborough Hill and to Northampton.

Crossing this line which led from Rollrich through Tadmarton Camp and Banbury to Northampton was the SALTWAY, an ancient road which yet exists under that name at Banbury, running by the foot of Crouch Hill, and leading towards the southeast, in the direction of London. The traces are lost near Bodicot; but the further course of this road was traceable within memory, by Weeping Cross,³⁵ in the direction of the Portway; and tradition agrees with Ogilby's Survey made in 1674, that it crossed the Cherwell at Nell Bridge and communicated with London.³⁶

On the eastern side of Banbury, and crossing the Banbury Lane, ran the PORTWAY (p. 25), from north to south, passing near Buston, where are some Tumuli. One of these, situated on the lofty elevation called Highbarns Hill, was probably raised for the purpose of communication along the line of the Portway, or for the exchange of signals between Crouch Hill and some of the camps in the region of the Coritani: or, being near the frontier line which separated the Coritani from the Dobuni, it may have been thrown up by one of those tribes for making observations over the adjacent territory.

On a lofty eminence four miles and a half S. by E. from Highbarns Hill, and still on the line of the Portway, was recently another Tumulus, called Ploughley Hill, being near Souldern, but in the parish of Fritwell. It is described by Dr. Stukeley (writing in 1712) as "a curious barrow, neatly turned like a bell, small and high."³⁷

(34) There is a tradition respecting this mount and the Ash tree, that the spot was the scene of the revels of witches; and that when the Sulgrave people went to cut the tree down, they saw their village in the vale beneath apparently wrapped in flames, and therefore returned home. While they were absent from the tree on this false alarm, the witches made good the injury that had been done to the tree, and thus it was preserved.

(35) Styled by Ogilby, in Charles the Second's time, "a noted place, where four ways meet." By the side of the road running (northward) from Weeping Cross to Banbury, at that part near the town where the vale of Banbury comes into view, is an artificial eminence (now planted) called Windmill Bank, on which a windmill stood as early as 1674. Before the time of the enclosures the view from this Bank extended over the camp at Ilbury, which lies five miles and three quarters distant S. by W. The view from it is still open to the east and north. Whether this Bank was an exploratory mount raised near an ancient Trackway, and afterwards used, as many Tumuli have been, for a mill, or whether it is a more recent formation, I have no evidence whereby to decide. See its position in the Map.

(36) Before the construction of canals one of the largest wagoners' inns in the country was at North Newington; and the portion of ancient road running near the camp called Castle Bank, and through Crouch Lane and the Saltway, was in constant use for the heavy traffic between the northwest of the kingdom and London.

(37) *Itin. Curios.*, edit. 1776, p. 43. The name Ploughley Hill is marked in the wrong place in the Ordnance Map as the site of remains, but the real place of this Tumulus appears in that map just south of the Souldern tollgate.

Other Trackways will come under notice as we proceed to record the various sites of remains.

In a part of the country thus possessing remains of British Temples, Fortifications, and Trackways, it might be expected that we should find traces of BRITISH SETTLEMENTS also: and such appears to be the fact. In the parishes of Swacliffe and Tadmarton, about a quarter of a mile south and southeast of the British camp at Madmarston, and four miles from Banbury, extensive ancient remains have been found at what is called BLACK LAND, some of which remains mark the spot as a British site. Mr. F. Wise, in a MS. letter to Mr. Gale, Sept. 13, 1732, gives some information concerning this site, the substance of which information has been recorded by Gough. "In Swacliff parish, but nearer Tadmarton, is a Roman town, which seems to have extended itself round the foot of a hill [Madmarston]. At the bottom, to the west, is a field, part of which is called Money Acre, from a pot of money found there about 100 years since, and which by those pieces of Roman pottery and the richness of the soil was certainly part of the old town. This end points to Swacliffe, but the people who live in the farms think it reached no further than some out closes of the farm called the [Lower] Ley, somewhat nearer on this side towards Tadmarton, where considerable ruins are dug up to mend the highways, but no stone or inscription, nor could Mr. Wise find any in the fences of the closes. From this farm house the town seems to have extended to another also called the Ley [Upper Ley], about a quarter of a mile off, on the northeast side of the hill, and between these two a good way east into Tadmarton field, in which is a sign of a Roman bank, and on the south side beyond the brook in Swacliffe field is a considerable barrow called Rowbarrow, which probably stood just without the town. The blackness of the soil for three feet deep shows that the town was destroyed by fire."³⁸

The parts pointed out by the present owner³⁹ and the residents in the neighbourhood as affording remains indicative of the existence of an ancient town, are shewn, with the adjacent British Camp, in the plan on the next page, and are 51 acres in extent; namely,

The Town Ground 12 acres

(38) Gough's Camden.

(39) Mr. John Painter, to whom I am indebted for much information concerning the site.

Lower Lea homestead	3 acres
Blakeland	8 acres
Part of Stanthill	2 acres
Part of Blackland	6 acres
Cowleasure	11 acres
Flat	9 acres



SITE OF REMAINS AT SWALCLIFFE AND TADMARTON.
Scale four inches to a mile.

Within this space foundation walls have been continually discovered, and various remains, as ashes, bones, and Roman coins and pottery, have been found. The field called Blakeland is especially remarkable for the number of coins ploughed up in it. In that called Blackland, which is on the Tadmarton side of the little brook, the ploughshare, in the spring of 1836, struck on what proved to be the burial place of an individual, whose remains had

been deposited entire, and at full length, in a cistvaen, or chest, (the rudest and most ancient description of British⁽⁴⁰⁾ stone coffins,) formed of rough slab stones such as are still quarried in the parish of Tadmarton. In the spring of 1840, the remains of a similar interment were disturbed in the same ground; but in this case the cistvaen in which the bones had been inhumed was formed of smooth white flag stones cut for the purpose, and which might have been brought from a pit situated a mile or two from the spot. Among the coins found, chiefly in Blakeland and the fields northward, in 1836 and subsequently, and which I have seen, were a silver coin of Severus, one of the middle brass of Maximian, and many of the small brass of Tetricus pater and junior, Constantine the Great, Constantine junior, Constans (Plate 6, fig. 10), Valentinian, and Valens. Many Roman silver coins had been previously found there. The discoloration of the soil, which is of a dark umber colour throughout the whole of the site, and which strongly contrasts with the appearance of the red land about it, at first suggests the probability that a conflagration occurred there during the British period, when the habitations and defences were chiefly constructed of wood. The fact of a conflagration having occurred there is otherwise sufficiently evidenced by the stones that are turned up, which are frequently found to be burned quite red. But an analysis of the soils of this black land and the adjacent red land⁽⁴¹⁾ affords no evidence that fire was the occasion of a change in the colour of the soil of the ancient site; while the presence of organic matter in a much greater quantity in the black land, its depth of several feet, and its extraordinary fertility beyond that of the land around it, confirm the opinion which might otherwise arise, that the vast quantities of forage and litter which would be required for a cavalry station, at some period when the adjacent camp was occupied, may have contributed to the peculiar character of the soil. The Black Land extends for about half a mile in length from west to east, and about a quarter of a mile in breadth from north to south. An old road passes through the site, and, two furlongs eastward of it, meets an ancient Trackway still used by the Welsh drovers as being direct and without a tollbar.

The river which washes the foot of the Town Ground and Blakeland flows on to Adderbury, where, in the bed of the stream, a large ancient Bead of beautifully clear green glass, exteriorly orna-

(40) See Bloxam's Monumental Architecture.

(41) By Mr. T. Beesley.

mented with figures of white enamel⁴² (Plate 8, fig 1), and weighing four ounces, was found about the year 1832. It is probably a Phœnician bead, and might have been supplied to the Britons in the way of barter.

Other important indications of British residence in the neighbourhood of Banbury have been discovered in several parts near the line of the Portway, namely, at Chipping Wardon (p. 28), King's Sutton (p. 34), and Aynho (p. 37). To this ancient road and the remains found near its course a section will be devoted (p. 25).

In the parish of Brailes, at the top of the northern brow of the lofty Brailes Hill, are traces of a British settlement at Radnall Bush.⁴³

THE DOBUNI: ROMAN INVASION.

Camden conjectures the name of the Dobuni to be derived from *Dwfn*, a British word signifying *deep* or *low*, because they inhabited chiefly a plain, or vallies encompassed with hills. Kennet derives the name Boduni from a similar British word, *Bodu* or *Bodun*, signifying *deep*. "The Dobuni Dofn," he says, "were called Boduni, Bodunni, from the deep fat soil where they inhabited in Gloucestershire and Oxfordshire. And thence probably Bodicote or Boducot."⁴⁴ Whitaker says the Dobuni "were properly denominated Lowlanders when they resided in 'the Bottoms,' as all the south of Gloucestershire is popularly called to the present period; but afterwards extended their dominions, and diffused their name, over the hilly country to the north and east of them."⁴⁵ Brewer gives another derivation of Dobuni, from *Dob*, a *stream*, and *en*, often varied to *un*, *land*; inferring therefrom that the term Dobuni may signify a race located on the borders of the multitudinous rivers of these parts. It is conjectured that the Dobuni were not a powerful tribe, since a portion of them became subject to the Cattienchlani, or Cassii, who occupied the adjacent parts in Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, and Hertfordshire.

Referring to Cæsar's second expedition into Britain, B.C. 54, Camden and Gale are of opinion that he crossed the Thames at Coway Stakes in Surrey. Kennet however thinks that he advanced

(42) Lately presented by Dr. Buckland, to whose kindness I am indebted for the loan of it, to the Ashmolean Museum.

(43) Information from M. H. Bloxam Esq. of Rugby.

(44) Kennet's Glossary, art. *Bodu*. (45) Hist. Manchester, edit. 1775, vol. 2, p. 80.

as far as Oxfordshire. On the next expedition of the Romans into Britain, undertaken by Aulus Plautius, proprætor, A. D. 43, by command of Claudius Cæsar, the territory of the Dobuni came under the sway and protection of the Romans.⁴⁶ At the first alarm of invasion, the forces of the British Princes retired to their fastnesses for concealment and defence. Pursuing them to their places of retreat, Plautius defeated, first Cataratacus, and then Togodumnus, both sons of the deceased chief Cunobelin,⁴⁷ and the latter (Τογόδουμνος) supposed to have been a leader of the Dobuni.⁴⁸ At the time of this invasion the portion of the Dobuni residing on the borders of Buckinghamshire were living in a state of subjection to the Cattieuchlani: no sooner therefore did the approach of the Roman forces present an opportunity of shaking off the yoke, than they threw themselves into the arms of the invaders. The Roman expedition had been undertaken at the suggestion of Bericus (Βερίκος), a Briton⁴⁹ who had been driven from his country and had fled to Rome: and the alliance which took place between the Romans and the Dobuni has given rise to a conjecture that Bericus was of this tribe. Carte supposes that Bericus was deprived of his estate and expelled his country by the Cattieuchlani when they subdued it.⁵⁰ Another conjecture grounded upon the circumstance of this alliance is, that the decisive battle in which the Roman Commander was victorious over the sons of Cunobelin was fought not far from these parts. Be these conjectures true or false, there cannot be a doubt that the Dobuni at this period made an alliance with the Romans, and received garrisons from them.⁵¹

To this period probably may be referred the occupation by the Romans of some of the hill fortresses of the Britons in the neighbourhood of Banbury; their situation rendering them admirably adapted to serve as frontier defences of the Dobunian territory against the incursions of the Carnabii and other unsubjected tribes.

Having thus secured possession of the country in his rear, Plautius advanced beyond the territory of the Dobuni and carried his victorious arms beyond the Severn.

It was doubtless conducive to the success of the Roman arms, that, since the time of Julius Cæsar's expedition, many natives of Britain, besides Bericus, had visited Rome and thereby acquired a taste for Italian improvement. The spread of arts and civilisation amongst the Dobuni, the first allies of the Romans, must have

(46) Dion Cassius.

(47) Ibid.

(48) Whitaker.

(49) Dion Cassius.

(50) Carte's Hist. Eng.

(51) Dion Cassius.

been rapid. But although the southern parts of Britain were occupied by the Romans, only a small portion of the Island was yet subjected. It appears that Plautius even found himself compelled to withdraw to the south of the Thames, there to await the arrival of Claudius Cæsar with reinforcements, before any further successes could be achieved by the Roman arms.⁵²

Ostorius Scapula succeeded Aulus Plautius as proprætor A. D. 50, and had still to withstand the British assaults; whereupon he disarmed the suspected, and established forts or camps upon the rivers Antona (Nen) and Sabrina (Severn) to overawe the enemy and repress their incursions.⁵³ The southeastern portion of the island was thus secured by a defensive line of forts extending between the Wash and the Bristol Channel. Such a line of forts, partly Roman and partly British, may be traced through Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, and Gloucestershire, or along the banks of the Nen and thence to the Severn; the middle of the chain extending from Arberry Hill Camp, or Arbury Banks (p. 30), by the camps in the neighbourhood of Banbury to the British camp at Chastleton (three miles westward from Rollrich Stones), across the table land of the Dobunian territory⁵⁴ (see the Map, Plate 4). These camps must be conceived to have been occupied at this time by the forces of Ostorius; and Arbury Banks at Chipping Wardon, and Castle Bank (see pp. 43, 44) between North Newington and Balscot, both of which are of Roman construction, to have been now formed to complete the line of defence in these parts against the native forces which were probably assembled in the Vale of Warwickshire and the adjoining parts within the immense forest of Arden. The Roman Camp at Chesterton, on the Fosse Way, in Warwickshire, was perhaps now formed as an advanced post of Ostorius. (See further in the "Addenda," p. 607, under the head "Banbury Lane.")

Cogidunus, or Cogidubnus, (called by Richard of Cirencester Cogibundus,) appears to have been at this time Prince of the Dobuni, or Boduni, as his name implies.⁵⁵ Tacitus informs us that the government of certain other cities or states in addition to his own was bestowed upon King Cogidunus, and that he continued most faithful to the Romans.⁵⁶

(52) Dion Cassius; Camden, 1722, p. lv.

(53) Tacitus, Ann., lib. xii.

(54) The line eastward from Arbury Banks, along the course of the Nen, has been traced by E. Pretty Esq. to another Arbury Hill camp at Badby, Borough Hill camp near Daventry, Hunsborough Hill camp near Northampton, Clifford's Hill (a speculum), Irchester camp near Wellingborough, &c. A chain of ancient fortresses, extending through the southwestern part of Gloucestershire, has been traced by John Lloyd Baker Esq.—See *Archæologia*, vol. 19, p. 161.

(55) Dr. Stukeley.

(56) Tacitus, Agric.

The powerful armies sent by Vespasian, and the admirable conduct of Agricola, at length completed the conquest of the far greater portion of the island.

Amongst the remains of this earliest part of the Roman period found in this neighbourhood, we may specify numerous coins of the early Emperors discovered at Warkworth; one of which, lately found, was a silver coin of Caius and Lucius, sons of Agrippa; another was a silver one of Nero (Plate 6, fig. 1), coined only a few years after the expedition of Aulus Plautius. A gold coin of Vespasian was ploughed up many years ago near Rainsborough camp. Of silver coins found at Hanwell a few years ago, some were of Nero, Vespasian, Titus (Plate 6, fig. 2), Domitian, Nerva (Plate 6, fig. 3), Trajan, and Hadrian.

The abundant, we may almost say universal, diffusion of Roman remains in the neighbourhood of Banbury will be the principal subject of the three following sections.

ROMAN REMAINS AT BANBURY.

Several evidences shew that Banbury was occupied by the Romans. Camden says, "Give me leave to add one remark, that the coins of Roman emperors found here and in the fields adjoining are a fair argument for the antiquity of the place." In subsequent periods Roman coins have been frequently dug up. A large brass coin of Antoninus Pius, and another of Lucilla, were dug up lately in the town. A coin of the middle brass of Diocletian, in perfect preservation (Plate 6, fig. 5), was found in 1836, several feet below the surface, in digging the foundations of houses in High Street. A Roman silver coin, one of the small brass of Licinius, and another of Constantine the Great, were dug up in Parson's Meadow when it was converted into garden ground. A Roman coin of the small brass of Tetricus, and several others, were lately found in the brick-yard on the eastern side of Banbury bridge. Another Roman coin was lately found in making the alterations on the site of St. John's Hospital. The coins of Carausius, and those of the small brass of the lower empire, are common.

Dr. Stukeley, writing in 1712, mentions other antiquities found at Banbury. "Many Roman coins and antiquities have been found here. There is an inn called the Altarstone Inn, from an altar

which stood in a niche under the sign, this had a ram and fire carved on it, as they say: part of the stone is still left. I imagine this was originally a Roman Altar. They tell us William the Conqueror lay at this inn.¹ The ALTARSTONE INN was on the spot now occupied by the stone-fronted house in Bridge Street South facing Castle Street; and the Roman Altar stood under an arch in the street, in front of the inn.² Richard Corbet, subsequently Bishop of Oxford and of Norwich, wrote some verses respecting this hostelry, where he took up his quarters previously to the year 1621:—

“In th’ name of God, Amen! First to begin,
The Altar was translated to an Inne;
Wee lodged in a Chappell by the signe,
But in a banck’rupt Taverne by the wine:
Besides, our horses usage makes us thinke
’Twas still a Church, for they in Coffins drinke;
As if ’twere congruous that the ancients lye
Close by those Altars in whose faith they dye.”

To the edition of Corbet’s Poems printed in 1648 a note is appended, stating that the coffins served “for troughs in the backside” of the inn. Whether these were Roman sarcophagi, or remains of a later date, it is now impossible to ascertain. The adjoining house westward of the Altarstone Inn, being the corner house towards Broad Street (now the Old George inn), was called the George-and-Altarstone inn:³ and Mr. Brewer states that a gentleman whose father purchased this inn in 1771, and who himself resold it, well remembered the Altarstone and the erection in which it was placed. It was described by him as “a piece of stone-work about eight feet long, with an arch raised upon it about ten feet high. In the niche of the arch was placed a stone.”⁴ The late Mr. Samuel Grimby of Banbury also remembered the erection as carrying one end of the beam which supported the sign of the inn; and stated that in his boyhood⁵ he had frequently climbed through the arch where the Altarstone stood. The whole was taken down about the year 1768. In Bray’s Tour (1777) it is said of the

(1) Itin. Curios.

(2) In a book of accounts belonging to the corporation there is an entry of the 40th year of Elizabeth, “Paied out hereof for o’r dynn’ at the Alt’ Stone 9s.” Burials from the “Altarston” are recorded in the register in 1616 and 1707. By a deed executed 24th June 1733, Sanderson Miller, Elizabeth Egleston, and Mary Egleston, conveyed to John Rymill a messuage then divided into two tenements, and lately an inn called or known by the sign of the Altar Stone, in a street or place called the Beast Market. On the 5th April 1785, Mary Rymill, daughter of the aforesaid John Rymill, conveyed the aforesaid property to Clarke Jessop: and on the 2nd Sept. 1820, the children of the said Clarke Jessop conveyed the same to James Staley and Thomas Tims.

(3) Writings 1701 & 1725.

(4) Brewer’s Oxf.

(5) He was born in 1759.

Altarstone inn—"some years ago it was converted into a private house, and the Altar was probably demolished."

But the most important remain of the Roman period at Banbury is a Castrensian AMPHITHEATRE. The Roman people were early debased by the gladiatorial and other shows in the Amphitheatres ; and on the site of almost every Roman colony there are indications of the existence of such places, either constructed or excavated. In many parts, the Roman garrisons contented themselves with Castrensian or Camp-like Amphitheatres ; in the construction of which they usually chose natural vallies surrounded with hills, in the declivities of which they cut benches or terraces from which a view was afforded over the arena.⁶ In this island very few such records of the barbarous pleasures of Roman antiquity now remain. The Amphitheatre at Banbury is in a field called Berrymoor, adjoining the town, on the right of the turn to Bloxham. It is a semicircular work, open to the north ; and is cut in the concave face of a steep hill the summit of which overlooks the town. (Plate 7.) The Arena measures 134 feet in breadth ; and rising above it, on the face of the hill, are three broad terraces made for the spectators of the combats, which terraces are respectively 25, 39, and 59 feet (measured on the slope) above the Arena. These are calculated to afford a view of the sports to more than two thousand persons.⁷

THE PORTWAY.

The PORTWAY was an ancient Trackway which traversed Northamptonshire and Oxfordshire. It ran from, or crossed, the Watling Street at a part between Tripontio (Dove Bridge on the borders of Leicestershire) and Benaventia, a British site, or Isannavaria, a Roman one (Borough Hill near Daventry in Northamptonshire) : and, entering Oxfordshire at Souldern, it proceeded nearly southward by Kirtlington,⁸ which latter place is situated on the line of the Akeman Street, four miles and a half west of the Roman Ælia Castra (Alchester, in the parish of Wendlebury near Bicester,

(6) Tacitus ; Brewster's Cyclo.

(7) This earthwork is now popularly called the Bear-garden, probably from the sport of Bear-baiting having been subsequently used there. Thomas Brasbridge, who was born, probably at Banbury, about the year 1537, and who certainly lived there in his childhood and became vicar of the place in 1581, alludes to the common sport of Bear-baiting practised in his times.—*Brasbridge's Poore Mans Iewell*.

(8) How much farther the Portway extended in either direction it is not possible to say. See pp. 26, 38.

the fancied British *Alauna*). Between *Isannavaria* and *Ælia Castra* there was a station called *Brinavis*, recorded in one of the itinera of Richard of Cirencester.⁹

Morton says of the Northamptonshire portion of the Portway, in 1712,—“The way is now unknown. Neither is it strange it should; the stations it led to being ruined, the road must of course be neglected and left off. And in case it was but a little, or not at all raised in this part of it, which is not unlikely, this being on’y a Vicinal way, and the ground not so moist or boggy as to need it; ’tis still the less strange, that the memory and footsteps of it are quite erased and gone.”¹⁰ Yet Morton himself, and Bridges, and more recently Mr. George Baker, have helped to point out the direction of the Portway across Northamptonshire: and a great part of its course in Oxfordshire is marked in Camden’s map, and still remains a direct and ancient Trackway.

The first trace we find of the Portway in Northamptonshire is in the name of the Portlow hills at Kilsby, five miles north of Daventry, and near the Watling Street. From this part the Portway ran southward, near Benaventa, and in the direction of Church Charwelton or Preston Capes, between which villages some ancient entrenchments remain.¹¹ Bridges bears testimony to its having here taken the direction to Woodford, by stating that “part of the highway leading from Woodford to Preston is called Portway.”¹² Mr. Baker adds that the name Portway is still retained in the third field from Woodford on the road to Preston. From Woodford (see the Map, Plate 4) the course of this trackway was through the parish of Eydon; as appears from the grant of William de St. Ledger to the Priory of Canons Ashby, which describes one of the half-acres as lying “int’ Stavenhul sike et Portweia”¹³ (between Stavenhul sike, i. e. *brook*, and the Portway). Thence the distance is nearly two miles to BLACK GROUNDS at Chipping Wardon, six miles northeast from Banbury; where, from the circumstance of extensive remains being found, and from the correspondence of the distances given in the eighteenth iter of Richard of Cirencester with the position, it has been judged by several Antiquaries that *BRINAVIS* should be placed.¹⁴

(9) Richard of Cirencester, *Iter*. XVIII:—Benonnis (High Cross) to Tripontio (Dove Bridge) XI. M.; Tripontio to Isannavaria XII (X). M.; Isannavaria to Brinavis, XII. M.; Brinavis to Ælia Castra XVI. M.; Ælia Castra to Dorocina (Dorchester) XV. M.

(10) Morton’s *Northamp.*, p. 603.

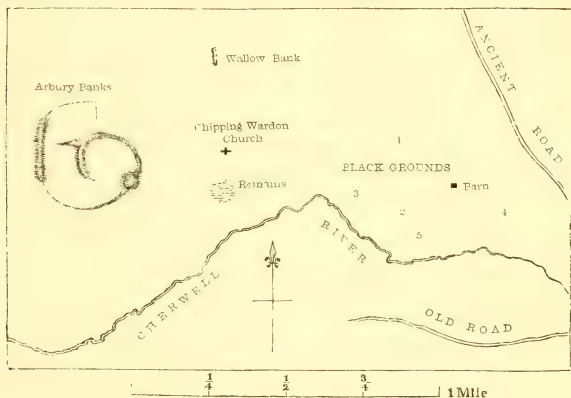
(11) Marked in the Ordnance Map.

(12) Bridges’ *Hist. Northamp.*, v. 1, p. 130.

(13) Baker’s *Northamp.*, v. 1, pp. 431, 507.

(14) It is however quite improbable that the Portway took the direction towards Black Grounds. The Roman and British roads frequently ran parallel or near to each other; and

The name of **WARDON** is probably derived from *ware* (ware), a *defence* or *border*, and *dun* (dun), a *hill*, in allusion to the line of embankment which is mentioned below as passing by the place. **CHIPPING** is from the Saxon *cyppan*, signifying to *buy* or *cheapen*, and imports that the place had a market. Many Roman coins have been found there, chiefly, says Morton, "upon a ground they call the Black Ground, as being of a darker colour than other parts of the field, upon three furlongs, which are thought to contain nigh forty acres. In ploughing upon and near the same ground, they have frequently met with foundation stones, and other hewn stones, and amongst them many stones that are red and brittle, appearing plainly to have been scorched or burnt. And with these they plough up ashes."¹⁵ The Black Grounds are on the northern side



of the Cherwell, half a mile eastward of the village. This is the supposed site of **BRINAVIS**. The remains are found over a space shewn by the figures in the above plan, and measuring thirty eight acres and a half; namely,

(1) Upper Black Ground, 10½ acres

the iter of Richard of Cirencester seems to refer to the vicinal way which existed from Daventry to Chipping Wardon (as proved by Tumuli on its course), and which probably proceeded on to Banbury. As regards the Portway, the direct course from Eydon to Aynho, where it is again traceable, would be by Culworth, Thorp, Thenford, and Newbottle Hill spinney. This line passes through a part of the country abounding in ancient remains. (See the Map, Plate 4, and the account of the sites in the following pages to p. 37.)

(15) Morton's Northamp., p. 526.

(2) Little Black Ground,	6 acres
(3) Part of Long Headland,	3 acres
(4) Caudwells,	12 acres
(5) Part of Ludwell,	7 acres

Over these parts are found numerous foundation walls and squared stones, and a profusion of Roman coins and pottery. Mr. Baker states that, a few years before he wrote, some foundations were dug up in the meadow north of the Cherwell immediately below the Black Grounds; and, on his examining the spot in 1824, the spade was scarcely ever put into the ground without throwing up fragments of Roman urns and pottery.¹⁶ A lead-coloured urn, five inches and a half in height (Plate 8, fig. 3), was found in 1825 in the Black Ground, above a mass of human bones,¹⁷ and sent to Mr. Baker by the Rev. Dr. Lamb. In 1838 a well was discovered among the foundations in the upper Black Ground; also an ancient axe-head; and one of the British beads, made of vitrified earth, which are called Druid's beads (Plate 8, fig. 2). This bead is in my own possession.¹⁸ Amongst the numerous coins which I obtained from this spot in 1839 were a silver coin of Gratian, one of the large brass of Antoninus Pius, one of the middle brass of Maximian, and many of the small brass of Gallienus, Victorinus, Claudius Gothicus, Tetricus Cæsar, Carausius, Licinius, Constantine the Great, Fausta (Plate 6, fig. 7), Crispus (Plate 6, fig. 8), Constantine junior, Constans, Constantius, Magnentius, Valentinian, and Valens. Mr. Baker has a skeatta, or early Saxon penny, from the same site. Several of the coins found here, and also many of the squared stones, have undergone the action of fire. The soil of these grounds is less black than that of the ancient site near Madmarston, but its colour is in strong contrast with that of the adjacent fields. A little to the east of the Black Grounds an ancient road, reputed to be a Roman way, runs by the site, and passes the Cherwell at Trafford bridge, close by the field of Danesmoor (Plate 4).

The ancient site at Black Grounds, or the supposed Brinavis, was guarded on the western side by the long line of VALLUM or EMBANKMENT (before alluded to, pp. 3, 14) which extended at least from Aston-le-Walls on the north¹⁹ to Kirtlington on the south,

(16) Baker's Northamp. p. 531.

(17) MS. Letter of Dr. Lamb to G. Baker Esq.

(18) Presented, with many coins &c. from the same site, by the Rev. E. G. Walford, rector.

(19) There are said to be some traces of the Embankment farther northward in the parishes of Byfield and Priors Marston, and which serve as the boundary between the counties of Northampton and Warwick. (Information from E. Pretty Esq. of Northampton.)

a distance of nineteen miles direct, nearly in the line of the Portway.²⁰ ASTON-LE-WALLS has its name from this vallum or embankment, the remains of which, although not existing at present in the immediate vicinity of the place (having been, Morton suggests, levelled "to make the ground of more use in husbandry"), point directly upon it from Wallow Bank at Chipping Wardon (where the embankment is first traceable), a distance from Aston-le-Walls of one mile. WALLOW BANK is described in Morton's time as having its western side almost perpendicularly steep, but its eastern side gradually sloping; whence he forms the conjecture that the line of embankment was raised by the Romans as a "præ-tentura" or fore-fence against a western enemy.²¹ The present form of Wallow Bank does not however agree with Morton's statement, its declivity being equal on both sides. The remains of this embankment are in a garden at the north end of the village of Chipping Wardon, three-quarters of a mile northwest from Black Grounds. The name appears to have been derived from the Saxon *pall* (wall) and *lop* (low, a *timulus*). Its present length is about twenty yards, its height about five feet; and its construction was found by Mr. Baker in 1824 to be a simple rampart of earth.²²

The next conjectural trace of this great line of Embankment is found in the name of *Grimsbury* (see p. 3), a Northamptonshire hamlet of Banbury bordering on the Cherwell and five miles S.S.W. from Wallow Bank. Five miles farther, or nine miles directly south from Wallow Bank, the course of this vallum is again traceable in the names of Walton Grounds and Walton Chapel, so called from *pall*, *wall*, and *run*, a *town*. At the further distance of three miles and three quarters S. by E. from Walton, the remains of a line of Embankment, called WATTLEBANK, ASHBANK, and AVES-DITCH, are traceable southward; and are yet visible for several miles, although much less distinctly in many parts than they lately were. This line, commencing at Fritwell, extended along the eastern side of an ancient Trackway which runs on the east of the Portway until it meets it on the north of Kirtlington; at which point the Embankment, still running in a direct line, crosses the Portway and continues nearly to the Cherwell, at the part where that river was crossed by the Akeman Street.²³

In the vicinity of Black Grounds at Chipping Wardon there re-

(20) In noticing the traces of this Embankment see the Map (Plate 4).

(21) Morton's *Northamp.*, pp. 525, 526.

(22) Baker's *Northamp.*, p. 531.

(23) It is partly marked in the Ordnance Maps. See also Plate 4, and pp. 38, 39.

mains to be noticed an extensive Camp, mentioned before (p. 22) as being probably one of the Roman forts formed by Ostorius, called ARBURY BANKS. This is situated partly upon, and partly to the north of, the rectory farm, or one mile nearly due west from Black Grounds and about half a mile southwestward from Wallow Bank. (See the Plan, p. 27.) Mr. Baker's opinion that this was not an enclosed entrenchment appears to be erroneous; but it is now difficult to trace some parts of the plan, and the operations of the plough are fast obliterating a large portion of the remains. The principal vallum that now exists entire is 296 yards in length, running north and south. Rather nearer the village is a second and higher embankment, almost parallel to the first, but of less extent; which appears to have been connected with the first-named vallum in the manner marked in the plan. Most of the parts laid down in the plan as lying to the east of these are still distinctly traceable; but those parts which are represented by single dotted lines are given almost conjecturally. The circular mount is a part of the vallum which has been preserved in a more perfect state from the circumstance of a windmill having at some period been erected on it. The encampment appears not to have been British; nor does the site command that extensive prospect which suggests an obvious connection with other and distant camps, a feature which characterizes all the fortresses in these parts that are decidedly British.

At a short distance south of Black Grounds is the Field of DANESMOOR (see the Map, Plate 4), near which an "instrument of brass, supposed to have been the head of an ensign staff," but doubtless a celt, is mentioned by Morton as having been found in a pond.²⁴

At CULWORTH, situated two miles and a half E.S.E. from Black Grounds and on the Banbury Lane leading to Northampton, was lately found a Roman coin of the small brass of Quintillus.²⁵

In tracing the Portway from Eydon towards Aynho, the direct and most probable line is by Culworth, and by the British Camp on ARBERRY HILL²⁶ (see the Map, Plate 4). This camp is situated by the side of the Banbury Lane, somewhat more than a mile north of Thenford village, and four miles and a half E.N.E. from

(24) Morton's Northamp., p. 542. And see the note hereafter, pp. 34, 35.

(25) In the possession of G. Baker Esq. of Northampton.

(26) This must not be confounded with Arbury Banks just mentioned, nor with another camp at Arbury Hill in the parish of Badby mentioned in the note p. 22.

Banbury. The site commands a view as far as Nadbury camp, eight miles and a half distant W.N.W.; and along the western horizon, beyond Crouch Hill, to the equally distant camps at Madmarston and Tadmarton. On the eastern side the prospect is much more limited. The situation of Arberry Hill more than three miles east of the Cherwell, renders it probable that this Camp was a fortress of the Coritani overlooking the territory of the Dobuni. The remaining earthwork is irregular, but nearly the segment of a circle, extending about 150 yards along the northern and western edges of the hill. About seven yards below is a ledge or linchet, from which the second declivity runs to the base of the hill.

Southward of Arberry Hill camp, and near, if not actually upon, the line of the Portway, is the ancient village of THENFORD. In Seabridge Close, about 600 yards northwest from the church of Thenford and a little west of the old water mill, (four miles E. by N. from Banbury,) is a large funeral pile formed of earth and rubble stones; where great quantities of human bones, and many earthen urns, or drinking cups, have been found.²⁷ One of these in the possession of Geo. Baker Esq. (Plate 8, fig. 4) is of black pottery, and three inches and a quarter in height. Mr. Baker mentions that some labourers, previously to his visit to the spot, discovered two skeletons at the upper end of the stonepit, lying east and west, with a small drinking cup near them. On exploring some of the adjacent ground in a southerly direction, Mr. Baker found the remains of five skeletons disposed in three distinct tiers; one in each of the two first tiers, and three about a yard distant from each other in the lower tier.²⁸ The iron blade of a Roman knife, five inches in length (Plate 8, fig. 5), was found by the side of a skeleton exhumed by Miss Baker and Mr. Severne.²⁹

In digging a grave in the church-yard at Thenford, an urn was found with ashes in it.³⁰ Morton adds—"Such squares as the Romans made their chequered pavements of have been found in the field, and also a medal of the emperor Constans." Mr. Baker says, "dispersed fragments of Roman materials may be traced in the village causeway: and the two fields called Stone Green and

(27) Information from S. A. Severne, Esq.

(28) Baker's Northamp. p. 717.

(29) Information from S. A. Severne, Esq., who presented to Mr. Baker the urn and knife: these were kindly lent me by the latter gentleman to be engraved for this work.

(30) Morton's Northamp. p. 529.

Flaxlands, about half a mile east of the village, abound in vestigia of Roman occupation over a space of ground much too extended for a mere villa. Foundations of buildings, tesserae, and coins, have been frequently turned up by the plough.³¹ In the field called **STONE GREEN**, at the distance of three furlongs due east from the church, was found a hypocaust,³² some portions of which have been preserved by Mr. Severne. In the same field, and in the adjacent one eastward called **Flaxland**, a great number of Roman coins have been found, of which a silver one of Vespasian, and copper coins of Tetricus, Constantine the Great, Constantine junior, and Constans, are or were recently in the possession of Mr. Severne. Mr. Baker states that on his examination of the spot he found numerous fragments of Roman pottery, tiles, and tesserae, with foundations of walls and portions of hypocausts; but the latter had been so much disturbed as to render it impossible to trace the plan of any of the buildings. Skeletons have been found in Mr. Severne's garden, on the north side of **Stone Green**.³³ The conjecture that the Portway passed in this direction is supported by the fact that, about a mile S.S.E. from **Thenford** church, where the brook reaches the turnpike road, (at a part in the map marked "**Remains**,") there have been found traces of a road made on piles of wood,³⁴ which appeared by its direction to have led by the camp on **Arberry Hill**, and by **Stone Green**, to this part.

At **GRETWORTH**, one mile and a half E. by N. from **Stone Green**, in digging for stone, five urns were found, in a row, close to each other; in the mouth of one of them was a smaller urn inverted.³⁵

On the northern brow of **CASTLE HILL** in the parish of **Chacombe**, three miles northeast from **Banbury**, are traces of earth-works.

Southward of **Thenford** we approach the part of the Portway nearest to **Banbury**. On the west of the line, at **WARKWORTH**, two miles eastward from **Banbury**, coins of the early Roman emperors are before mentioned (p. 23) as having been discovered. Other coins lately found there were a large brass one of **Lucilla**, and several coins of silver and large and small brass.

Further southward, near **BUSTON** farm house, three miles and a half E.S.E. from **Banbury**, are some Tumuli (mentioned p. 16),

(31) Baker's Northamp., p. 717.

(32) Information from S. A. Severne Esq.

(33) Information from S. A. Severne Esq.; and Baker's Northamp.

(34) Information from S. A. Severne Esq.

(35) Morton, p. 530.

namely, two called the Two Lows (lop,) a tumulus, and a third in a very prominent situation on the lofty Highthorns Hill above the house.³⁶

The Portway may be presumed to have taken its course, near the above Tumuli, by or to BLACK-LANDS-PIECE, or Black-land Furlong, now called Blackland, southwest of the above Tumuli, three quarters of a mile north of the village of King's Sutton, and three miles southeast from Banbury. Morton mentions Roman money found in his time at Black-land Furlong in the parish of Sutton.³⁷ It is a piece of arable land, of a very dark colour as compared with the red land around it, and situated on a high hill commanding a view of Nadbury Camp on the Edgehill range, Crouch Hill, and the Vale of the Cherwell southward. The field which since the enclosure goes by the name of Blackland (the soil of which is partly dark and partly red) measures ten acres; but the dark colour prevails over much of the adjoining land southward. The entire site measures twenty or thirty acres. An ancient road which crosses the Cherwell at Twyford (*Two fords*, where there are now bridges across the double stream) and passes through the site on the north of the field called Blackland, connected the Portway with the Saltway³⁸ and the other ancient roads west of the Cherwell. (See the Map, Plate 4.) Mr. Baker gives an account of skeletons having been found at Black-lands-piece at various times, at the depth of two feet, lying with their heads to the east, and interred in the British manner within cistvaens formed of the rough slab stones of the district. In 1825, on the same level was discovered a cinerary urn of reddish unbaked clay, ten inches and a quarter in height, and varying in girth from one foot two inches and a half to one foot nine inches and a half. It was filled with burned bones and earth, and was standing upright with a stone over the mouth. Close to it was a coin of Hadrian, and at a short distance two of the large brass of Aurelius. About two yards from the urn were found three skeletons.³⁹

The coins found on this site some years ago, and which are

(36) Baker, p. 703.

(37) Morton, p. 531.

(38) The Upper Saltway was a British trackway leading from the Salt mines at Droitwich (Salinæ) to the coast of Lincolnshire. The Lower Saltway led from the same mines to the southeastern coast of England. This latter way is traced by the Rev. T. Leman from Droitwich, under the name of "the Saltway," in the direction of Evesham. (Hatcher's Richard of Cirencester, 1809, pp. 110, 116.) Probably there were several roads under the same name leading from the Salt mines to distant parts of the kingdom. The Saltway which passes Banbury is in the direction from Droitwich towards London. (See page 16.)

(39) Baker, p. 703.

called in the village "Blackland pence," are mentioned as being so numerous as to have been carried away in buckets. Of those found recently I have seen one of the middle brass of Antoninus Pius, one of the base coins of Postumus, several of the small brass of Tetricus, Carausius, Allectus, Licinius, Constantine the Great, Constantine junior, Constantius, Magnentius, and Valens; and a vast number of others of the lower empire, mostly too obliterated to be deciphered.⁴⁰ Mr. Baker possesses coins of Marcus Aurelius and Claudius Gothicus obtained from the same spot. Large brass, and silver coins, have been found; also numerous foundation walls of squared stones, with millstones, and clinkers in such quantity as to induce an opinion among the people of the neighbourhood that there were "many forges there." Many of the stones which are dug up are found to have been burned red.⁴¹ Skeletons have been also found in the red field on the north of the road and northwest of Blackland: one of these was within a cistvaen, and lying at full length. In 1840 were discovered in the same field four skeletons, with rough head stones, the heads lying to the west. These interments were on the rock, two feet below the surface of the soil. Between the knees of one skeleton were some fragments of pottery of the rudest kind. In the adjoining field, west of Blackland, a skeleton was found some time before within a cistvaen, wherein was also found one of those bone pins (Plate 9, fig. 3) of British character which are supposed to have been used either for fastening the dress or for markers at some kind of game. Mr. George Baker of Northampton has in his possession a British celt of serpentine which was found at this site, and which he has kindly permitted to be engraved for this volume (Plate 9, fig. 2). It is a very beautiful specimen, quite perfect, and measures four inches and four tenths in length, and weighs eight ounces and a half.⁴² Mr. Loggins, the proprietor of Blackland, states that there are parts of the field where corn does not thrive; and that this occurs particularly on a line across the site, giving the appearance of the foundation of an ancient road

(40) In the possession of Mr. Loggins and Mr. W. T. Dagley of King's Sutton.

(41) Information from Mr. Loggins of King's Sutton; and personal inspection.

(42) Many conjectures have been made relative to the uses of those ancient instruments, formed of metal, flint, &c., and of various shapes, which indiscriminately go by the name of celts. Domestic, military, architectural, and religious uses, have all been assigned. Some of the celts which are formed of stone appear to have been the heads of hammers. Others, which are in shape, weight, and finish, like the above-named one of serpentine (Plate 9, fig. 2), have been with probability conjectured to have been used for polishing pottery. Or, bound with reeds or thongs within the hole of a shaft, they may have been used either as implements or weapons. Again, their form, weight, and polish, render them admirably adapted for "sling stones" (Job, xli. 28. I. Samuel, xvii. 40), and the labour that would be required for supplying such stones, either for the use of the chieftains in battle

being below. Urns, ashes, and coins, have been found between Blackland and Astrop.⁴³

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Three places where black land occurs, namely, near Madmarston Camp (p. 17), at Chipping Wardon (p. 26), and at King's Sutton (p. 33), have now been enumerated, all being within the red land district of the northern part of Oxfordshire and the contiguous parts of Northamptonshire; and all abounding in British and Roman remains.

The Portway probably proceeded from Blackland, or on the eastern side of it (near Newbottle Hill spinney), and passed through or near King's Sutton towards Walton. At NEWBOTTLE SPINNEY, which is one mile and a half southeast from Blackland, several skeletons have been found.⁴⁴ KING'S SUTTON is three miles and three quarters southeast from Banbury. On the north side of the village are the partial remains of an ancient double entrenchment (perhaps Norman), in a ground called Barton (coming up to the lane which leads to Banbury) and in Lake meadow. At this entrenchment a skeleton was dug up at the time of the enclosure. In other parts of King's Sutton field, coins of Tetricus, Claudius Gothicus, and Constans, have been found.⁴⁵

From King's Sutton there appears to have been an ancient way going from, or across, the Portway, by the present lane running past Newbottle Hill spinney towards Evenley. At EVENLEY are the remains of a castellated work, which was probably Norman. In 1826, during the irrigation of a field called Addington's meadow, at the northern extremity of Evenley parish, near the river Ouse, were found several hundred Roman coins of Nero, Domitian, Alexander Severus, Probus, Carausius, Constantine, and other emperors.⁴⁶ In Astwick field, south from the same castellated work, Roman coins have been found, one of which was of Constantius.⁴⁷

The Portway proceeded from, or on the east of, King's Sutton, or for slaying the victims at sacrifices, would not enter into the account of those who had little other labour to perform.

"Dreads he the twanging of the archer's string?

Or singing stones from the Phœnician sling?"—SANDYS.

The material (serpentine) of which this celt found at King's Sutton is formed, must have been brought from a district as far remote as Cornwall, Wales, or Westmorland.

Sir S. R. Meyrick calls the bronze celts battle-axes, and he has pointed out the mode in which he conceives they were fastened to a handle of wood. One of this kind, found at Aynho, is mentioned in p. 37, and engraved in Plate 9, fig. 1. I concur in the opinion of Sir S. R. Meyrick respecting this kind of celt. Other celts formed of metal appear to have been designed for the tops of ensign staves.

(43) Information from Mr. Loggins, and others resident in the immediate vicinity of the place. Personal examinations of the site, and of many of the remains.

(44) Information from labourers on the spot.

(45) Baker's Northamp., p. 703.

(46) Baker's Northamp., p. 617.

(47) Bridges' Northamp., p. 168.

through WALTON GROUNDS, already mentioned (p. 29) when treating of Wallow Bank at Chipping Wardon. The road here, though almost deserted, is evidently an ancient trackway, and it is called Portway in many early court rolls and evidences,⁴⁸ and in a plan made before the enclosure.⁴⁹

From Walton farm house a road goes off from the Portway, eastward, to RAINSBOROUGH CAMP, distant one mile. This very perfect camp has been already named (p. 13) as one of those unquestionably British. "In the township of Charlton," says Anthony á Wood,⁵⁰ "and in the parish of Newbottle in Northamptonshire, there is on the top of a little hill which has a prospect round about it, a camp with a double fortification. The ground upon it which is a barren soil, hath as it seems been Would Land [woodland]. The inward fortification is more than a quarter of a mile about; the outward, half at least. This camp and hill is commonly called Rainsborough hill. * * * * Within the memory of man, the land within the inward fortification, together with the inward fortification itself, hath been plowed up by several persons, each having his lot allowed him. And a certain person of Charlton, who had the middle part allowed him, did not only plow up the middle part, but levelled the inward fortification, so far as his share went. In digging down the said apartment, or allotment, there were discovered several iron pots, glasses, ashes. And the neighbourhood say it was an apothecary's shop. Whether this was a camp belonging to the Britains, who encamped themselves when the Romans invaded them within woods, or of the Saxons or Danes, I cannot tell you."

Rhain, in the British language, signifies a *halbert*, *pike*, or *spear*; and Rain or Rinn, in the Irish-British, is the *point of a sword or spear*; as also a *hill* in some parts of Ireland.⁵¹ Beorgh, altered in this case into borough, signifies a *place* or *fortress*. The interior of Rainsborough camp measures about six acres; and the whole circuit, including the fosse, rather more than eleven. (Plate 5.) The principal vallum rises about seven feet above the level of the area enclosed within it, and is twenty-four feet wide at the base. The fosse, exterior to this vallum, is thirteen feet deep. The outer vallum is traceable throughout, and in some parts strongly marked. On the southwest side are remains of a third vallum. The principal entrances are on the W.S.W. and E.N.E.; and there

(48) Bridges, p. 134.

(50) Wood's MSS., in Ashmol. Libr.

(49) Baker, p. 558.

(51) Morton, p. 541.

are at present indications of other entrances through the inner vallum. Bridges states that a gold coin of Vespasian was ploughed up at a little distance from Rainsborough hill. "It was fair and well preserved, was rather thicker than a shilling, and had been clipt close to the letters. It weighed one drachm, two scruples, and sixteen grains [116 grains]. Round the head was T. CAES. IMP.; on the reverse a person sitting on a Sella Curulis, with an Hasta in his right hand, and the left hand stretched out. Under his feet was a Scabellum, and the inscription TRI. POT. PONTIF."¹ About the year 1795 a large quantity of gold coins were found by a labourer employed on the site of the camp.² Numerous Roman coins have been turned up of late years, of which some were in the possession of the late Henry Smyth Esq. of Charlton, and George Baker Esq. of Northampton.

The Portway entered AYNHO from Walton by the ancient trackway before mentioned. Near this spot, north of the village, and five miles and three quarters southeast from Banbury, a grooved metal celt was found some years ago, with a number of skeletons lying north and south.³ The celt, which is in beautiful preservation, is made of an alloy of copper and tin, weighs 16 ounces, and measures five inches and eight-tenths in length. (Plate 9, fig. 1; and see the note, pp. 34, 35.)⁴ Crossing the turnpike road to Buckingham, the Portway reaches a part where the way has been partially levelled, and reduced to the narrow path which intersects Mr. Cartwright's park. In levelling the ground here the workmen disinterred a skeleton, the knees of which were gathered up towards the breast, as was frequently the case at the most early British times; and it was enclosed in a cistvaen composed of four stone slabs placed at right angles.⁵ A little further southward, another skeleton, lying at full length, was discovered at the declivity of the hill between Aynho and Souldern.⁶

Quitting Aynho the Portway enters Oxfordshire, and from this part its course is traceable at the present day. At SOULDERN, seven miles S.E. by S. from Banbury, it runs, from the turn-

(1) Bridges, p. 190.

(2) Information from an inhabitant of Charlton.

(3) Baker's Northamp., p. 558.

(4) This celt is in the possession of G. Baker Esq. of Northampton.

(5) Baker, p. 558.

(6) Information from the Rev. R. W. Leonard, vicar of King's Sutton. Morton, writing of this part in 1712, but commencing at the other end of the Portway, says—"The above-said way, though discontinued nigh Souldern, yet appears again, if I mistake not, when entered Northamptonshire, passing up a hill where it was pitched with stones, to Aynho town-side."—*Morton's Northamp.*, p. 502.

pike gate east of the village, part of the way along the present road towards Fritwell. At a distance less than a furlong south of the turnpike gate, on the eastern side of this road, was an ancient barrow or exploratory mount called Ploughley Hill (mentioned p. 16), and which has given name to the hundred in which it stood. The Portway then passes to the westward of Fritwell, and also of CHILGROVE, which latter spot is the site of extensive ancient remains. It then runs in a direct line, eastward of Somerton, the Heyfords, and Northbrook, to Kirtlington; and through this part of its course of more than six miles from near Souldern to Kirtlington, it has always been known as "the Portway," and is so marked in Camden's map, and has been accurately laid down in the Ordnance Survey. In the wildest part of the unenclosed country north of Heyford, the Portway remains as a raised, though almost an unfrequented way. At Kirtlington the Portway crossed the Akeman Street, which passes eastward to Alchester, distant four miles and a half.

From Kirtlington there are traces of the continuance of the Portway, southward, by the village of Bletchington, the church of Hampton Poyle, and the church of Kidlington, to the fourth milestone from Oxford on the road towards Banbury.⁷ Nearly a mile farther southward are Stratfield Farm and Stratfield Brake, the name of which, from *ſtræt*, a *street* or *way*, bespeaks the continuance of the Portway farther in the same direction. From Stratfield the distance is only two miles, in the same line, to Port Meadow at Oxford.⁸

Recommencing our track, at the distance of half a mile southward from Souldern, an ancient way branches off from the Portway, and passes, in a southerly direction, by the eastern part of Fritwell, and Chilgrove. This way is defended in some parts, on the east side, by the earthwork known as Avesditch, Wattlebank, and Ashbank (see p. 29). The portions of the vallum which remain are yet, in some parts, five feet high, and from five to ten yards in breadth. Three quarters of a mile eastward from Wattlebank is Ardley, where there is an ancient earthwork which appears to have been the foundation of a castle in the reign of Stephen. This second road, accompanied by its Bank, also runs towards the Akeman Street, falling into the Portway a little northward of Kirtlington. At this junction the Bank crosses the Portway, and

(7) See the Ordnance Map.

(8) Ibid.

continues in a direct line, and about three feet and a half in height, across the fields, three quarters of a mile farther, nearly to the Cherwell, the vale of which lies on the west.⁹

Kennet mentions another ancient road leading from Alchester, declining from the Akeman Street at Chesterton, and passing through Middleton Stony, where there is a barrow or large hillock east up; thence falling into Wattlebank or Avesditch. "It might lead to Banbury, as is," says Kennet, "the tradition of the inhabitants near Alchester."¹⁰

OTHER ANCIENT REMAINS.

At DUNSTEW, seven miles and a half south of Banbury, a Roman pavement is stated to have been dug up about 150 years ago.¹¹

At BEACONSFIELD FARM, near Great Tew village, and eight miles S.S.W. from Banbury, some interesting Roman remains were discovered in 1810, of which the following account was preserved by the resident minister, the Rev. Mr. Nash. "On the 22nd of May, 1810, as some workmen were making a ditch for a threshing machine, under the direction of Captain Stenhouse Wood, at Beaconfield Farm, in the parish of Great Tew, they found, on advancing up the hill, that the earth in many parts had been disturbed; and, occasionally, they met with bones, wood ashes, and black earths like soot. Sometimes these were at the depth of three or four feet beneath the surface; and, in some instances, they came to them more readily. When their work proceeded to the rick-yard, they were stopped by a wall of some strength, and an antepassage, with an entrance door walled up. When part of it was taken down, they discovered a Roman burial vault, nearly as perfect as when it was retained in use. It measured where disturbed twenty feet in length, and in width eighteen feet; the height was eight feet from the planking stones. It had a half circle to the north, of rough stone, eight feet in diameter, which probably corresponded with a window of the temple that was built over it. The ball which appeared to have finished the top was lying among the

(9) See the Ordnance Map.

(10) Kennet's *Paroch. Antiq.*, v. 1, p. 24.

(11) Warton's *Kiddington*, p. 59. However I strongly suspect that the Doctor has written Dunstew for Great Tew, where Dr. Plot records a Roman pavement having been ploughed up at the period alluded to.

rubbish. The human remains were laid in partitions of a dissimilar width, which crossed the vault from east to west, and were built with Roman red tiles, about eight inches and a half square. Many of the bones that had been covered with sand were very perfect; and the teeth of some of them were sound in the jaws. The partitions were two feet and a half deep, and were generally about the width of our graves. These sepulchral receptacles were covered with plank tiles, which had the same fresh appearance as when first taken from the kiln. Juvenal, in his Fifth Satire, has these words: *Exiguâ feralis cœna patellâ*. In illustration of this passage it is observed, that the Romans used to place in their sepulchres, to appease the spirits of the deceased, a little milk, honey, water, and wine; together with olives and flowers. We examined the graves, or recesses, and found some of the small thin basins of black Roman pottery alluded to.¹² Sometimes a red Roman ash urn was discovered among the rubbish. The dimensions of the red planking tiles were various. Some were eleven inches and a half square; others were twenty-three inches and a half square; and some were twenty-one inches by eleven inches. The whole were one inch and a half thick. There were two tiers of sepulchral recesses; and above was a spread of planking tiles, covered with mortar and sand, to the thickness of about two inches, in which was set tessellated work. The squares were of various colours; white, dark, red, and blue. Some of them were white stones, covered; and others were formed of white or pottery clay. The ornaments were urns and serpentine lines. This appears to have been the temple floor. There were red earthen flues, about one foot and a half long, with equilateral triangles, inverted like an hourglass, and cut open for air-holes on the narrow sides. The walls were all plastered, except the half circle to the north. Some of the plaster was as white as that made from burned shells. The temple had been covered in with small flat stones, such as are usually found in sand beds, with peg holes on either side. The greater part of the persons buried were *minores igne rogi*.¹³ The Roman altar, where the sacrifices were burned, stood in the open air, twenty feet below the temple, to the south, and there were many

(12) *Patellæ*. These were open vessels approaching to the form of cups, used by the Romans in their sacrifices, in which they received the blood of the victims, and with which they made libations. Such as had served for libations of wine or any other liquid at a funeral were usually deposited with the ashes of the deceased.

(13) Mr. Nash appears to have had in view the following passage from Juvenal:—

“Terra clauditur infans,
Et minor igne rogi.”—*Juvenal, Sat. XV.*

ashes remaining, in much the same state as when originally left. A Roman bath was afterwards found, on the north of the temple, and was abruptly destroyed. Many pieces of large red water-pipe shared the same fate. There were also found several large ornamental red jars, and coins of copper and brass, the copper much defaced, but the brass in a good state of preservation.”¹⁴

Unfortunately, the almost total destruction of these interesting remains followed close upon the discovery of them. A piece of the pavement, however, about eighteen inches square, was saved by G. F. Stratton Esq., and is now preserved by M. Bolton Esq. at his residence at Great Tew. The colours which remain vivid, as shewn by the lines in the engraving (Plate 10, fig. 1), are green, red, and white: the other colours, represented by the pale diagonal lines, are now undistinguishable.

At the distance of about 200 yards from this site, in forming a road on the northeast side, in 1817, a pot of Roman coins was discovered. In 1827 some more ground was uncovered, in the presence of Mr. Duncan; and six or seven feet below the surface the examiners came to a bath, near which were a furnace, some lead pipes, and some pieces of charcoal. A court-yard was also traced, with plinths of columns standing on a tessellated pavement about the width of a passage. There were fragments of broken pottery around. As the direction of the ruins lay under the barn and homestead, the further examination of them was prevented. In an opposite field pieces of tessellated pavement have been found.¹⁵

Dr. Plot gives a figure (see Plate 10, fig. 2) of another Roman tessellated pavement ploughed up, long ago, at or near GREAT TEW village. He describes it as “consisting of a matter much softer than marble, cut into squares somewhat bigger than dice, of four different colours, viz. blue, white, yellow, and red, all polished, and orderly disposed into works.”¹⁶

Between the villages of Chadlington and Sarsden is KNOLLBURY CAMP, situated thirteen miles and three quarters southwest from Banbury, and one mile and a half from the Hawkstone. The vallum is very steep, and is composed of rubble-stone cemented, and coated with turf.¹⁷

At WIGGINTON, which lies five miles and three quarters south-

(14) Account furnished by Mr. Nash to Brewer's Oxf.

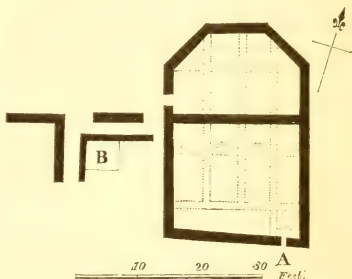
(15) Information from M. Bolton Esq. of Great Tew.

(16) Plot's Oxf., p. 327, and Tab. xv.

(17) Penny Cyclo., Art. “Oxfordshire.”

west from Banbury, and has a communication by a cross trackway with the ancient road that passes through Tadmarton camp, there have been found extensive Roman remains, situated at the distance of somewhat less than two furlongs to the east of the church. In 1824 the site was partially uncovered by the Rev. C. Winstanley and Mr. Skelton, and a chamber of semi-octagonal form, measuring 20 by 14 feet, was discovered, the pavement of which (see Plate 11) was of small tesserae of four colours, white, yellow, blue, and red. The walls of this chamber were remaining to the height of about two feet above the pavement, and were one foot below the surface of the soil. On the S.S.E. side were the remains of an inferior room, or court, measuring 20 by 17½ feet, the pavement of which was of square tesserae of a coarser kind. Beneath this pavement was a small skeleton lying north and south. Below these two chambers was the hypocaust, the draught-hole of which was near the southeast corner

of the foundation, as shewn in the annexed plan (A). The flues ran beneath both the chambers, in the manner marked in the plan; and the intermediate spaces were made up with rubble-stone, without cement, but so placed as to form piers, on which were placed



large rough slab stones. On these slab stones the tesserae were imbedded in cement. Some perfect pieces of pitcoal¹⁸ were found in the flues of the hypocaust, and apparently soot mixed with fine mould which had filtered through. There were no apertures for the escape of the smoke from the hypocaust. Among the relics found were an ivory or bone pin measuring four inches in length; a fragment of a small bottle of blue glass (Plate 9, fig. 4); and some small copper coins of Victorinus, Constantine, Constans, Constantius, Valens, &c.

(18) Proof that the Romans in *Britain* were acquainted with *pitcoal* and its uses. As regards the British period, Wallis mentions coal cinders found at the bottom of the foundation of a city built by the Romans in Northumberland. (*Hist. Northumberland.*) And Whitaker records coal remains in the Castle Field at Manchester and other places. (*Hist. Manchester.*)

On the west side of the hypocaust there were further traces of foundations, some of which are given in the plan on the last page. The part (*B*) was covered with imperfect pavement. Many other traces of foundations were found on the north, west, and south; and also ornamented fragments of stucco, and pieces of coarse broken pottery. On the northeast side, at some distance, a piece of pavement about three yards square was uncovered a few years before, exhibiting a corner piece of a kind of bell-flower, with a chain border, which was evidently a part of a more extensive design. Other pavement has been turned up by the plough at various times.¹⁹

At SWERFORD, seven miles southwest from Banbury, Roman remains are, on one insufficient authority, stated to have been found.²⁰ Another authority states that "tradition says there was a camp there."²¹

HOOKNORTON CAMP is five miles and a half from Banbury, and half a mile W. by S. from the British camp at Tadmarton. It is in an arable field at a short distance from Hooknorton Lodge, and north of the ancient road which leads from Tadmarton Camp towards Rollrich. The plough has now reduced the banks of the Hooknorton Camp almost to the level of the soil. This camp is an irregular pentagon, the sides of which measure as follows;—west side 52 yards; south side 69 yards; east side 38 yards; northeast side 39 yards; northwest side 63 yards:—total 261 yards. On every side except the south there are slight traces of an outer vallum, at the distance of 11 yards from the inner one.²² I have mentioned this camp among the earlier remains: but Dr. Plot suggests that it was formed by the Saxons at the time of the battle of Hooknorton, about A.D. 914²³ (see pp. 54—56): and there is nothing in its character to prove its being of earlier date.

At BRETCH, an old pasture one mile and a half west from Banbury, through which passes an ancient way from Drayton to the old road marked in the map, a human skeleton was dug up several years ago, from the bank on the south of the footpath leading from Banbury to North Newington.

CASTLE BANK, the camp before mentioned (p. 22) as having

(19) Information, relics, and plans, furnished by the Rev. C. Winstanley.

(20) Map of Society for Diff. Usef. Knowl.

(21) Skelton's Oxf. Both accounts as regards Swerford are probably fabulous. The stone foundations and earthworks of a small castle still remain on the north side of the church-yard, but this appears to have been a Norman erection.

(22) See plan under the Saxon period, p. 56.

(23) Plot's Oxf., 1677, p. 331.

probably been formed by Ostorius, is three miles W. by N. from Banbury, on the right of the bridle way leading from North Newington to Balcot. The operations of the plough have done much towards levelling the remains. This encampment is a trapezium, of which the northeastern side measures 150 yards in length; the southeastern side 128 yards; the southwestern side 139 yards; and the northwestern side 148 yards. At the western angle the ascent of the vallum, on the slope, is eleven yards. On the northwestern side of the camp there is a deep and abrupt natural valley.

At DRAYTON, one mile and a half W.N.W. from Banbury, a Roman pavement of "fine coloured tiles," and a bath, were discovered about the year 1770, in the vicinity of the ancient seat of the Greviles, which was on the southeast side of the church-yard.²⁴ A great number of Roman coins, of the middle and smaller brass, from the time of Maximin to that of Julian (some of them rare), were found, in perfect preservation, in the sandy soil at Drayton about 50 years ago, and were preserved by the late Mrs. Metcalfe and the Rev. E. G. Walford. (Plate 6, figs. 6, 9.)

At HANWELL, two miles and a half northwest from Banbury, are very interesting (but hitherto unnoticed) remains of a Roman site, extending over at least ten acres. This site is on the west of the turnpike road, at the part where the lane turns off towards Horley, and extends over a great part of the first fields north and south of the lane. Near the gate of the southern field some tessellated pavement was discovered some years ago; and in digging for stone in the parts adjacent regular chambers were found, appearing to have been for the most part formed in the rock, and lying in ranges north and south; communicating with each other in that direction, but each range separated from the next range in the direction east and west. There were also stairs partly cut in the rock, and flues in different parts. These chambers extended as far as the excavations were continued. The soil above these remains is entirely adventitious; and throughout the site there are found a profusion of burned stones, bones, and pieces of Roman pottery. In one of the chambers within the rock was discovered, 40 years ago, an oven, and within it some dishes, stated by the labourers who found them to have been of pewter. Other pewter dishes also, described by the labourers as porringers, were found beneath the soil, lying on the rock; and likewise several skeletons.

(24) Information from the villagers.

In the same field, a little to the southwest of the site of these chambers, the workmen, in October 1828, discovered an urn of Roman pottery, containing seventy silver coins of early date, namely of Nero, Vespasian, Titus (Plate 6, fig. 2), Domitian, Nerva, (Plate 6, fig. 3), Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Faustina senior, Aurelius (Plate 6, fig. 4), Faustina junior, Verus, and Lucilla, all in beautiful preservation.²⁵ Other coins of copper have been found in this field and in that which lies on the opposite side of the lane. In an old terrier the part is called the Town Ground.²⁶ The present turnpike road which passes close on the east of the site of these remains is in direct connection with the ancient road by Nadbury Camp, and may be presumed to have been itself an ancient way. Between the site of the Hanwell remains and the church, at a part called Church Balk, are apparent traces of a trench or embankment facing the east, which traces were much more considerable many years ago.

At STEEPLE ASTON, nine miles S. by E. from Banbury, a Roman pavement is recorded by Plot (from information by the Rev. Mr. Greenwood) to have been ploughed up. It consisted of oblong squares of divers colours, set perpendicular, in "curious figures."²⁷

At BLOXHAM GROVE, two miles and a quarter nearly south from Banbury, a large brass coin of Antoninus Pius was lately found.

CHRISTIANITY.

Before the Romans retreated from these parts of their empire, the country of the Dobuni (the earliest allies of the Romans in Britain) had been for nearly four centuries the seat of arts and peace, of civilisation and luxury. The remains already recorded of towns, villas, baths, and temples, bear out the remark of one of our best Historians that the people had indeed "become Romans."²⁸

It is probable that Christianity was introduced here at a very

(25) Some of these are preserved at the Ashmolean Museum: others of them are in the possession of the Rev. W. Pearce, the Rev. J. Ballard, and the Rev. G. M. Nelson. I am indebted to the kindness of the last-named gentleman for those which have been engraved for this volume.

(26) Information from the Rev. W. Pearce, Mr. James Stuchfield, and others.

(27) Plot's Oxf., p. 327.

(28) Sharon Turner.

early period. We find from Tacitus, that Pomponia Græcina, a British lady, the wife of Aulus Plautius who first led the Roman armies hither, was accused of being devoted to a strange and gloomy superstition, by which it has been thought that Christianity was implied: and certainly some accounts appear to shew that British Christianity dates as early as the apostolic age. Referring to a later period, just after the departure of the Romans, one of our historians, says Kennet,²⁹ “founds a long story on a Christian church and patron of it within the county of Oxford, above one hundred and fifty years before the coming of Austine the monk [which was A.D. 596]. And by better authority³⁰ we after find, that one of the most fatal mischiefs occasioned by the incursion of the Angles, was the persecution of the British converts in these parts. For when the Angli took possession of Mercia, wherever they prevailed, the British Christians were martyred or expelled. That our religion flourished early in these parts does appear from the saints who were here buried, and whose shrines did long invite the ignorant and superstitious: of whom there was St. Brenwold at Bampton, St. Hyerith a virgin at Cheselhampton, and St. Donanverdh at Beckley.”³¹

(29) Referring to Brompton inter X. script. p. 735. See p. 50 (note).

(30) Hen. Huntingdon, Hist. l. 2.

(31) Kennet's Paroch. Antiq., v. 1, p. 30.

SAXON PERIOD.

THE BATTLE OF BERANBYRIG [BANBURY.]

During the divisions and civil wars of the Roman empire, the British legions were at several times called over into Gaul, and with them great numbers of the bravest of the British youth, who were thus sacrificed on the continent to the ambition of the numerous competitors for supreme power. Civilised Britain would thus be greatly weakened as to her powers of defence even before the final departure of the Romans: and that event (which occurred about A.D. 420) left her exposed, a tempting prey, to the fierce inhabitants of the northern parts of the island and the neighbouring shores. Harassed and driven almost to despair by the continual incursions of these ferocious tribes, a portion of the Britons were induced by Vortigern, one of their princes, to invite a body of Saxons to their aid. These delivered them indeed from the Picts and Scots, but very soon shewed that it was their intention to make themselves masters of the island. Britain however had still some hardy sons, whom Roman luxury had not enervated nor the Roman sway deprived of the love of independence. The best and bravest defender of the liberties of the Britons at this period was Ambrosius Aurelianus, whom Kennet imagines to have given name to the parish of Ambrosden, situated near the stronghold of Alchester. Long after the firm establishment of the earliest Saxon kingdoms, those of Kent and Sussex, the Britons in the midland and other parts of the island manfully resisted the invaders: and although other Saxon forces, under Cerdic, who appears to have been a wise and valiant chief, arrived in the island A.D. 495; yet so bravely were the midland and southern parts defended by the Britons, led on probably by Arthur,³² that it was not until A.D. 519 that Cerdic and his son Cynric established in the south of the island the kingdom of *Wesst-ræx*, Wessex, or the West Saxons. Subsequently, Cerdic and Cynric made several attempts to enlarge their new kingdom; and after the

(32) Turner's Anglo-Saxons, v. 1, p. 270, &c.

death of Cerdic, which occurred A.D. 534, Cynric made some progress, and, in A.D. 551 and the four following years, several times defeated the midland Britons. The latter however in 556, uniting all their strength, fought a great, and, it would appear, a successful battle with the Saxons at Beranbyrig, or Beranburi; the site of which is by nearly every historian placed at BANBURY.³³ The records which exist of this battle are the following :—

“An. DLVI. þær Cynric 7
Ceaplin fuh-ton pið Brýttar
æt Beranbýrig.”—*Chron. Sax.*
p. 20.

A.D. 556. This year Cynric and
Ceawlin fought with the Britons at
Beranbyrig.—*Saxon Chronicle*, p.
20.

556 S.D. “Kenricus et Ceaulinus
apud Beranbirig Britonibus bellum
intulerunt, et illos fugaverunt.”—
Flor. Wigorn. p. 552.

556. S.D. Kenric and Ceaulin made
war upon the Britons at Beranbirig,
and routed them.—*Florence of Wor-*
cester, p. 552.

“Kinric 22. anno regni sui et Ceau-
lin filius ejus pugnarunt iterum
contra Britannos. sic autem pug-
natum est. Britanni, quasi vindic-
aturi confusionem belli, quam circa
quinquennium pertulerant, congre-
gatis viris bellicosus armis et nu-
mero munitis acies ordinaverunt
apud Beranburi. Cumque statu-
issent novem acies, qui numerus bello
est aptissimus, tribus scilicet in
fronte locatis, et tribus in medio,

In the 22nd year of Kinric's
reign, he and his son Ceaulin had
another battle against the Britons :
and the battle was fought thus. The
Britons, as though to revenge them-
selves for the trouble and confusion
of war, which they had endured for
about five years, gathered together
their warriors strong in arms and
numbers, and set their forces in
array at Beranburi. And when
they had formed nine battalions

(33) Camden's Brit. ; Plot's Oxf. ; Speed's Hist. Brit. ; Kennet's Paroch. Antiq. ; Knighton ; Warton's Spec. Hist. Oxf. ; Ogilby's Brit. ; Stukeley's Itin. Curios. ; Lye's Sax. Dict. ; Bosworth's Anglo-Sax. Dict. ; Ingram's Sax. Chron. ; Turner's Anglo-Saxons ; Skelton's Antiq. Oxf. ; Dunkin's Bicester and Alchester. But Gibson, and, following him, Gough, in their editions of the Britannia, have made an objection, grounded on the text in the later editions of Camden, that in the Saxon times Banbury was called Banesbyrig. “If,” says Gibson, “the name of the place be, as he tells us, Baneþbýrig, it cannot lay claim to this battle, which the Saxon annals expressly say was at Beranbýrig.” Camden however, in the first Latin edition of his Britannia, which was printed in 8vo. in 1586, says that Banbury was called Baranbirig, and it is marked Beranbyrig in the map given in the subsequent folio editions. Moreover it would seem likely that, after the establishment of Saxon kingdoms in Kent and Sussex, and the secure foundation of Cerdic's West-Saxon kingdom in 519 ; and from that date to 556 (during which period Cerdic and Cynric made progress and gave several defeats to the midland Britons), the hitherto victorious arms of the Saxons must have spread their power farther north than Wiltshire, where, at Barbury hill, Gibson is inclined to fix the site of the battle. Indeed, Camden's assertion that the battle was fought at Banbury, even if unsupported by so many, or by any, authorities, would not be overthrown by the text of later editions, where it is merely said that in Saxon times Banbury was called Banesbyrig.

As before stated (p. 1), the name of Banbury is given Banesberie in Domesday Book : but this orthography is not to be depended upon. But as regards the derivation of the name, whether it be from the British Ban (*clamour*) or the Saxon Bana (*manslaughter*), this memorable battle between the Britons and Saxons may have been the occasion of it.

It may be as well to state here, that “Banburn,” “Banburg,” and some other similar names in old records preserved in the Tower of London, do not refer to Banbury (although so stated in the indexes), but to Bambrough Castle in Northumberland or to Bamburgh in Lincolnshire.

et tribus in fine, ducibusque in ipsis aciebus convenienter institutis, virisque sagittariis et telorum jaculatoribus equitibusque jure Romanorum dispositis, Saxones in eos omnes in una acie conglomerati audacissime irruerunt, vexillisque collisis et dejectis fractisve lanceis, gladiis rem egerunt: donec advesperante die victoria in dubio remansit, nec hoc mirum videri debet, cum illi maximæ staturæ et vigoris et audaciæ fuerint; quamvis nostri temporis exercitus in ipsa prima collisione statim alteruter in fugam convertatur, viris scilicet modo parvæ staturæ et vigoris et audaciæ existens. — *Hen. Hunt.* p. 314.

(which is the best number for war), placing three in front, and three in the centre, and three in the rear, with commanders posted conveniently in the same, and archers and javelin men and cavalry disposed after the Roman fashion, the Saxons, compacted together in one battalion, rushed stoutly upon them all; and, the standards being dashed in pieces and the lances flung down or broken, they fought on with their swords; till, when the day drew towards evening, the victory still remained undecided. Nor should this be wondered at, considering that these were men of very great stature and strength and bravery; although in the battles of our time one or the other of the two armies usually betakes itself to flight upon the very first collision, the men being of but small stature and strength and bravery. — *Henry of Huntingdon*, p. 314.

Gibson justly observes that the success of this great battle does not seem to belong to the Saxons. " 'Tis true, before that, they had been too hard for the Britains in several engagements: but here all the strength of this people in the midland parts was united, and they were so numerous as to divide their army into nine battalions; so that by the assistance of their numbers and resolution, our historians confess they bore up so well, that when night came the battle was depending. And 'tis more than probable, if our writers would but speak out, that they had the better of the Saxons at this turn. * * * What seems of greatest moment in this matter, is the manner by which the Saxon Chronicle delivers this engagement. The only objection perhaps that lies against the authority of it, is partiality to the Saxons against the poor Britains in the course of those wars; and yet upon this occasion it is content barely to tell us, that 'Cynric and Ceawlin fought with the Britains at Beranbyrig': which (as we may gather from other instances) had not likely been let go without express mention of the victory, if it had fell to the share of the Saxons." ³⁴ Kennet also observes that the event seems to prove a success to the Britons, who kept their fortified places in this county until the year 571, or, as some writers say, to 580, when Ceawlin, the third king of Wessex, and Cuthwulph his brother, fought with the Bri-

(34) Gibson's Camden.

tons at Bedford, and took from them their garrisons of Egelesburh, Eilesberi (Aylesbury); Bennington, Benesingtun (Benson); Egonesham, Henesham (Ensham),³⁵ and a fourth which is believed to have been Leighton. From that time most of this county was subject to the West-Saxon kings.³⁶

SAXON PERIOD CONTINUED.

In 614, Cynegil king of the West-Saxons and his son Cwichelm defeated the Britons at Bampton in Oxfordshire.³⁷ But the inland Britons probably would not have been subdued if the Angles had not arrived in the island to the help of the Saxons, and formed new kingdoms in the eastern and northern parts of Britain. The last Angle kingdom was added about the year 586, and was denominated *Wýpcna-ric* (Myrcna-rie), which signifies the *wood-land kingdom*, and *Meapc-lond* (Meare-lond): or, by the Latins, Mercia. This kingdom in the course of time was extended over the midland parts of the island; and it became more powerful than any of the octarchial kingdoms, except that of the West-Saxons, upon which it bordered on the south. Between these two great kingdoms the northern part of Oxfordshire became a sort of debatable land, which frequently changed possessors until Mercia was finally conquered by the West-Saxons in 827.

Penda, sovereign of Mercia, like the Britons before him, was engaged in securing these parts from the encroachments of the West-Saxons. About 629, he fought with Cynegil and Cwichelm at Cirencester. It has been already mentioned concerning early Christianity in England (p. 46), that when the Angles took possession of Mercia, the British Christians were martyred or expelled.³⁸ However, after peace was made between Penda and Cynegil, Biri-

(35) Kennet's *Paroch. Antiq.*, v. 1, pp. 33, 34.

(36) Kennet alludes to the probability that these parts of Oxfordshire were concerned in the mission of Augustine the Monk. It is said that when the Saint, on his way to the place of conference with the Britons in the remote parts of Mercia (about the year 597), came into the county of Oxford, to a village called Cump-ton [Long Compton in Warwickshire on the edge of this county, and situated in the Vale below Rollrich Stones], the parish priest waited on him, and complained of the lord of the manor having refused to pay his tithes; upon which the Monk reproved the defaulter, and convinced him by the miracle of raising from the grave the dead body of a former patron of that church (in the time of the Britons), who confessed that he had been excommunicated for the like default above 150 years before. (Jo. Brompton, p. 136.) Laying aside the miraculous part of the tale, we may believe, with Kennet, that Augustine passed through these parts; and infer that many people received his mission.—*Kennet's Paroch. Antiq.*, v. 1, p. 35.

(37) See Kennet, v. 1, p. 34.

(38) Hen. Hunt. Hist., l. 2.

nus, a missionary from Pope Honorius, came in the year 634; and, he having converted most of the West-Saxons, and baptized king Cynegil at Dorchester in Oxfordshire, that king gave Dorchester to Birinus for an episcopal see,³⁹ in which he settled in 636. Probably it was at this date that Banbury was given to the see of Dorchester;⁴⁰ but no record thereof is preserved, and we do not find its possession by the Bishops of Dorchester mentioned until the time of Bishop Remigius. Birinus extended his pastoral care to the Mercians, amongst whom Christianity soon made progress. The population of these parts must be supposed to have been from this period mingled British, Saxon, and Angle. Camden asserts that a portion of the Dobuni remaining near the mouth of the Severn retained the name of Wiccii.⁴¹

Cenwalch succeeded to the kingdom of the West-Saxons, which, in 645, was invaded by Penda; and, Cenwalch being put to flight, these parts became subject to the Mercian kings, Penda, and Wulfhere his son. Wulfhere was converted and baptized by Birinus. In 648 Cenwalch was restored. Bishop Birinus died in this year or in 650:⁴² he was canonized, and his festival observed on the third of December. Agilbert received the see of Dorchester: but Cenwalch, in consequence, perhaps, of experiencing a defeat by Wulfhere king of Mercia at Potterspury in Northamptonshire in 661, instituted another see at Winchester, which he gave to Wine (or Widerin), a Saxon. Agilbert quitted Dorchester, and died bishop of Paris.

There is an ancient legend concerning St. Rumbald, or Rum-
oalde, son of the king of Northumberland by a daughter of Penda, that he was born at Sutthun (King's Sutton near Banbury) in 662, was baptized there by Bishop Widerinus, having Eadwold the priest for his godfather,⁴³ and that, living only three days, he died at Sutton on the third of November and was buried there by Eadwold. The infant had however, it seems, preached (!) at Braceleam (Brackley), and thither his body was translated in the following year by Widerinus. The next year his remains were removed to Buecingaham (Buckingham), where a shrine was erected in the church, to which great resort was made by pilgrims. This infant saint gave name to a Well, thence afterwards considered Holy,

(39) Kennet, v. 1, pp. 34, 35.

(40) The succession of the Bishops will therefore be recorded.

(41) Camden's Brit., edit. 1722, v. 1, p. 267.

(42) Kennet, v. 1, pp. 38, 39.

(43) "Rumwoldus ab Eadwoldo presbytero in baptismate susceptus."—*Leland*, v. 3, fol. 34.

in the parish of King's Sutton (the noted Astrop Well of modern date); and also to a chapel, standing, says Leland, "about a mile from Sutton in the Medes, defaced and taken downe."⁴⁴ St. Rumbald's Chapel stood in what is still called the Chapel Field, near the principal farm house in Walton Grounds (pp. 29, 36). The site is yet marked by traces of foundations.⁴⁵

The see of Dorchester remained vacant until 670, when Bishop Eleutherius removed thither from Winchester. Hedda succeeded to the see of Dorchester in 676, but in the next year he caused the second removal of the bishoprick to Winchester, whither he translated the body of St. Birinus. Hedda was himself subsequently canonized, and his festival observed on the seventh of July. This second removal of the see was also owing to the chances of war: for Ethelred king of Mercia, who succeeded his brother Wulfhere, reduced this side of the Thames into subjection, and this county became united to the Mercian kingdom. In 680 the hitherto sole bishoprick of Mercia, at Lichfield, was divided into five sees, of which Dorchester became one, and Eata was ordained thereto.⁴⁶

Ethelbald, a succeeding king of Mercia, invaded the kingdom of the West-Saxons; and his ravages so provoked that people that, under Cuthred, they raised an army, marched towards these parts in 752, and defeated Ethelbald at Burford; by which victory Cuthred recovered most of this county to the West-Saxon kingdom. Ethelbald was slain in Warwickshire by Bernred a usurper.

In 756, Bernred being expelled from Mercia, the people restored Offa, a young prince of the royal family; who, after several successful exploits, resolved to recover Oxfordshire and extend the Mercian territory once again to the limits of the Thames.⁴⁷ Offa brought his army across the frontiers near Banbury⁴⁸ and continued his march southward: and Cynwulph, king of the West-Saxons, meeting him near Dorchester, was defeated, and Offa regained the whole of this county. He resettled the see of Dorchester, and had Berthun consecrated to it: but that prelate dying in

(44) Leland's *Itin.*, v. 3, fol. 34; v. 4, pt. 2, fol. 162 b; and v. 7, fol. 12: Capgrave's *Legends: Bridges' Northamp.*, v. 1, p. 180.

(45) Baker's *Northamp.* p. 708.

(46) Kennet, v. 1, pp. 40, 41.

(47) Kennet, v. 1, pp. 41—43.

(48) This event is recorded by the *Saxon Chronicle* in 775; by Florence of Worcester, and Higden, in 778; and by Matthew of Westminster in 779.

The name of Avesditch, the line of earthwork before mentioned (pp. 29, 38) as running near and crossing the Portway, is imagined by Dr. Plot and others to signify Offa's ditch, either from some connection with this enterprise of Offa, or from its being made a boundary between the Mercian and West-Saxon kingdoms. Nothing appears in history to confirm this conjecture.

785, Higebright was by Offa chosen to succeed him.⁴⁹ Offa is supposed to have kept his court at Witham near Oxford.⁵⁰ He died in 794, and has left a name deservedly illustrious. In 823 Beornwulph king of Mercia was defeated by Egbert, king of the West-Saxons, and this county was again united to the West-Saxon kingdom. In 825 the Mercians set up Wiglaf, but Egbert defeated him in 827, and regained Mercia.

THE SAXONS AND DANES.

The Saxon name of this county was *Oxna-ƿond-ƿcýne* (*Oxfordseyre*) and subsequently *Oxen-ƿond-ƿcýne* (*Oxenfordseyre*).⁵¹

The Danes first advanced upon the county in 851, and defeated Berthwulph, a vassal of the West-Saxon kings who ruled in Mercia; but on proceeding southward they experienced a repulse from Ethelwulph, king of the West-Saxons. In 871 the Danes were defeated on the borders of this county by Ethelred king of the West-Saxons and his brother Alfred. The Danes afterwards gained some successes under Bacseg and Halfden, but were once more defeated by Ethelred and Alfred at Easceasdune, supposed by Kennet to be Ashendon in the forest of Bernwood.⁵² Fourteen days after, Ethelred was defeated by the Danes, and obliged to retreat on Meretune, supposed to be Merton, near Alchester,⁵³ where Ethelred and Alfred were again defeated; and, in consequence, the Mercian people were compelled to pay tribute to the Danes. Alfred succeeded Ethelred in the kingdom of the West-Saxons in 871, and fought several battles with the Danes, but was at length obliged to hire them to withdraw from the West-Saxon territory. In 873 Burrhed raised an army in Mercia and fought with the Danes, but was utterly defeated; and the Danes committed Mercia to Ceolwulph, a thane of Burrhed, upon extremely servile conditions. In 877, Ceolwulph, being still in possession of these southern parts of Mercia, delivered up the same to king Alfred, whereby this county was again united to the West-Saxon kingdom.

England was now divided between the West-Saxons and the Danes. In 878 the latter entered Wiltshire, and Alfred the Great

(49) Kennet, v. 1, pp. 44, 45.

(51) Camden.

(52) Kennet, v. 1, p. 47.

(50) Warton's Kiddington, p. 27.

(53) Kennet, v. 1, pp. 48—50.

became a fugitive at Athelney: but in the same year the battle of Ethandune gave triumph to the Saxons, and once more a throne to Alfred. In 879 the Danes removed from Wiltshire to Cirencester in Gloucestershire, near the borders of this county, and there kept station for twelve months, laying waste the adjacent parts of Gloucestershire and Oxfordshire with fire and sword.

In 897, Ealheard, bishop of Dorchester, died. Alfred the Great died in 901. In his last will he bequeathed to his kinsman Osferth the villages of Beccaule, Ritherumfield, Diccanlingum, Suttune, &c.;¹ which appear to have been Beckley, Rotherfield, and Ducklington, in this county, and Sutton in Northamptonshire, which last was subsequently called King's Sutton from being part of the royal demesne.

Alfred's son, Edward the Elder, succeeded to his government in 901. His cousin Ethelwold contested the crown, and brought an army into these parts, destroying all before him, and frightening Oxford into a surrender. Edward marched towards Oxford, and compelled Ethelwold to retire. In 905 Cenulf was elected bishop of the see of Dorchester. In 911 the Danes again approached Oxfordshire, but were driven back by an army of Mercians and West-Saxons.² About the year 914, the Danes from Leicester and Northampton fell upon the parts of the country about Banbury, marched on with plunder and destruction to HOOKNORTON, and made great slaughter in these parts. The following are the records preserved of this ravage:—

"AN. DCCCCXVII. þær on þýr geþe nað ƿe hepe ut. ofer Earcton of þam-tune. 7 of Lýgera-cearctne. 7 bræcon þone fnyð. 7 flogon monige men æt þocnera-tune. 7 þær onbutan."—*Chron. Sax.*

A. D. 917. This year rode the army, after Easter, out of Ham-tune [Northampton] and Lygera-ceastre [Leicester]; and having broken the truce they slew many men at Hocnera-tune [Hooknorton] and thereabout.—*Saxon Chronicle*.

"A. D. 914. Post Pascha exercitus Paganorum de Northamtune et de Leogeceastre, in Oxenefordensi provincia prædam egerunt, et in regia villa Hokenertune et in multis aliis villis quam plures occiderunt."—*Flor. Wigorn.*

A. D. 914. After Easter an army of the Pagans from Northamtune and from Leogeceastre plundered in the county of Oxeneford, and slew a great number of persons in the royal town of Hokenertune and in many other towns.—*Florence of Worcester*.

"AN. EDVARDI DECIMO. Sequenti vero anno exiit Dacorum [Qu. Dan-

10th EDWARD [THE ELDER]. But in the following year the army of

(1) Kennet, v. 1, p. 52.

(2) Kennet, v. 1, p. 53.

orum] exercitus ab Hamtonia et Legecestria, et fregerunt inducias, quas rex iis dederat, et fecerunt cædem magnam Anglorum apud Hochenemetune, et ibi circum in Oxinefordscyre."—*Hen. Hunt., lib. v.*

the Danes went forth from Hamton and Legecestre, and broke the truce which the king had granted them, and made a great slaughter of the English at Hochenemetune and thereabout in Oxinefordscyre.—*Henry of Huntingdon, book v.*

"AN. EDVARDI DECIMO. Anno vero sequenti exercitus Dacorum inducias ad tempus eis concessas frangentes, ad Hamptoniam et Leicestriam exierunt, cædem Anglorum magnam apud Hochenemetune et ibi circum in comitatu Oxoniæ facientes."—*Bromton. Chronicon.*

10th EDWARD [THE ELDER]. But in the year following the army of the Danes, breaking the temporary truce which had been granted to them, went forth to Hampton and Leicester, and made a great slaughter of the English at Hochenemetune and thereabout in the county of Oxford.—*Brompton's Chron.*

Robert of Gloucester says:—

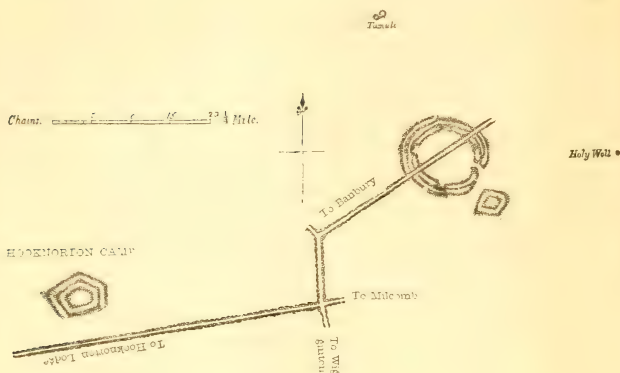
"þe Deneýs wende fram Leycestre to Norþhamtone
Toward Oxenford faste, and at Hogenorte
Slowe muche folc ý nou, and in þe contreye aboute.
Atte laste þe contreye folc com myð gret route,
And to dryue hem al to nogte, & her preýe hem býnom." ³

The meaning of which seems to be that the Danes went rapidly from Leicester by Northampton towards Oxfordshire; and at Hooknorton and the country about slew very many people. At last the country folk came in vast numbers and utterly routed them and took from them their plunder.

It appears that in this foray the Danes passed from Northampton along the ancient Trackway already mentioned (p. 15) called the Banbury Lane, which continued on through Banbury to the camps of Tadmarton and Hooknorton (see the Map, Plate 4). On the first alarm of their invasion the people of these parts would doubtless retire to some place of strength as their rendezvous; and it was probably at the camp of Hooknorton (described in p. 43), after they had been beaten from Tadmarton, that the slaughter of them by the Danes took place. (See the plan of these camps on the next page.) It has been conjectured by Dr. Plot that the camp at Hooknorton was raised on this occasion by the Saxons.⁴ The Danes after this foray returned to their quarters at Northampton and Leicester. While they quar-

(3) Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, edit. 1810, p. 269.

(4) Plot's Oxf., p. 334. No Roman remains, as far as I can ascertain, have been found at the Hooknorton camp, and the conjecture of its Saxon origin is probable. It will be seen by the above extracts that historians differ as to the date of the battle of Hooknorton. Brompton and Henry of Huntingdon place it in the tenth year of Edward the Elder, which, reckoned from the death of his competitor Ethelwold, would be A. D. 915 or 916. The Saxon Chronicle relates it in 917, and Florence of Worcester in 914.



THE CAMPS OF TADMARTON AND HOOKNORTON. Ground Plan

tered at Northampton, it has been supposed that the Saxons used the line of embankment (described pp. 28, 29) called Wallow Bank, Wattlebank, and Avesditch, to keep out the enemy.⁵ Amongst the battles which took place between the Saxons and Danes was one at DANESMOOR (see the Map, Plate 4), situated on the eastern or Northampton side of the above embankment, in communication with the Banbury Lane, and five miles and a half northeast from Banbury. "That there was a battel," says Morton, "betwixt the Saxons and Danes at Danesmore, the name of the place, and a constant tradition of the neighbourhood, may reasonably incline us to believe. The people there have a notable rhyme, which they make the Danes to say upon the point of battel. 'Tis this:—

"'If we can Pad-well overgoe, and Horestone we can see,
Then lords of England we shall be.'

"Pad-well is a noted flush spring in Edgcote grounds; Horestone a famous old stone on the borders of Warwickshire in Wardlinton field."⁶

Many places in these parts were totally destroyed by the Danes;

(5) Kennet, v. 1. p. 54.

(6) Morton's Northamp., p. 542. The spot was called Danesmoor in the reign of Edward the Fourth. It is still called by that name, or, more commonly, Dunsmoor.

among which mention is made of Stean,⁷ six miles E. by S. from Banbury, and King's Sutton, three miles and three quarters south-east. Leland records that Brackley shared the same fate.⁸ The desolation was probably almost universal. Some of the ruined towns before enumerated at or near Madmarston, King's Sutton, Chipping Wardon, Stone Green, Hanwell, Burton Dasset, and Chilgrove, may probably date their destruction from this period.

In the year after the desolation of Oxfordshire by the Danes king Edward raised an army, marched to Buckingham, and dictated to the Danish general Turketil and the garrison of Northampton his own terms of peace. In the following year the Danes recommenced their plundering excursions, upon which Edward with a new army marched to Bedford and took it. After this he built Towcester, on the Watling Street, as a barrier against the farther incursions of the Danes. Towcester was besieged by a great body of Danes coming from Northampton; but the garrison, being recruited from the country round, drove away the enemy. The Danes were so weakened that they gave allegiance to Edward.⁹

Bishop Wulfstan had been translated from Dorchester to the archiepiscopal see of York: afterwards proving false to king Edred, he was made prisoner in 952, but soon after restored to his episcopal dignity at Dorchester. Osketyl and Esecwin were subsequently bishops of Dorchester, previously to the year 964. In 991, Elfric governor of Mercia promoted a dishonourable peace with, and pension to, the Danes. In 993 or 995 Esecwin continued bishop of Dorchester. In 1002 a massacre of the Danes took place on the feast of St. Brice, which was effected with the greatest violence in Oxfordshire.¹⁰

Alfelm bishop of Dorchester, the successor of Esecwin, died in 1008, and Ednoth was chosen to the see. In 1009 the Danes invaded this county and set fire to Oxford. In 1010 they again made great devastations in the northeastern parts of Oxfordshire, marching on to Buckingham. In 1011 the county is enumerated among those paying constant tribute to the Danes. In 1013 Sweyn king of Denmark marched from Lincolnshire into these parts of Mercia, and on this side of Watling Street gave liberty to his soldiers to plunder the country, burn the villages, deface the churches, and ill use and slay the people; in which sanguinary course he went on to

(7) By Morton (p. 540) on traditionary evidence.

(9) Kennet, v. 1, pp. 56, 57.

(8) Leland's Itin., v. 7, fol. 10.

(10) Kennet, v. 1, pp. 57—61.

Oxford, and alarmed that city into a surrender. In 1016 Edric earl of Mercia, proving false, went over to Cnute the son of Sweyn, and marched with the Danish forces, which destroyed many places in Warwickshire, and passed through these parts into Buckinghamshire committing great ravages.¹¹ In the same year King Ethelred died, having reigned thirty-eight years, and kept his residence for the greater part of that period in this county. A very perfect silver penny of Ethelred was found in Hooknorton church-yard in 1825.¹² He was succeeded by Edmund Ironside, who pursued the Danes into Mercia, and thence into Essex; where, in a fatal battle, Ednoth bishop of Dorchester was slain while singing mass on the field. Ethric was chosen to the see.

Cnute had now possession of the kingdom. Ethric bishop of Dorchester, who died in 1034, was often admitted to his private councils. Ednoth junior succeeded to the bishoprick. In 1041, the Saxon line of kings was restored in the person of the surviving son of Ethelred, Edward, called the Confessor, who was born at Islip. In 1046 Bishop Ednoth died, and was succeeded by Ulf, or Wolfen, by birth a Norman.¹³ At this period this county and neighbourhood are described as being in great part inhabited by Danes. Amongst other proprietors, Osmund the Dane held the freehold of Tropp¹⁴ (Thorp Mandeville) before the Norman conquest.

The following notices of Banbury refer to the reign of Edward the Confessor:—

“In King Edward’s time, there were there 33 ploughs and a half. * * It was worth 35 pounds.

“The land of the manor of Banesberie * * * was worth 11 pounds and 10 shillings.

“Wicha’ [Wickham] * * * was worth 60 shillings.

“Grimberie [Grimsbury] * * * was worth 4 pounds.”¹⁵

At this period, Blochesham (Bloxham) and great part of Ed-burgberie (Adderbury) are mentioned as belonging to Edwin earl of Mercia.¹⁶ In 1066 King Edward died. The next king, Harold (who was brother-in-law to this Edwin earl of Mercia), being killed in battle on the 14th of October, the crown fell to William the Conqueror.

(11) Kennet, v. 1, pp. 62—65.

(12) In the possession of the late Mr. Robert Atkins of Hooknorton.

(13) Kennet, v. 1, pp. 65—74.

(14) Domesday Book.

(15) Ibid.

(16) Ibid.

PERIOD AFTER THE CONQUEST.

NORMAN PERIOD.

Soon after the battle of Hastings, William the Conqueror came to Wallingford, which place was delivered up to him by Wigod the lord thereof. For this service, and further to answer his own ends, the Conqueror gave Wigod's daughter and heiress in marriage to his own follower Robert de Oily, and conferred on Wigod the honours of Hooknorton and St. Walery. After his coronation the conquering king stormed Oxford, which had refused him entrance; and gave the greatest part of it to Robert de Oily.¹⁷ Odo, bishop of Bayeux and the half-brother of the Conqueror, was then or afterwards enriched with the lands of Dadintone (Deddington), Tewam (Tew), Svmertone (Somerton), Fertwelle (Fritwell), Niwetone (Newington), Teowe (Dunstew), Lvdewelle (Ledwell), Bereford (Barford), Alcrintone (Alkerton), Hortone (Hornton), &c.¹⁸ The date when the Conqueror came to Banbury is not stated, but an ancient tradition has been preserved by Dr. Stukeley that he slept there at the Altarstone Inn.¹⁹ Up to the time, however, when the campaign of 1068 commenced, the Normans had only made occasional inroads into the midland parts of the island, as is proved by the successive reduction afterwards of Warwick, Nottingham, Leicester, and other towns lying to the north of Banbury. In 1071, the king, having probably good reason to doubt the fidelity of the people of these parts, commanded Robert de Oily to erect a castle at Oxford, the first of the numerous Norman castles which were built in this neighbourhood. (See p. 69.) Edwin earl of Mercia (the same who held Adderbury and Bloxham) had rendered important service to the Conqueror, and was promised one of his daughters in marriage; but, being afterwards refused and insulted by the imperious monarch, he retired to the north of England and joined his countrymen in arms against the invader. His estates then fell into the Conqueror's hands.

(17) Kennet, v. 1, p. 77. (18) Domesday Book. (19) Itin. Curios., edit. 1776, p. 48.

Ulf, or Wolfin, bishop of Dorchester, died in 1067. His successor was Remigius de Fescamp, a Norman, the first bishop appointed in England by William. At his manor of Banbury he is mentioned to have found the same number of ploughs as were there in the reign of Edward the Confessor.²⁰ In 1072, the episcopal see was transferred from Dorchester to Lincoln; perhaps on account of the hostility of the Oxfordshire people towards their conquerors.

In 1082, the general survey contained in Domesday Book was begun. The commissioners for these parts appear to have been Wulfstan bishop of Worcester, Remigius bishop of Lincoln, Walter Giffard earl of Buckingham, &c.; and they were probably engaged here about the year 1084.²¹ The following is a translation of that record as far as it relates to BANBURY:—

OXENEFORDSCIRE.

LAND OF THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN. IN DORCHECESTRE HUNDRED.

The Bishop himself holds Banesberie. There are 50 hides²² there. Of these the Bishop has, in the demesne,²³ land²⁴ to 10 ploughs, and 3 hides besides the inland.²⁵ The homagers²⁶ of the town have 33 hides and a half.

In King Edward's time, there were there 33 ploughs and a half; and Bishop Remigius found the same number.

There are now in the demesne 7 ploughs, and 14 bondmen;²⁷ and 76 villans²⁸ with 17 bordars²⁹ have 33 ploughs. There are 3 mills of 45 shillings [annual value]. The pasture is 3 quarentens³⁰ long and 2 quarentens broad.

(20) Domesday Book.

(21) Kennet, p. 87.

(22) *Hide of land*. In an old MS. it is said to be 120 acres. Gervase of Tilbury makes it 100 acres. The Malmesbury MS. computes it at 96 acres. Bede calls it *Familia*, and says it is as much as will maintain a family. Crompton says a hide contains 100 acres, and that 8 hides make a knight's fee. Sir Edward Coke holds that neither a knight's fee, a hide, a ploughland, nor a yard land, contains any fixed number of acres. Some make 24 acres in a virgate, 4 virgates in a hide, and 5 hides in a knight's fee.—*Kennet, Cunningham, &c.*

(23) *Demesne*. That part of a manor or estate which the lord keeps in his own hands or to his own use.—*Kennet*.

(24) *Terra*, that is, arable land, as distinct from wood, meadow, and common pasture.—*Description of Public Records*.

(25) *Inland*. That inner land or part of a manor which lay next to a lord's mansion house, or most convenient for the maintenance of his family, &c.—*Bailey*.

(26) *Homines*, rendered homagers. This includes all sorts of feudatory tenants, who claimed the privilege of having their causes and persons tried only in the court of their lord.—*Description of Public Records*.

(27) The *Servi* of Domesday Book (rendered bondmen) are supposed to have been those villans who were subject to the arbitrary pleasure of their lord, and appointed to perform servile works.—*Description of Public Records*.

(28) *Villanus*, from *villa*, a country farm, where these men of low and servile condition had some small portion of cottages and lands allotted to them.—*Kennet*.

(29) *Bordarii*. Tenants who possessed bord lands. Such lands were those which lords of manors kept in their hands for the maintenance of their boards or tables. Bord lode was the quantity of food or provision which was paid by the bordarii or bordmen for their bord lands.—*Bailey*.

(30) *Quarentena*, a quarenten, a forty-long, or furlong. A measure of forty perches. The perch was 20 feet.—*Kennet*.

In King Edward's time, it was worth 35 pounds. When received [it was worth] 30 pounds. It is now worth the same.

* * * * *

Of the land of the manor of Banesberie Robert holds of the Bishop 4 hides. Goislen 5 hides. The other Robert 2 hides and a half. William 5 hides. Hunfrid half a hide. There is land to 12 ploughs and a half. There are 8 ploughs in the demesne there: and 13 villans with 3 bordars and 12 bondmen have 4 ploughs. One of them, Robert the son of Walchelin, has a mill there of 5 shillings and 4 pence, and 4 acres of meadow.

In King Edward's time, the whole was worth 11 pounds and 10 shillings. When received 9 pounds and 10 shillings. Now 14 pounds.

* * * * *

Robert holds of the inland of the Bishop 2 hides in Wicha' [Wickham]. There is land to 3 ploughs.

There are now in the demesne 2 ploughs, and 4 bondmen: and 5 villans have 1 plough and a half.

There is a mill of 30 shillings.

It was worth 60 shillings. Now 100 shillings.

* * * * *

NORTHANTONSCIRE.

LAND OF GVNFRID DE CIOCHES. IN SVTONE HUNDRED.

The same holds 2 hides and the fifth part of 2 hides in Grimberie.

There is land to 6 ploughs. Two are in the demesne, and 4 bondmen: and 15 villans with 3 bordars have 4 ploughs. There is a mill of 10 shillings, and 30 acres of meadow.

It was worth 4 pounds. Now [it is worth] 6 pounds. This land is of three lordships. Levenot held it with sac and soc.³¹

The Bishop of Lincoln held Cropelie (Cropredy) and many other places in the county. Robert de Oily had Hochenartone (Hooknorton) and 27 other manors in Oxfordshire, with 50 houses in Oxford, and many manors in all the adjacent counties. The King held Blochesham (Bloxham) and great part of Edburgberie (Adderbury), which had belonged to Edwin earl of Mercia. Brohtune (Broughton) was held of the king by Berenger de Toden. The Abbey of Abingdon held Tadmertune (Tadmarton).³² The lands bestowed upon Odo, bishop of Bayeux, have been already mentioned. Amongst the very few markets mentioned in Domesday Book is one at Svdtone (King's Sutton), then in the hands of the King, and worth 20s. yearly.

Bishop Remigius, lord of Banbury, on the removal of his

(31) "*Cum sac' & soc'.*" Saca was the power and privilege of hearing and determining causes and disputes, levying forfeitures and fines, executing laws, and administering justice within a certain precinct. Soca was the territory or precinct in which the Saca and other privileges were exercised.—*Description of Public Records.*

(32) Robert de Oily died in 1090 or 1091. The monks of Abingdon stated that he, having arbitrary power hereabouts, did injury to many churches; and amongst other robberies took from them a meadow at Oxford and converted it to the use of the castle. However, by the prayers of the monks he was cast into a fit of sickness, and so frightened in a dream that he went to the Abbot of Abingdon and before the high altar gave to them Tadmertune, of ten pounds annual rent. (Kennet, pp, 97, 98.) Robert de Oily's brother Nigel succeeded to the castle of Oxford and the honour of Hokenorton.

see from Dorchester to Lincoln, erected a cathedral at the latter place, which was dedicated to the Virgin Mary and endowed with numerous prebends. No original records of this early date, relating to this cathedral, have been preserved at Lincoln or elsewhere; and it is not known at what period the Prebend of Banbury, which belonged to Lincoln Cathedral, had its rise: it is first mentioned in the reign of Henry the Third.³³ Bishop Remigius died in 1092. In 1093, William Rufus gave the see of Lincoln to his chancellor Robert Bloet, who increased the number of prebends in the cathedral. There is a record at a later period, referring to these times, which states that "Robert Bloet, bishop of Lincoln, had formerly given to the abbot of Egnesham [Ensham] all the greater and lesser tithes proceeding from the demesnes of the bishoprick in the parishes of Banneburi, Cropsey," &c.³⁴ In 1109, the tithe of Banneberi and of Cropperi with the bordars,³⁵ and certain other tithes, were confirmed to the abbey of Egnesham by the charter of king Henry the First, which restored the decayed abbey. Robert, son of Walchelín, (who appears in Domesday Book as possessing property here,) had likewise given to the same church all his tithes of Wicheam (Wickham).³⁶

Robert Bloet, bishop of Lincoln and lord of Banbury, whilst riding out with the King at Woodstock in the beginning of the year 1123, fell from his horse, and died on the following day.³⁷ In this reign of Henry the First the bishop of Lincoln had a charter of free warren in his land of Banbury.³⁸

(33) See hereafter. The Prebend of Banbury subsequently appears to have consisted of the impropriation of the rectory of Banbury and the advowson of the vicarage. (Willis's Cathedrals.) All our parochial churches were at first rectories, possessed of the tithes, glebes, and offerings; and vicarages had their origin from appropriation, or the giving of rectories to other religious institutions. The vicarage of Banbury may probably have had its origin either at the date of the formation of the Prebend, or when Robert Bloet gave the tithes of Banbury to the monastery of Ensham (see this page). In 1238 there was a dispute respecting the tithes of Banbury between the rector of the church there and the monks of Ensham.—*Cartul. Egnesham*, fol. 57; *Kennet*, v. 1, p. 162.

(34) "Rob. Bloet episcopus Linc. olim dederat abbati de Egnesham omnes decimas majores et minores provenientes de dominicis episcopatus in parochiis de Banneburi, Cropsey, &c.—*Cartul. Egnesham*, fol. 76." *Kennet*, v. 1, p. 162.

(35) Similiter deciman de Banneberia, & de Cropperia cum bordariis.—*Carta Regis H. senioris. Dugdale's Monast.*

(36) Dugdale's Monast.

(37) *Kennet*, p. 120.

(38) As appears from a document subsequently given in the reign of Henry the Second. *Free warren* was a liberty granted by the King to the lord of a manor, that within such an extent he should keep and preserve, and take to his own use, fish, fowl, and other game, which no other person should hunt or destroy without leave of the lord.—*Kennet*.

ALEXANDER, BISHOP OF LINCOLN, AND HIS TIMES : BANBURY CASTLE ERECTED.

In the Lent following the death of Robert Bloet, Henry the First gave the bishoprick of Lincoln to Alexander de Blois, archdeacon of Salisbury, who was consecrated at Canterbury on the 22nd July 1123.³⁹ Alexander was by birth a Norman, and was the nephew of the famous Roger bishop of Salisbury, who educated him and made him his archdeacon. It was probably by his uncle's interest that Alexander was now made bishop of Lincoln. In consequence of this appointment he became lord of Banbury, where he erected a castle. He is described as a man of diminutive stature. William of Malmesbury says of him, that "seeing he was looked upon as a prodigy by reason of his small body, his mind strove to excel and be the more famous in the world." In his manner of living he exhibited so much splendour and state that in the court of Rome he was styled "The Magnificent;" nevertheless he appears to have been a man of worth and unblemished honour. In the year after his consecration, the Pope, Honorius II, confirmed to him and his successors their possessions at Baneberia, Cropperia, &c.⁴⁰

Leland dates the erection of the CASTLE at Banbury by Alexander in the reign of Henry the First. Dr. Plot, in writing of the town, says—"About the year 1125 [25th 26th Hen. I.], it was strengthened with a castle by Alexander the then great bishop of Lincoln."⁴¹ Dr. Stukeley observes—"Banbury was a Roman station called Branavis."⁴² That master builder the bishop of Lincoln, Alexander, built the castle anno 1125, I doubt not but upon the Roman fortification: he enlarged it and built it after the mode of those times, taking in a huge space of ground with a wall, towers, and ditch: within he made another work upon one side, where were the lodgings, chappel &c. A small part of

(39) Kennet, p. 120.

(40) "Bishop Honorius servant of the servants of the Lord to the venerable brother Alexander Bishop of Lincoln and his successors from time to time for ever. We have taken the Church of Lincoln under the especial protection of the Apostolical chair and intend to protect it by the power thereof from injury of man. Therefore all the goods and possessions which it now justly holds and all it may hereafter acquire shall remain to you and your successors. Wherefore we here mention them by their proper names [amongst others Banbury and Cropredy]. And therefore let no man whether clerical or layman dare in any manner to molest threaten or hurt the same in any manner but let them remain intact for ever—3. Feb. A. D. 1125."—*Cotton. Lib., Vesp. E. xvi, fol. 19.*

(41) Plot's Oxf., p. 347.

(42) An error. See before in this vol., p. 26.

the wall of this is only now left [1712], of good hewn stone; but the ditch went along the middle of the adjacent street, and houses are built by the side of it, out of its ruins, as people now alive remember. In the civil wars it received new additional works, for there are plain remains of four bastions; a brook running without them."¹³ In the reign of Henry the Eighth (before the more recent works alluded to by Dr. Stukeley were added) the Castle is thus described by Leland: "There is a Castle on the north syde of this area, having 2 wardes, and each warde a dich. In the utter is a terrible prison for convict men. In the north part of the inner ward is a fayre peice of new buildinge of stone. I cannot see or learne that there was ever any Castle or Fortresse at Banbury afore the Conquest. Alexander Bish. of Lincolne in H. I. dayes builded this Castle."¹⁴ In the 6th year of Edward the Sixth (1552), on a survey made of the castle and its dependencies, the description given is—"the Castle of Banbury aforesaid, with all the houses needful to the same, and the yards and courts; one garden and one orchard, and one parcell of land called the Stewe containing one rood of land; and a certain ditch without the wall of the said Castle, containing three acres. * * * Two water mills under one roof lying and being near the Castle aforesaid within the borough of Banbury. And one Hame [or 'The Hame']¹⁵ to the same adjoining severally containing three acres. * * * One tenement and one garden lying and being within the borough of Banbury before the Gate of the Castle of Banbury aforesaid with its appurtenances."¹⁶ In the reign of Elizabeth there is a record (21st December 1564) that "the Castell aforesaid is in greate decaye and specially the owter Gatehouse therof nere unto the whiche theire is one Lytle olde Rewenus house sometye A Pryson couered all ou' [over] wth slate savinge one lytle pece covered wth leade contey'ing nott aboue one fodder and a half whiche Pryson house was once appoynted to be employed towards the Repayringe of the said Gate house. And the repayringe of the said Castell will cost aboue fyftie pound."¹⁷ In an inquisition made in the 4th year of James the First (1606) we find "a Mansion House within the inner gates of the same Castle, twenty-three bays covered with lead:" "the outermost gate six bays covered

(13) Itin. Curios., p. 48.

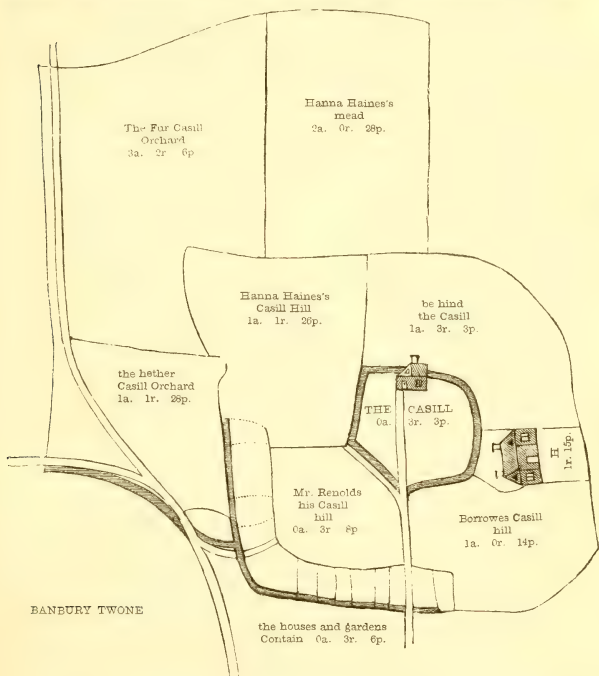
(14) Leland's Itin., v. 4, pt. 2, fol. 162 b.

(15) "*Mill ham*" is still a common name given to the small meadow usually attached to a mill.

(16) Inquisition 6th Edw. VI., which will be given hereafter.

(17) Memorandum of the above date at the foot of a Particular in the Augmentation Office.

with slate:" "one close called the Stewe by estimation one acre:" and "one other close of pasture called the Castle Orcharde by estimation three acres."⁴⁸ A plan⁴⁹ of the site of the Castle, made in 1685 (some years after the building was taken down), and from which the following is reduced, gives the measurement of the



PLAN OF THE SITE OF BANBURY CASTLE, 1685.

Castle itself 3 roods and 3 perches, and that of the grounds and outworks 13A. 1R. 14P., not including the mills &c. The upper part of the plan is due north. The Cherwell flowed at a short

(48) Inquisition 4th Jas. I. hereafter.

(49) The property of Lord Saye and Sele, and now in the possession of W. Walford Esq. The part marked (H) in the above reduced plan, is called, in the original, "house and gardens."

distance on the east, turning the mills and receiving the waste water from the moat. That this Castle, which was the frequent abode of the great Bishops of Lincoln, was a magnificent work of its day, there can be no question: that it was a formidable place of defence we have the proofs arising from its importance during the Civil Wars, and the gallant stand which the Royalists made there, in the midst of a hostile country, from 1642 to 1646.¹

Alexander is said to have also erected the former CHURCH at Banbury.² The authorities for this are not ancient; but, judging from the extent and the pure Norman style of the original parts of the interior, which remained until near the close of the last century, the fact is highly probable.³

This famous Bishop also erected castles at Newark and Sleaford; and, whether from motives of piety, or the love of splendour, or in order to avoid the public odium which he had incurred by the expensive erection of castles, he devoted vast sums to other religious edifices besides the church of Banbury.⁴ The cathedral at Lincoln having been greatly damaged by fire, Alexander repaired it, it is said, "with very great perfection in point of workmanship."⁵ Among his lesser benefactions was one, on his dedication of the monastery of Godestow near Oxford in December in the fourth year of Stephen (1138), of one hundred shillings yearly to the said monastery out of his toll in Bannebiri.⁶

On the 28th of April 1139, there is an instrument from Pope Innocent II. to Alexander bishop of Lincoln, which takes that Church and its possessions, acquired and to be acquired, under the special protection of the Holy See, and mentions Banbury among those

(1) The site is now called the Castle Gardens, being used as garden ground. The meadows lying N. and N. by W. of the part marked in the plan on the last page "The Fur Casill Orchard," are called "The Marches." The "lether Casill Orchard" is what is now Mr. Brickwell's close, across which the foot road to Hardwick formerly led. The western and northern limit of "The Fur Casill Orchard" is the Cuttle Brook, which runs by the present footpath to Hardwick and then crosses it to the east. The cottage represented within the part called "THE CASILL" is one which was erected on, and out of, the ruins of the Castle after the Civil Wars (see hereafter), and which is still known as the Castle cottage. The other building is the present warehouse in the Old Wharf, which was erected about the same time. The fronts of "the houses and gardens" correspond with Back Lane: and the road from these to "THE CASILL" corresponds with the present road from Back Lane to the Castle cottage.

The slight vestiges of the Castle which remain will be noticed hereafter.

(2) Bray's Tour, 1777; Rusher's Crouch Hill, 1789; Brewer's Oxf.; Skelton's Antiq. Oxf.

(3) See account of the Church hereafter. The unhallowed work of destruction perpetrated in 1790, has not left, so far as I know, any other remain of the Norman part of this noble pile than the poor relic engraved in Plate 15 (fig. 1). This is in my own possession.

(4) "Natheles yut after wardes he bythyntyng, that suche castellwerk was nat semyng to Religion, in a mendement of that trespas, he maked so many minstres of Religion, and endowed hem with londes and rentes."—*Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle*, edit. 1810, p. 450.

(5) Henry of Huntingdon.

(6) Dugdale's Monast.—"Et ego Alexander Lincolnensis episcopus dedi C. solidos de theloneo Bannebiriæ."

possessions.⁷ Alexander's castles were not however secure from the attempts of King Stephen, who thought it necessary to possess himself of the fortified places in order to secure the throne he had usurped. Holinshed records that the King held all in suspicion, but vehemently suspected Roger bishop of Salisbury, and Alexander bishop of Lincoln, nephew to the said bishop of Salisbury, or, as some thought, more near to him, "I meane his sonne."⁸ Coming therefore to Oxford, in the same year 1139, at Midsummer, the King sent for the bishop of Salisbury, who had lately fortified his castle of Devizes. The bishop, fearing a design to apprehend him, sent for his two nephews Alexander bishop of Lincoln and Nigel bishop of Ely, and with their retinues and his own came in military array to Oxford: "where at his first coming, his servants going to take them up lodgings, happened into a quarrel with the servants of the Earl of Britain, and killed one of them in the fray, the nephew of the earl being dangerously wounded."⁹ Upon the occurrence of this violation of order within the pale of the court, the Bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln were arrested by command of the King; but the Bishop of Ely was so fortunate as to make his escape.¹⁰ The castles of the two other Bishops, Roger and Alexander, were now demanded by the king. Robert of Gloucester says:—

"Agen wende þe kȳng to Oxenford, & þe býssop vette
 Alysandre of Lȳncolne, þat he in prison sette.
 And ladde hȳm to þe neweworc, to a uayr castel & god,
 þat þe býssope's was, & vp Trent stod.
 þer he suor, þat þe býssop neuere ete ne ssolde,
 Ne drynke napemo, ar þe castel hȳm were ȳgolde.
 þe býssop was wo ȳnou, vor he wuste wel, þeȳ he wolde
 gelde hȳm vp þe castel, hȳs men wȳþȳnne nolde.
 He bed hem, & cryde on hem, ac al ȳt was vor noȝt.
 So þat þȳs býssop was ne to grounde ȳbroȝt
 Myd hunger, þat men adde reuþe þat hȳm knewe.
 He wep & cryde on hȳs men, þat hii ssolde on hȳm rewe,
 þat he nere to deþe ȳpȳned, þat hii seȳ wel he ssolde.
 So þat to sauȳ hȳs lȳf þe castel vp hii ȳgolde.
 þe kȳng nom þerȳnne þe býssope's tresoriȳe,
 And in þȳs manere lo! býȳn hȳs worre myd robberye."¹¹

(7) Cotton. Lib., Vesp. E. xvi. fol. 20.

(8) Holinshed's Chron. of Stephen.

(9) Biog. Brit.

(10) Biog. Brit.; Kennet, v. I, p. 130; &c.

(11) Robert of Gloucester, p. 449. In modern English the sense would be as follows:—Again the King went to Oxford, and sent for the bishop Alexander of Lincoln, whom he made prisoner, and conveyed to Newark, to a fair and goodly castle, which belonged to the Bishop and stood on the river Trent. There he swore that the Bishop should never more either eat or drink until the castle were yielded to him [the King]. The Bishop was "wo

In a note, in "Prose more plennere [fully] of the same mater," Robert of Gloucester adds—"The bysshop Alexaundre of Lyn-colne in the same wyse he destressed, that he was fayn to yelde him vp. ii. noble castells, in whiche his tresours were. For he was the Kynge's Tresourer. * * These ii. bisshoppes [Roger and Alexander] to fore that tyme were the most a losed [commended] bisshoppes, among alle other." From other sources we learn that the King committed them both to prison, using threats in order to compel them to surrender their castles into his hands. Alexander is stated to have endured his imprisonment and hard fare for seven months. He surrendered his castles, and with difficulty obtained his liberty.¹²

The castles of which the Bishop of Lincoln was deprived as above stated seem to have been restored to him not long afterwards. No record of any military movements in connection with Banbury Castle occurs during the troubled times which immediately followed the imprisonment of Alexander. Those troubles (in which these parts especially were deeply involved) arose from the arrival of Maud the empress (daughter of Henry the First), who in prosecution of her right to the throne had landed in 1139, and had gained the interest of Brien Fitzcount, lord of Wallingford, who speedily secured his castle from the assaults of Stephen. In 1141, the Robert de Oily of that day (the relative of Brien by marriage) delivered up the castle of Oxford to the empress. Gilbert Basset, who held Bicester of Brien Fitzcount as a feudatory tenant, adhered to the same cause. On the other side, Richard Camvil, lord of the castle and manor of Middleton Stony, adhered throughout these long troubles to King Stephen.¹³

enough," for he well knew that though he himself would yield him up the Castle, his men within would not. He commanded and entreated them; but all to no purpose, so that this Bishop was nearly brought to his grave by hunger, to the sorrow of those who knew him. He wept and cried to his men that they would have pity on him; that he was nearly "pined" to death, and they might well see that he was. So that, at length, to save his life, they yielded up the castle; wherein the King siezed upon the Bishop's treasure. And thus began this war with robbery.

(12) *Biographia Britannica*; Hist. Sleaford; Kennet's Paroch. Antiq.; &c. After his liberation Alexander applied himself to governing and ornamenting his church. In 1142 he visited Rome, and returned in the capacity of legate from Pope Innocent II. He again visited Rome in 1144; and in 1147 a third time paid a visit to the Pope, namely to Eugene III., whom he met in France. Falling sick there, he returned with difficulty to England, and died in 1148, in the 24th year of his prelacy. Henry of Huntingdon dedicated his history to Bishop Alexander. He calls him *Florem et cacumen regni et gentis*, "The Flower and highest Ornament of the kingdom and nation;" and has preserved some flattering verses respecting him.

(13) Kennet, pp. 131, 133, 140. Up to 1153, Brien Fitzcount held Wallingford against the king; but it was then reduced to such extremity that Fitzcount sent to Normandy to invite Prince Henry, the son of Maud, to come to its relief. The Prince came; but when both armies were drawn out for battle the Earl of Arundel proposed a treaty, which the

A very great number of castles were erected during this reign of Stephen, which added greatly to the sufferings of the Saxon people already groaning beneath the yoke of their Norman rulers. The Saxon Chronicler says,—“In this king’s time, all was dissension, and evil, and rapine. Against him soon rose rich men. They had sworn oaths, but no truth maintained. They were all sworn and forgetful of their troth. They built castles which they held out against him. They cruelly oppressed the wretched men of the land with castle work. They filled the castles with devils and evil men.” There were many Norman castles in this vicinity, besides those already mentioned at King’s Sutton (p. 35), Evenley (p. 35), Ardley (p. 38), Swerford (p. 43, note),¹⁴ and Middleton Stony (p. 68); but of the exact date of their erection nothing is known. The earthworks of such a castle yet remain at Chipping Wardon, southeast of the village.¹⁵ A small one stood at Barford St. Michael, close to the church.¹⁶ There was one at Chipping Norton, of which the extensive earthworks remain on the north side of the church-yard. One at Culworth, where also the earthworks remain, on the north side of the church-yard, and are called Berry-close hill. These remains at Culworth measure 43 by 36 yards in extent, besides the surrounding ditch and a small circular earthwork on the east side. Another stood at Sulgrave, where the remaining earthworks, on the west side of the church-yard, measure 38 by 34 yards, exclusive of the ditch. One at Mixbury, on the north side of the church-yard, the remains of which, called Beaumont, are very conspicuous. One at Brackley, on the southwestern side of the town, near the rivulet.¹⁷ One, perhaps, at Adderbury, at the embankment called the Green. One at Deddington, of which the extensive earthworks remain, and of the history of which some particulars will be recorded in this volume. One at Grove Mill, which lies between Bodicot and Bloxham. And a small one at Somerton, northwest of the village.

barons on both sides promoted (as Henry of Huntingdon observes) that the war might be prolonged, and jealousy restrain both princes, rather than that either of them should become a more absolute governor.—*Kennet*, p. 151; *Hen. Hunt. Hist.*

(14) The foundations of the castle at Swerford measure 40 by 36 yards. The embankment on which they stand is now 18 feet in height.

(15) More than a furlong southward of Chipping Wardon church is the site of an ancient burial place (marked “Remains” in the plan on p. 27), where many bones are found. The Norman castle at Chipping Wardon stood between this spot and the Black Grounds.

(16) Skelton’s *Antiq. Oxf.*

(17) Leland’s *Itin.*, v. 7, pt. 1, fol. 9.

NORMAN PERIOD CONTINUED.

On the death of bishop Alexander in 1148, Robert Chesny succeeded to the bishoprick of Lincoln and the lordship of Banbury. In 1149 (14th Steph.) there is an instrument from Pope Eugene III., addressed to Robert bishop of Lincoln, mentioning Banbury, its Castle, Market, Liberties, and Appurtenances, as forming part of the possessions of the church of Lincoln.¹⁸ This is the first mention of a MARKET at Banbury; but it is probable that the grant of the market was at least coeval with the erection of the Castle; and the tolls are alluded to in 1138 (see p. 66), ten years before the death of Alexander. A charter of a subsequent date (2nd Ric. II.) recites an earlier charter of the reign of Henry the Second (which commenced in 1154) for a FAIR at Bannebiri; as follows:—

“Henry King of England and Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine and Count of Anjou to his Justices Sheriffs Officers and all his faithful French and English of all England greeting. Know ye that I have granted and confirmed to God and the Church of St. Mary at Lincoln and to Robert Bishop of Lincoln and his successors one Fair every year in his manor of Bannebiri and I grant that the fair aforesaid shall continue through the whole of Whitsun week. Wherefore I will and firmly command that the Fair aforesaid have all those liberties and free customs which other my fairs have throughout England. And I prohibit every one from disturbing those going to the said Fair or returning from the Fair upon forfeiture of ten pounds. Witnesses &c. at Rouen.”¹⁹

At the beginning of the year 1160, Henry the Second granted to the Bishop of Lincoln a renewal of the charter of free warren in his land of Bannebury; as follows:—

“Henry King of England Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine and Count of Anjou to his Justices Sheriffs and all his Officers in Oxenfordshire greeting. I grant that Robert Bishop of Lincoln have warren in his land of Bannebury as his predecessors had it well and honourably in the time of King Henry my grandfather. And I forbid that any one chase or take a hare in it without his licence upon ten pounds forfeiture. Witness Thomas [à Becket] the Chancellor at Bruhul [Brill].”²⁰

A renewal of the privilege of holding a Market at Banneberi was also granted by Henry the Second; as follows:—

“Henry King of England &c. to his Justices &c. of Oxenfordshire greeting. Know ye that I have given and granted for the love of God and on the petition of Robert Bishop of Lincoln to the Church of St.

(18) Cotton. Lib., Vesp. E. xvi. fol. 23.

(19) Rot. Chart. 2nd Ric. II., No. 5, in Turr. Lond.

(20) Recited in Rot. Chart. 2nd Ric. II., No. 5.

Mary at Lincoln for ever that he have his Market in his town of Banneberi every week on Thursday freely and quietly and honourably after such customs as other markets have throughout England. Witnesses &c. at Lincoln."²¹

Bishop Chesny died in 1167; when Jeffery, the base son of Henry the Second by Rosamond, (though a layman) kept the title and temporalities: but in 1183 the see was given to Walter de Constance. This Walter was translated to an archbishoprick abroad; and, at a council convened in 1186 at Eghesham [Ensham], Hugh, a native of Grenoble, prior of the Carthusian order in England, was elected to the see²² and became lord of Banbury.

In the account of the hides of land of Northamptonshire in the reign of Henry the Second, Anselm de Chokes answered for two hides and four small virgates or the fifth part of two hides in Grimesbery.²³

Richard the First, by charter in the first year of his reign (1189–90), granted and confirmed to the priory of Godstow the church of Wicumbe with its appurtenances and the church of Bloxham with its appurtenances; and confirmed the gift of Bishop Alexander of one hundred shillings annually out of his toll at Bannebiri.²⁴ In 1191, Bishop Hugh visited this part of his diocese.²⁵

One of the great Tournaments appointed by Richard the First was held in 1194 between Brackley and Mixbury, on a plain called Bayard's Green.²⁶ These martial amusements served to draw the people nearer to their Norman rulers; but the union between the Saxons and the Normans was far from being accomplished. The sufferings of the Saxon people from the time of William the Conqueror to that of Richard the First are vividly portrayed by historians: many of the bravest of them banded together in the woods as outlaws, and such were regarded by the bulk of the people with sympathy. In the reigns of Richard the First and John, popular story throws the brightest colours on Robin Hood. Among the ancient ballads relating to

(21) Recited in Rot. Chart. 2nd Ric. II., No. 5.

(22) Kennet, pp. 171, 192, 199.

(23) Cotton MSS., Vesp. E. xxij. fol. 94 b. In 1197, William de St. Mary Ecclesia rendered an account for half a year of the farm of Grimsbury, belonging to the advocate of Betun, the heir of Chokes, and probably then in ward to the King. —*Baker's Northamp.*

(24) Dugdale.

(25) Kennet, p. 208. This was the pious prelate who restored his cathedral, and is said himself to have carried stones and mortar for the use of the masons. —*Mat. Paris.*

(26) Synonymous with Horses' Green. This is a spot of table land on the south of the river Ouse, near the mill in the parish of Evenley. An earl who should tourney was to pay to the King twenty marks; a baron ten marks; a knight who had land four marks; and a knight who had no land two marks. —*Kennet*, p. 213; *Baker's Northamp.*, p. 573.

this outlaw there is one in commemoration of a contest he had with a Tinker of Banbury. The title of this ballad is—

“A NEW SONG TO DRIVE AWAY COLD WINTER,
BETWEEN ROBIN HOOD AND THE JOVIAL TINKER;

HOW ROBIN BY A WILE

THE TINKER HE DID CHEAT;

BUT AT THE LENGTH AS YOU SHALL HEAR

THE TINKER DID HIM BEAT,

WHEREBY THE SAME THEY DID THEN SO AGREE

THEY AFTER LIVED IN LOVE AND UNITY.

“To the tune of, ‘*In Summer Time.*’

“In summer time, when leaves grow green,
Down, a down, a down,
And birds sing on every tree,
Hey down, a down, a down,
Robin Hood went to Nottingham,
Down, a down, a down,
As fast as hee could dree.
Hey down, a down, a down.

“And as hee came to Nottingham,
A Tinker he did meet,
And seeing him a lusty blade,
He did him kindly greet.

“Where dost thou live? quoth Robin Hood,
I pray thee now mee tell:
Sad news I hear there is abroad,
I fear all is not well.

“What is that news? the Tinker said,
Tell mee without delay:
I am a Tinker by my trade,
And do live at Banbura.

“As for the news, quoth Robin Hood,
It is but as I hear,
Two tinkers were set ith’ stocks
For drinking ale and beer.

“If that be all, the Tinker he said,
As I may say to you,
Your news is not worth a ****,
Since that they all bee true.

“For drinking good ale and beer,
You will not lose your part.

No, by my faith, quoth Robin Hood,
I love it with all my heart.

“What news abroad? quoth Robin Hood,
Tell me what thou dost hear:
Seeing thou goest from town to town,
Some news thou need not fear.

“All the news I have, the Tinker said,
I hear it is for good,
It is to seek a bold outlaw,
Which they call Robin Hood.

“I have a warrant from the King,
To take him where I can;
If you can tell me where hee is,
I will make you a man.

“The King would give a hundred pound,
That he could but him see;
And if wee can but now him get,
It will serve thee and mee.

“Let me see that warrant, said Robin Hood,
Hee see if it bee right;
And I will do the best I can
For to take him this night.

“That will I not, the Tinker said,
None with it I will trust;
And where hee is if you'll not tell,
Take him by force I must.

“But Robin Hood perceiving well
How then the game would go,
'If you would go to Nottingham,
We shall find him I know.'

“The Tinker had a crab-tree staff,
Which was both good and strong,
Robin hee had a good strong blade;
So they went both along.

“And when they came to Nottingham,
There they both tooke their inn
And they called for ale and wine,
To drink it was no sin.

“But ale and wine they drank so fast,
That the Tinker hee forgot
What thing he was about to do;
It fell so to his lot,

“ That, while the Tinker fell asleep,
Robin made then haste away,
And left the Tinker in the lurch,
For the great shot to pay.

“ But when the Tinker wakened,
And saw that he was gone,
He call'd then even for his host,
And thus hee made his moan :

“ I had a warrant from the King,
Which might have done me good,
That is to take a bold outlaw,
Some call him Robin Hood :

“ But now my warrant and mony's gone,
Nothing I have to pay ;
And he that promis'd to be my friend,
He is gone and fled away.

That friend you tell on, said the host,
They call him Robin Hood ;
And when that first hee met with you,
He ment you little good.

“ ‘ Had I but known it had been hee,
When that [he] had been here,
Th' one of us should have tri'd our might
Which should have paid full dear.

“ In the mean time I will away,
No longer here Ile bide,
But I will go and seek him out,
Whatever do me betide.

“ But one thing I would gladly know,
What here I have to pay.’
Ten shillings just, then said the host.
‘ Ile pay without delay ;

“ Or elce take here my working-bag,
And my good hammer too ;
And if that I light but on the knave,
I will then soon pay you.’

“ The onely way, then said the host,
And not to stand in fear,
Is to seek him among the parks,
Killing of the king's deer.

“ The Tinker hee then went with speed,
And made then no delay,

Till he had found bold Robin Hood,
That they might have a fray.

“ At last hee spy’d him in a park,
Hunting then of the deer.
What knave is that, quoth Robin Hood,
That doth come mee so near ?

“ No knave, no knave, the Tinker said,
And that you soon shall know ;
Whether of us hath done any wrong,
My crab-tree staff shall show.

“ Then Robin drew his gallant blade,
Made then of trusty steel :
But the Tinker he laid on so fast,
That he made Robin reel.

“ Then Robins anger did arise,
He fought right manfully,
Until he had made the Tinker
Almost then fit to fly.

“ With that they had a bout again,
They ply’d their weapons fast ;
The Tinker threshed his bones so sore,
He made him yeeld at last.

“ A boon, a boon, Robin hee cryes,
If thou wilt grant it mee.
Before I do it, the Tinker said,
Ile hang thee on this tree.

“ But the Tinker looking him about,
Robin his horn did blow ;
Then came unto him Little John,
And William Scadlock too.

“ What is the matter, quoth Little John,
You sit on th’ highway side ?
‘ Here is a Tinker that stands by,
That hath paid well my hide.’

“ That Tinker then, said Little John,
Fain that blade I would see,
And I would try what I could do,
If hee’l do as much for me.

“ But Robin hee then wish’d them both
They should the quarrel cease,
‘ That henceforth wee may bee as one,
And ever live in peace.

" And for the jovial Tinker's part,
 A hundred pounds Ile give
 " In th' year to maintain him on,
 As long as he doth live.

 " In manhood he is a mettled man,
 And a mettle man by trade ;
 Never thought I that any man
 Should have made mee so afraid.

 " And if hee will bee one of us,
 Wee will take all one fare ;
 And whatsoever wee do get,
 He shall have his full share.'

 " So the Tinker was content
 With them to go along,
 And with them a part to take :
 And so I end my song."²⁷

HOSPITALS OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST AND ST. LEONARD AT BANBURY.

The HOSPITAL at Banbury dedicated to ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST existed at an early date, certainly as long back as the reign of King John, A. D. 1209.²⁸ By Boswell²⁹ its existence is referred to at a still earlier period. It consisted of a Prior, or Master, and Brothers. The site is still known, and a part of the ancient buildings apparently remains, having been converted into a residence called St John's Priory. This is situated on the eastern side of South Bar Street, not far from the pillar which marks the spot where the ancient south bar or gate of the town called St. John's Bar stood.

Several records relating to the Hospital of St. John at Banbury occur from the reign of Edward the First, of which the following are translations :—

17th Edw. I. (1289). "Inquisition made by 12 Jurors of the town of Banebir'. Who say upon their oath that if William Coumartin give to the Master and Brothers of St. John the Baptist of Banebir' eight marks of rent with the appurtenances in Banebir' the said donation is not to the prejudice nor damage of any other person. Item, as to whose fee the said rent is of, they answer and say that the said rent issueth out of divers tenements, which tenements are holden of the Lord

(27) Black Letter copy preserved in the Library of Anthony Wood.

(28) Nasmith's Tanner's Notit. Monast.

(29) Pict. Antiq.

Bishop of Lincoln as in capite, and the aforesaid William hath nothing in the aforesaid tenements except the bare rent only, and doth not claim to have any other right."³⁰

18th Edw. I.—“ In behalf of the Master and Brothers of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist at Bannebir’ for licence to receive land, &c. } “The King to all to whom &c. greeting. Although of the common counsel of our realm we have provided that it shall not be lawful for religious men or others to enter upon any one’s fee so that it come to Mortmain without the licence of us and of the capital lord of whom the matter is immediately holden, nevertheless being desirous of doing special favour unto William de Cumb Martin of Cirencester we have given him licence so far as in us lieth that he may give and assign eight marks of rent with the appurtenances in Bannebir’ unto our beloved in Christ the Master and Brothers of the Hospital of Saint John the Baptist at Bannebur’ to hold and to have unto themselves and their successors for ever; and unto the said Master and Brothers by the tenor of these presents we in like manner grant special licence that they may receive the said rent from the said William; And we will not that the said William or his heirs or the aforesaid Masters and Brothers or their successors be by reason of the statute aforesaid subjected to any penalty or grieved therefore by us or our heirs, Saving nevertheless to the capital lords of the said fee the services therefrom due and accustomed.—In [witness] whereof &c. Witness the King at Kingisclipston’ the 30th day of October.”³¹

31st Edw. I. (1303). } “The King, &c. greeting. Although &c. [as before] nevertheless by a fine which our beloved in Christ the Master of the Hospital of St. John at Bannebury. } St. John at Bannebury has made with us in our Chancery we have granted and licence given for us and our heirs so far as in us lieth unto Walter son of Henry Le Mouner chaplain that he may give and assign one messuage one mill and one virgate of land with the appurtenances in Wykham near Bannebury unto the Master aforesaid and Brothers of the said Hospital to have and to hold &c. [as before]. And we will not &c. [as before]. Saving [as before]. In [witness] whereof &c. Witness the King at Aberden the 26th day of August.”³²

33rd Edw. I. (1305). } “The King &c. greeting. Although &c. [as before] nevertheless by a fine which our beloved in Christ the Master of the Hospital of St. John St. John at Bannebury. } at Bannebury hath made with us in our Chancery we have granted and licence given for us and our heirs as far as in us lieth unto Thomas de Aston’ of Bannebury that he may give and assign two messuages with the appurtenances in Bannebury to the Master aforesaid and Brothers of the said Hospital to have and to hold &c. [as before]. And we will not, &c. [as before]. In [witness] whereof &c. Witness the King at Westminster the 28th day of October.”³³ [It is elsewhere recorded that the fine paid in this instance was one mark.³⁴]

On the 2nd January 1513–14, William Smyth, bishop of Lincoln, died; having on the 26th of December preceding made his will, whereby he bequeathed “to the House or Hospital of St.

(30) Inq. Post. Mort. 17th Edw. I., No. 38.

(32) Rot. Patent., 31st Edw. I., m. 15.

(34) Rot. Orig.

(31) Rot. Patent., 18th Edw. I., m. 2.

(33) Rot. Patent., 33rd Edw. I., p. 2. m. 7.

John the Baptist at Banbury one hundred pounds, for the purpose of erecting buildings in the said Hospital and of repairing the old ones therein, over and above sixty pounds which I have bestowed upon the said Hospital and caused to be paid to the Master now therein being."³⁵

St. John's Hospital gave name to St. John's Bar; and also to St. John's Street, since called Oxford Bar Street, and of late years South Bar Street. The Hospital stood without the bar, on an eminence on the eastern side of it. The shell of the building was for a long period used as a barn, lately called St. John's Barn, and previously "St. John's Chapel."³⁶ The building was purchased of Sir Henry Dashwood by Thomas Cobb Esq. of Calthorp before 1803,³⁷ and was resold in 1834; when a part of the eastern end was taken down, the stoppings of the windows were removed, and the building was converted into a residence now the property of George Moore Esq.³⁸ During the progress of the recent alterations, several English coins, from the time of Henry the Second downwards, were found on the site; also a small crucifix³⁹ of brass, engraved in Plate 12, fig. 1; and a stoup, or stone vessel for containing holy water, measuring 14 inches in width, engraved in Plate 12, fig. 2. Other particulars relating to this Hospital occur hereafter.⁴⁰

The HOSPITAL FOR LEPERS, dedicated to ST. LEONARD, stood on the eastern side of Banbury Bridge, in the hamlet of Nethercot or Grimsbury and the county of Northampton. The site is still known as "the 'Spital," and "the 'Spital Farm;" but no portion

(35) Copy of the original will in Churton's *Founders of Brasenose*, p. 518.

(36) Churton's *Founders of Brasenose*, p. 350. Ecton and the *Liber Regis* say that the Mastership of the Hospital was in the gift of the bishop of Lincoln; but Churton says this is a mistake, as it seems never to have been in the immediate patronage of the Bishop. It stands as a benefice in charge at the Tenth and First Fruits Office; but in consequence of an Act of Edw. VI. no payments are demanded for this and other hospitals. It has been supposed, continues Churton, "to constitute part of the endowment of the see of Oxford, but it is not mentioned in any of the patents; nor was it part of the Prebend or Rectory of Banbury. Was it, at the dissolution, given by the Crown to some individual at present unknown?"—*Supplement to the Lives of the Founders*, p. 8.

There has been an opinion expressed that Calthorp House formed part of the Hospital of St. John. This is in itself quite improbable; and the occupation of Calthorp by the Brancestre and Danvers families is recorded (see hereafter) from the reign of Richard the Second.

(37) Churton's *Supplement to the Lives of the Founders*.

(38) The present walls of the building (with the exception of the eastern one), and also the present roof, appear to be ancient, and to have been left nearly unmolested from the time of the dissolution.

(39) Now in the possession of Miss Milward.

(40) There are several antique carvings in stone preserved in the garden attached to what is now called St. John's Priory; and which Dr. Williams informs me were found by him on the premises. These are chiefly of the 13th and 14th centuries. It is however very probable that these remains were brought from the church of Banbury when it was pulled down in 1790; some parts of the structure being known to have been purchased by Mr. Cobb.

of the ancient building remains. Bridges states that this Hospital was probably in being in the reign of John.⁴¹ In the reign of Edward the First, John Gerard of Banbury gave lands unto God and the Blessed Mary, and the Master and leperous Brothers of St. Leonard of Banbury.⁴² In the 10th of Edward III. (1336) John Trymenel and Sir John de Lyons had licence to grant to the Hospital of St. Leonard for Lepers of Bannebury, one messuage, one carucate of land, and sixteen acres of meadow, in Grymesbury.⁴³ In the 50th of Edward III. (1376) the same Sir John de Lyons, lord of Warkworth, or his son, granted to Robert, chaplain of the Hospital of St. Leonard near Banbury, certain tenements in Banbury and Overthorp.⁴⁴ In the 22nd of Richard II. (1398) the King gave to Geoffrey Stokes, clerk, the custody of the Hospital of St. Leonard near Banbury.⁴⁵

PRIORY OF WROXTON.

In the reign of John,⁴⁶ Michael Belet, of a family connected with Beletscot or Balscot (a chapelry belonging to Wroxton), founded at WROXTON a PRIORY of Canons Regular of St. Augustine, in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Before the dis-

(41) Bridges' Northamp., v. 1, p. 220. Tanner confounds this Hospital with that of St. John at Banbury.

(42) Chetwode Evid. (Baker, p. 749.)

(43) Inq. Post. Mort.; and Baker, p. 749.

(44) Chetwode Evid. (Baker).

(45) Pat. 22nd Ric. II., p. 2; Baker, p. 749. Immediately after the dissolution of Monasteries &c. the lands which belonged to this Hospital appear to have been held of the manor of Warkworth by William Saunders Esq., who left three daughters coheireses, one of whom married to Stephen Cope Esq. of Bedhampton (Baker's Northamp., p. 749). Edward Cope Esq. of Hanwell and Grimsbury (who had probably purchased of his Hampshire relative) died in 1557, seised of the third part of one messuage, 60 acres of arable land, 40 acres of meadow, and 100 acres of pasture called the Spittle, held of George Calverley Esq. and Agnes his wife, as of their manor of Warkworth, by fealty and the yearly payment of four shillings. (Bridges' Northamp., p. 220.) In 1681 two third-parts of a messuage called the Spittle, and of three closes thereto belonging, were sold to Anthony Clarkson of Banbury; and he afterwards settled the same on Anthony Cope, in whom the other third part of the property was vested by descent from his father, Edward Cope Esq. In 1608 Sir Anthony Cope conveyed the Spittle, with the little Spittle close, to Thomas Wheatley of Banbury; and, in the same year, the three Spittle closes to his son Richard Cope Esq., of whom they were soon after purchased by the said Wheatley. The latter, in 1614, sold the whole Spittle estate to the celebrated Puritan, Robert Harris of Hanwell; whose son and heir, the Rev. Malachi Harris, D.D., alienated it in 1663 to Philip Holman Esq. of Warkworth.—*Baker's Northamp.*, p. 749.

The state of the leperous institutions at and before the dissolution, the manners and usages of the brethren, and how far the disease might have been ameliorated by such institutions, are matters deserving of a close inquiry.

(46) The date of the foundation of Wroxton Priory must have been either 1200 or 1209. The Founder's charter shews that the period was later than the accession of John, A. D. 1199; and it names Hugh as then being Bishop of Lincoln. St. Hugh, bishop, died in 1200; but another Hugh (Wells or Wallis) succeeded to the see in 1209. At that date the Priory certainly existed, as a Prior thereof is mentioned in that year.

solution it contained about ten religious. The following is a translation made from the Foundation Charter of the Priory :—

“ I master Michael Belet, for the welfare of my soul and for the welfare of the souls of Michael my father and Emma my mother and my brothers John Belet, William, Bogen, Robert and Adam, Hervey, Eustace, and my sisters Emma, Annora, and Roysia, and others before deceased, and of the Lady Sibill de Scheyne, and all others my predecessors and ancestors, and for the souls also of king Richard and king John, and for the souls also of my friends Reginald, Robert, William, Andrew, Richard, Ralph, John, Juliana, and of all others the care of whom temporal or spiritual has been committed to me &c.,—have given and by this my charter have confirmed to God and the Blessed Mary and to the prior and canons regular serving God in the church which I with the approbation and confirmation of Hugh Bishop of Lincoln and the assent of all his chapter have founded in my manor of Wroxton, in free, pure, and perpetual alms, my manor of Wroxton and whatsoever has been or ought to be mine therein and in the village of Balscote with all the appurtenances, &c.

“ I have given also the whole manor of Thorpe near Rowell in the county of Northampton with the capital court and the plantation &c. To hold the aforesaid with the church of Wroxton and the chapel of Balescote and with the advowsons of the churches of Sytheston and Onnesby, &c.”⁴⁷

Richard is mentioned as being Prior of Wroxton in 1209.⁴⁸ The following occurs among the Memoranda of bishop Hugh Wells in the 9th year of his episcopate (1217–18), the beginning of the reign of Henry the Third :—

“ Know all of you that the place in the village of Wrokestan which is called the place of St. Mary with the chapel in honour of the Blessed Mary there founded and the houses and all the court with the plantations and fish ponds and the space which is contained within the compass of the wall that is about the vineyard and about the court and all things within the said court contained the advowson also of the parish church of Wrokestan with its appurtenances, all which our beloved son in Christ Master Michael Belet the son of Michael Belet bestowed upon the canons at Wrokestan to serve the Lord for ever, We do confirm to the said canons. Witnesses Th. de Fiskerton, P. de Bath, master W. de Well, R. de Bohun, Stephen de Chichester canon of Lincoln, master Richard de Tinghurst, and Oliver de Chednet. Given by the hand of W. de Torn archdeacon of Stow, 5 Id. Nov. [9th November] in the 9th year of our episcopate.”⁴⁹

In the following year “ The Lord Bishop confirms to the Prior and Convent of the Place of St. Mary at Wrokestan the parish church of Wrokestan, which is of their advowson, unto its proper uses, saving a sufficient vicarage in the same to be ordered by the Bishop, and saving to Michael Belet parson of the said church the possession which he hath in the same so long as he shall live. Witnesses Roger the Dean, Galfrid the precentor, in the 10th year of his episcopate.”⁵⁰

In the 23rd year of the episcopate of Hugh Wells (1231–2), Richard, formerly prior of St. James at Northampton, being

(47) *Communia de term.* Hill. 19 Edw. II. Rot. 7 in dorso.—*Caley and Ellis's Dugdale.*

(48) *Caley and Ellis's Dugdale.* (49) *Mem. Hugo Well*, fol. 28; *MS. Harl. 6954*, fol. 87.

(50) *Mem. Hugo Well*, fol. 30; *MS. Harl. 6954*, fol. 90.

elected to the priorship of Wrokstan, after inquisition made by the archdeacon of Oxford and J. de St. Giles canon of the Prebend of Bannebir, was, with the assent of Master Michael Belet patron of the said Priory, admitted thereto.¹

Michael Belet, founder of the Priory of Wroxton, was the friend of the great Grostête or Greathead, bishop of Lincoln, and is mentioned in connection with him in 1235 (p. 92, note 20). In 1236, at the marriage of Henry the Third with Eleanor of Provence, Belet officiated as the King's butler.² In the 8th year of Bishop Grostête (1242-3), Brother Hugh, canon of Wroxton, being elected by licence from Master Michael Belet the patron of the said house, was admitted to the Priorship of the same.³ By an instrument made soon after this date, "Hugh, Prior of the place of St. Mary of Wrokestan, and all the convent who there serve God and the Blessed Mary," bind themselves and their successors for ever to pay to the abbess and convent of Godestow annually 40 shillings of silver, namely 20 shillings at the octaves of St. Martin's in winter, and 20 shillings at the octaves of Pentecost; which 40 shillings their patron Master Michael Belet had assigned for them to receive in his manor of Sichestan. And it was provided that whosoever should thereafter be elected Prior should swear that he would faithfully observe this obligation.⁴

In January 1251-2, a charter occurs of Henry the Third, of which the following is a translation :—

"Henry by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine and count of Anjou, to the archbishops bishops &c. greeting. We have inspected a charter which the lord king John our father made unto Master Michael Belet, whereby the said king granted and confirmed to the said master Michael and his heirs all the lands with all their appurtenances which belonged to Hervey Belet his grandfather of whosoever fee they were, with sok and sak thol and theam and infangenethef⁵ and with all the liberties and free customs and quittances which to the said lands pertain and with quittance from shires and hundreds wapentakes pleas plaints and occasions excepting murder and the sheriff's turn at Wroxton. And because we have learned

(1) Harl. MS. 6950, fol. 75.

(2) Matt. Paris.

(3) Harl. MS. 6950, fol. 128.

(4) Warton's *Life of Sir T. Pope*, p. 369. The witnesses are, sir [a term not denoting a knight, but then applied to clergymen] Nicholas rector of the church of Brockton (Broughton), sir Bernard vicar of the church of Blokkesham, James de Hawntye seneschal of Godestowe, Peter le Butelir de Mildecumb (Milcombe), Ralph de Middleton (then parson of Middleton Cheney as appears by other records), and several others. With the seal of the Monastery; reversed with St. Michael killing the dragon, and exergue "*Eleemosina Michaelis Belet*." Pp. 369, 370.

(5) *Infangtheft*. Fang, in the Saxon, signifies to take or catch. The franchises of *Infangtheft* and *Outfangtheft*, to be heard and determined within court barons, were privileges granted to the lords of certain manors to judge any thief taken within their fee; whether one of their own men living *in* the manor, or one living *out* of the manor that is taken there. (Wood's *Institutes*). *Soc* and *sac*. See p. 61 of this vol., note 31.

by an inquisition which we caused to be made that the prior and canons of Wroxton, whose house the aforesaid master Michael founded and whom the said master enfeofed of the aforesaid lands and the said liberties, have always after the said master freely used all the customs liberties and quittances aforesaid, We ratifying and approving the same do for us and our heirs grant and confirm to the said prior and canons all the customs liberties and quittances aforesaid with all the lands and tenements and the advowsons of the churches of Wroxton Sythis-tan and Onnesby and other their appurtenances which the aforesaid Michael granted to them in free, pure, and perpetual alms as the charters of the said master Michael which they the said prior and canons hold to that effect do reasonably testify. These witnesses, Ralph son of Nicholas, master William de Kilkenny archdeacon of Coventry &c. Given by our hand at Wodestok the thirtieth day of January, in the thirty-sixth year of our reign."⁶

Hugh, Prior of Wroxton, died before the year 1263.⁷ Nicholas de Cerney was elected Prior, and admitted 12th December 1272. On the death of this Nicholas, William de Daylesford was admitted Prior in the same year. Richard de Dean, Prior of Wroxton, died in 1305; and Robert Faningho was admitted Prior on the 7th April in the same year.⁸ In January following there occurs the following quit-claim of Baldwin Pigot to the Prior and Canons of Wroxton respecting the advowson of the church of Onnesby.

"Be it known to all by these presents that I Baldewyn Pygot lord of Onnesby have granted released and wholly for myself and my heirs for ever quit-claimed unto the prior and canons of the place of St. Mary of Wroxton all right and claim which I have or in any manner may have to the advowson of the Church of Onnesby So that neither I the aforesaid Baldewyn Pigot nor my heirs nor any one for us shall be able to demand or claim any right or claim in the aforesaid advowson of the Church of Onnesby henceforward for ever In testimony whereof I have to the present writing placed my seal These being witnesses, sir John de Bracebrygge, William son of Alan, sir Hugh rector of the church of Dodyngton, sir Simon de Lunderthorp, Henry de Lekebourn, Hugh de Stowe of Lunderthorp, Thomas lord of Barkeston, John Pacy of the same place, Walter Est of Onnesby, Thomas de Subford [Sibford], Thomas de Schutteford [Shutford], John de Broughton, and others. Given at Dodyngton on the Lord's day next after the feast of St. Hilary, in the 34th year of the reign of king Edward the son of king Henry."⁹

William be Abberbur or Eadbarbury (Adderbury) is mentioned as Prior of Wroxton 15th May 1340.¹⁰ Brother Thomas de la Grove was elected Prior on the death of William de Eadbarbury, and admitted July 2nd 1349.¹¹ In 1350 is the following:—

(6) Cart. 22 Edw. II. n. 43. Vide Communia de term. Hill. 19 Edw. II. Rot. 7 in dorso.—*Caley and Ellis's Dugdale*.

(7) Warton's Life of Sir T. Pope, p. 370.

(8) *Caley and Ellis's Dugdale*.

(9) From the autographs in the Office of Arms.—*Caley and Ellis's Dugdale*.

(10) *Caley and Ellis's Dugdale*.

(11) Harl. MS. 6951, fol. 245.

"Inquisition made at Oxford the 19th day of July in the 24th year of the reign of King Edward the Third. The Jurors say that it is not to the damage or prejudice of our Lord the King nor of others if our Lord the King grant to William de Shareshull knight that he one messuage three cottages three virgates of land and six acres of meadow with the appurtenances in Abberbury, and also to William Handes chaplain, John Gerard parson of the church of Shemyngdon [Shenington], Nicholas Tubbe clerk, and John de Thorp clerk, that they one messuage two virgates and a half of land and four acres of meadow with the appurtenances in Middelton [Milton?] near Bloxham may give and assign unto the Prior and Convent of Wroxton to have and to hold unto the said Prior and Convent and their successors for ever in part of satisfaction of ten pounds by the year of land and rent which our Lord the King lately by his letters patent granted licence to the aforesaid Prior and Convent to acquire as well of their own proper fee as of that of others excepting lands and tenements which are held of the Lord the King in capite."¹²

Richard was Prior of Wroxton in 1410, as appears by a charter of Henry the Fourth in that year, which grants to Richard the Prior of Wroxton and his Convent free warren in the manors of Wroxton, Thorpe Underwood, and Siston in Lincolnshire.¹³ William Braddenham occurs as Prior in 1490, and another Richard in 1504.¹⁴ This last must have been Richard Randall, who died Prior of Wroxton in 1510.¹⁵ Thomas Smith was elected Prior June 1st 1510¹⁶ (2nd Henry VIII.), and continued till the dissolution. On the 6th August 1534, Thomas Smith, Prior of Wroxton, with John Banbury and eight other religious of Wroxton, subscribed to the king's supremacy.¹⁷ In the following year, by an act (27th Henry VIII. cap. 28), all monasteries which did not possess lands of the value of more than two hundred pounds per annum were given to the King. In this number the Priory of Wroxton was included, the possessions then being as follows:—

			<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
" Oxon.	Wroxton.....	Demaynes	10	1	4
	Wroxton .. {	Tenements and lands sett to	24	14	0
		tenants			
	Wroxton.....	Chief rent from Studley Priory	0	2	4
	Wroxton.....	Oblations	0	4	0
	Balnescot .. {	Tenement, lands, cottage and	6	18	4
		mill			
	Wroxton and Balnescot }	Spiritualities	13	10	0
	Banbury and Nethorp }	Cottages, rents and lands.....	2	4	4

(12) *Inquis. ad quod damn.*, 24 Edw. III., No. 44. This William de Shareshull was justice of the King's Bench in 1334, chief baron of the Exchequer in 1344, and chief justice of the King's Bench in 1351.—*Whitworth's Nobil.*

(13) *Warton's Life of Sir T. Pope*, p. 370.

(14) *Warton's Life of Sir T. Pope*, p. 371.

(15) *Caley and Ellis's Dugdale.*

(16) *Caley and Ellis's Dugdale.*

(17) *Willis's Mitred Abbies.*

			<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
	Milton.....	Tenements and lands	0	16	0
	Broughton	Rents.....	0	13	4
Warwick.	Long Compton	Lands	1	6	8
Northton.	Thorp Bellar..	Manor	20	0	0
Line.	Siston	Lands &c.	15	12	4
	Siston	Spiritualities	5	0	0
	Idon	Tenement and land." ¹⁸	3	6	8

On the 16th August, 29th Henry VIII. (1537), certain buildings and utensils belonging to "the late Monastery of Wroxton" were sold by William Raynesford Esq. to Thomas Pope Esq., the same having been sold to the said Raynesford by the king's officers: that is to say:—

"First, the Wall of the Church on the outside next the cloyster from the foote of the great window downwards.

"Item, The south ile joyning to the dorter [dormitory], with ij litell iles north est from that joyning to the same ile.

"Item, The dorter, with the roffe thereof.

"Item, The ffrater howse on both sides.

"Implements and Utensils.

"Item, The condyte as it is, with all the Lede thereto belonging.

"Item, ij brasse Potts in the Kichyn to sythe mete in.

"Item, In the Brewhowse ij grete ledes ffast sett in a frame. ij small ledes sett in curbes. One greate troffe of lede sett in the grounde.

"All which implements before rehersed, I the said William Raynseford covenanteth and promyseth by thes presents at such time as I shall leve the ffarme which I nowe hold of the said Thomas Pope in Wroxton, to leve well and sufficiencyntly repayred and mainteyned, and in as good case as they be now at the makying of thes presents.

"Tho. Pope. W. Raynesford.

"Witnes at the making thereof John Edmondess, gent. John Marshall. Richard Hochynson. John Ridley. and John Menefye."¹⁹

The ancient buildings at Wroxton are said to have been in great part destroyed by fire. Sir William Pope, to whom the property belonged in the reign of James the First, erected his splendid mansion at Wroxton on the remains of the Priory. This mansion was completed in 1618.²⁰ The Lord Keeper Guilford made some additions in the reign of Charles the Second. A part of the old chapel was preserved, in which is a good early Decorated window²¹ of four lights, with foliated circles in the head, and good mullions: over it on the exterior is an ogee canopy. This end of the chapel has a battlemented parapet, with good Decorated cornice mouldings. This portion of the building is evidently of the early part of the 14th century. In a passage leading to the cellars of the mansion a doorway of the original

(18) Caley and Ellis's Dugdale.

(19) Warton's Life of Sir T. Pope, pp. 368—373.

(20) Warton's Life of Sir T. Pope, p. 438.

(21) Sir William Pope, in 1623, caused this window to be ornamented with stained glass, by Van Ling, with histories from the New Testament, family arms, &c.—Warton, p. 438.

edifice has also been preserved : it is of the Early English style which prevailed during the 13th century.

PRIORY OF CHACOMBE.

Hugh de Chaucumbe, the founder of the PRIORY of CHACOMBE for Canons Regular of St. Augustine, was justiciary of Normandy in the 2nd of John (1200). It appears to have been after this date that he, for the health of his soul, and the souls of Amabilia his wife and their heirs, and of Hodierna his then wife, granted in pure alms to God and the blessed Mary and the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, and the canons regular of Chaucumbe, for building their church and edifices, all the toft called Beveland in the west part under Chaucumbe, and the parish church of Chaucumbe, and the mill under the garden of Chaucumbe, and common pasture with him and his tenants of the said vill for twenty-four beasts and twelve score sheep; together with the church of Bereford (Barford St. Michael), and other churches, lands, and pastures specified. The Prior to be elected by the canons with the assent of the founder and his heirs. The above was witnessed by Walkelin abbot of St. James's near Northampton, who died in 1205, and others. In the 11th of John (1209), Hugh de Chaucumbe had entered the Priory as a religious.²²

In the 10th year of bishop Hugh Wells (1218-19), the Prior and Convent of Chaucumb presented to the church of Frellesworth.²³ Three years later the Lady Extranea de Swaleclive presented to the church of Swaleclive, the Prior of Chaucumb renouncing his right to that church.²⁴ In the 6th year of bishop Grostête (1240-41), William de Colingham was elected Prior of Chacumb by licence of Gilbert de Segrave the patron.²⁵ Adam de Appleby succeeded in 1279; and Robert de Wardon in 1299. Alexander de Kaysthorp is mentioned as Prior of Chaucumbe in the 30th of Edward I. (1302).²⁶ On his death in 1326 (19th Edw. II.), the canons having made an irregular election,²⁷ the bishop of Lincoln with licence from the King appointed Roger de Silby on the 19th of April. Thomas de Saxton succeeded on the 16th

(22) Baker's Northamp., pp. 588, 591.

(23) MS. Harl. 6950, fol. 38.

(24) MS. Harl. 6950, fol. 63. Neither Frellesworth nor Swalecliffe is mentioned in the foundation charter.

(25) MS. Harl. 6950, fol. 112.

(26) Caley and Ellis's Dugdale.

(27) Bridges' Northamp., p. 156.

March, 7th Edward III.²⁸ Six years after (1339), he resigned and was succeeded by Henry de Kegworth.²⁹ On St. Michael's day, 20th Edward III. (1346), the Prior and Convent, on account of the benefits conferred upon them by Sir John de Lyons Knt., lord of Warkeworth, granted for themselves and their successors a sum "to find two secular priests who in the chapel of Wareworth shall perform services for the healthful state of the said nobleman so long as he lives, and for the souls of" &c.³⁰ On the 20th March, 45th Edward III. (1371), Edmund de Thorp became Prior of Chaucumbe. Thomas Brackele is mentioned as Prior in 1412;³¹ John Ferneall in 1495, and Thomas Saunders in 1503.³² In the 26th of Henry VIII, namely on the 13th August 1534, Thomas Saunders, Prior of Chaucumbe, together with Thomas Strowe and six canons of Chaucumbe, subscribed to the King's supremacy.³³ In the next year the Priory was suppressed under the operations of the before mentioned act (27 Henry VIII. cap. 28); the clear value being then £83. 18s. 9½d. per annum.

Little more than a few fragments of the original building of Chacombe Priory now remain: these consist of a small and plain doorway with a pointed arch, the edges merely chamfered off; three plain buttresses in stages; and two windows, one of which deserves notice and is probably of the 13th century. It is of two lights with pointed trefoil heads, divided by an octagon shaft; the whole under a square head. Near this, a little above it, is another window of a different and somewhat later character; this appears to be of the 14th century. In the time of Bridges, the gatehouse and lodge of the Priory are stated to have been "not long since standing," near the seat of the lord of the manor which was built out of the ruins of the Priory.³⁴

(28) Caley and Ellis's Dugdale.

(29) Bridges.

(30) MS. Harl. 6951, fol. 224. In the 3rd of Edward III., this Sir John de Lyons was summoned by writ of *quo warranto* to shew by what right he claimed view of frankpledge and weyf in his manor of Wareworth. He pleaded prescription; but, acknowledging that neither he nor his ancestors had a pillory for offenders against the assize of bread, and that they punished offenders against the assize of beer by amercement and not by tumbrel till the third offence, the view was taken into the King's hands, and restored again for half a mark.—*Baker's Northamp.*, p. 738.

(31) Caley and Ellis's Dugdale.

(32) *Baker's Northamp.*, p. 594.

(33) Willis's *Mitred Abbies*. To this acknowledgement was attached the seal of the Priory, the impression of which remained in the Chapter House, in a very imperfect state, in the time of Dugdale. It appeared to have represented St. Peter and St. Paul. All that remained of the legend was "Sigill Apostol . . ." This Prior, Thomas Saunders, died soon after, and is said to have been succeeded by Henry Anste; but the office was vacant at the ecclesiastical survey in the same year (26th Henr. VIII.), when Thomas Ston' appears as sub-prior.—*Valor Ecclesiast.*; *Baker's Northamp.*

(34) Bridges' *Northamp.*, p. 153.

PRIORY OF CLATTERCOT.

At CLATTERCOT, near Claydon, and six miles north from Banbury, was a PRIORY of canons of the order of St. Gilbert de Sempryngnam, which was in existence in the time of King John, 1209,³⁵ and was dedicated to St. Leonard. Thomas de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, in the 16th year of Edward the Third gave to the priory of Clattercot the church of Ratley in Warwickshire.³⁶ John Grene was the last Prior of this house.³⁷ About the time of the dissolution it consisted of a prior and four canons. The house is stated to have been at one time a hospital for leperous brethren.³⁸ At the dissolution the value was found to be £34. 19s. 11d. per annum.³⁹ From Buck's view of the buildings at Clattercot, engraved in 1729, it would appear that some of the windows of the ancient Priory were then remaining: the style bespeaks them to have been of the latter part of the 13th century.

THE REIGNS OF JOHN, HENRY THE THIRD, AND EDWARD THE FIRST.

Hugh bishop of Lincoln, lord of Banbury, died in 1200. He was canonized, and his festival observed on the 15th of November.⁴⁰ The next bishop was William Blesensis, or de Blo,⁴¹ appointed in 1203.

5th John, A. D. 1203. "The King &c. to G. son of Peter, &c. We command you that you cause our beloved W. Bishop of Lincoln to have the Castles of Neuwerce and of Lafford [Sleaford] and of Banebir'; good security being taken of those unto whose keeping he shall commit them that they will keep the same in fealty to us and the aforesaid elect [Bishop]. Witness J. Bishop of Norwich the 6th day of July."⁴²

The King, by a charter the date of which is not recorded, empowered the Bishop to empark his land at Crouch near Banbury:—

"John by the grace of God King &c. We have granted that the said Bishop or his successors may enclose and empark if they will or essart,⁴³ to such extent as, when, and where they will, their woods of Lidinton and Buggeden and Spaldewik and grove of Stowe and spinney of Cruch

(35) Nasmyth's Tanner's Notit. Monast.

(36) Magna Britannia, v. 5, p. 774.

(39) Speed.

(42) Rot. Litter. Patentium.

(37) Valor Ecclesiasticus.

(40) Kennet, p. 225.

(43) *Essart*. To clear the ground of shrubs.—Bailey.

(38) Skelton's Oxf.

(41) Whitworth's Nobility.

near Banneberi, and with respect to the said woods may at their pleasure give sell and take and cause to be taken without view and any gain-saying of the foresters and regarders or any of their officers &c.—and that the said woods and the clearings therefrom made and to be made shall be quit of the waste and regard and view of the foresters verderers and regarders &c.”⁴⁴

In 1204 the king directed a precept to the sheriff of Oxfordshire, that without delay he should give to Guy de Diva seisin of all his goods and chattels within his liberties, except the castle of DADINGTON (Deddington) which the king would keep in his hands, and the manor of Dadington which the king gave to Thomas Basset.⁴⁵ In 1205 Guy de Diva had letters patent directed to Thomas Basset, that the said Thomas should deliver up to him the castle of Dadenton and his land of which he was disseised.⁴⁶ It appears that this Norman castle at Deddington was demolished before the reign of Henry the Eighth,⁴⁷ and most of the foundations thereof have been dug up of late years. The earthworks however remain nearly entire, extending over about six acres.⁴⁸

In 1206 the see of Lincoln became vacant, and continued so for three years; until, in 1209, Hugh Wells or Wallis, chancellor, was elected bishop,⁴⁹ and became lord of Banbury. The following documents, of this date, refer to the Castle of Banbury:—

8th John, A. D. 1206. “The King to the constable of Bannebir’ and the Bailiffs of Lord W. [William] late bishop of Lincoln, &c. We command you that immediately upon sight of these letters you deliver up to our clerk, Robert de London, the castle of Bannebir’, which we have committed unto him to keep so long as it shall seem good to us. And in testimony hereof we have sent unto you these our letters patent. Witness G. son of Peter at Winchester the 14th day of May.”⁵⁰

8th John, A. D. 1206. “The King to all the knights and free tenants of the bishoprick of Lincoln &c. Know ye that we have committed unto our beloved and faithful W. de Cornhull’ the bishoprick of Lincoln to keep so long as it shall seem good to us with all its appurtenances; saving unto Wakelin the keeping of the castle of Noouw’c [Newark] and saving unto Robert de London the keeping of the castle of Ban’ebir’ with the appurtenances. And therefore we command you to

(44) Recited in Charter Rolls, 2nd Ric. II., No. 5.

(46) Rot. Lit. Patent.

(48) In 1215 (16th 17th John), the King’s conduct having roused the Barons to resistance, they assembled in Easter week at Stamford, and on the following Monday rendezvoused at Brackley; John being then at Oxford. John Fitz-Robert, lord of Clavering, was one of the barons; and was by the King disseised of his lands and his manor of Ainho, and himself committed by the King into the custody of Thomas de St. Walery, lord of Ambrosden, who continued in the King’s interest. William Malet baron of Curi was disseised for the like offence, and his manor of Dedinton was restored to Thomas Basset baron of Hedington. (Kennet, p. 232.) In the same year (1215) the King granted to Robert Mauduit and Alan de Boclaund’ the castle of Dadinton to keep during his pleasure. (Rot. Lit. Patent.) Magna Charta was the successful result of this struggle of the Barons.

(49) Whitworth’s Nobil.

(45) Kennet, p. 232.

(47) Leland, v. 7, pt. 1, fol. 13.

(50) Rot. Litter. Patent.

the end that ye be in all things obedient unto him as our Overseer and our Bailiff. Witness myself &c. at Porchester the 24th day of May in the 8th year of our reign."¹

9th John, A. D. 1207. "The King to the Constable of Banneb' &c. Find for Master Nicolas the carpenter and Ralph his fellow, each of them, 3 pence per day; and cause each of them to have X shillings for a robe. Find also for Hugh de Barent' and Laurence and Thomas sons of Alured, each of them, 2 pence per day. And find for Osbert Petrar' and Fulk de Bardunvill' and William Baret', each of them, 2 pence per day; and for Fulk and William, both of them, X shillings for robes. Find for Gerard de V'nun, Ernulf Binell, William Emer', William Garin,' Peter de Cayllý, Robert, Ralph, Augustus, and Walter Cayllý, each of them, 3 halfpence per day, until we otherwise command you herein: and it shall be accounted to you at the Exchequer. Witness myself at Wudest' [Woodstock] the 8th day of November.—By Richard de Marisco, in the 9th year of our reign."²

(1) Rot. Litter. Patent.

(2) Rot. Litter. Claus.—The following further extracts &c. are given as elucidating the above precept to the Constable of Banbury respecting Nicolas the Carpenter, &c.

8th John (1207). It appears that Master Nicolas de Audely, Master Ralph de Besenton', Thomas son of Alur', Laurence de St. Amano, and Hugh de Barentin', were carpenters sent to Fifmor' to work. P. 80.

9th John (1207). "The King to the Sheriff of Gloucester &c. Find for Master Nicolas the carpenter, & Ralph de Reusenzun, & Osb' Petr' [Osbert Petrarius], each of them, 3*d* a day; & for Thomas de Rotho'm, & Hugh de Barentin', & Laurence Hurdator [query, Hurdler—*hurditium* in the later Latin is "hurdles," or "wicker work with which walls are covered"], & G. de Vernon', & Fulk de Berdovill', each of them, 2*d* per day, whom we have appointed to make our buildings at Gloucester, until they shall have begun to work: And when they shall have begun to work, find for the aforesaid Nicolas 6*d* per day, & for Ralph de Resenc' the same per day, & for Osbert Petrarius the same per day, & for the aforesaid Thomas & Hugh & Laurence & Girard & Fulk, when they shall have begun to work, each of them 4*d* per day: and it shall be accounted to you at the Exchequer," &c. This precept is dated 13 days later than the one to the Constable of Banbury. P. 97.

9th John (1208). Brien de L'Isle is to have allowed in his accounts what he has paid to several persons; amongst others to 5 "quarretores," of whom Osbert is one and Fulk de Burdunvill' another. (P. 107). In the month following, Brien de L'Isle is again allowed the pay he has advanced to 5 "quarretores," viz. Osbert, Gerard de Vernon, Fulk de Burdunvill', Peter Piet', & Elie de Vernon. (P. 113.) In both these places they are mentioned along with "balistarii," and men "serving with 2 horses each." Perhaps therefore they were makers of the arrows called "quarrels."

14th John (1212). Master Nicholas & Master Ralph, "our carpenters," are sent to Philip Mark, who is ordered to cause them to make 2 Turkish petrarics ("petraria" was an engine of war for casting stones); and he is directed to furnish them and their companions with all necessities. P. 122.

16th John (1214). The King to Brien de L'Isle. Master Nicholas de Audel', Hugh de Barentin, Laurence de Sancto Anguino, and Baudewin', "our carpenters," are to make 2 good petrarics and good Turkish mangonells. P. 178.

16th John (1215). Gerard de Vernun and Fulk de Bardevill' are mentioned with many others, as our "minatores et petrarii." And they are to work "in dova fossati" [query in delving the ditch?] "at our Castle of Corf." (P. 185.) In the same year Master Ralph the carpenter is sent to Roland Bluet, and is to be supplied with materials for making petrarics and mangonells. P. 191.

—th John (12—). "The King to the Bailiffs of the Port of Southampton." They are ordered to restore to Ralph the carpenter and two others their "little ships" (naviculas), which they had seized; taking security of them that no damage should ensue to the King or kingdom, and seeing that they took no horse with them in their vessels. P. 197.

17th John (1215). Master Nicholas the carpenter to be put in possession of the land of Bodingeton' which the King has given him. P. 239.

18th John (1216). Hugh de Barintin (his carpenter) to have possession of the land of Cotes, which the King has given him. P. 277.

5th Henr. III. (1221). Master Hugh de Barentin' "our carpenter" to have the pension of 2*d* a day which Ralph de Chaumbray had been used to receive by the gift of "King John our father." (P. 446.) Also an order to pay from the Treasury 3 marks each to Master Nicholas, carpenter, and Master Thomas, carpenter, for their expenses. P. 473.

8th Henr. III. (1224). An order to pay "our carpenters," Masters Thomas, Nicholas, Ralph, & Robert, £4, namely 20*s*. each. P. 582.

16th John, A. D. 1214. "The King to his Barons of the Exchequer &c. Account to Brien de Insula" [Brian de L'Isle:—here follow several sums which the Barons are directed to allow in his accounts: among them] "10 pounds for the keeping of the Castle of Bannebir' * * * * * Witness myself at Partenay the 26th day of May in the 16th year of our reign."³

The Book of Memoranda of Hugh Wells, bishop of Lincoln, states that he, in the 6th year of his episcopate, having viewed the chapel of Crouleton (Croughton), did, with the assent of Guy de la Haie the patron of the same, grant and by his episcopal authority confirm the same unto the Hospital of Einho (Aynho) to have and to hold for its proper uses, saving in all things the accustomed episcopal rights and the dignity of the church of Lincoln.⁴

William Atrebat, advocate of Betun and lord of Germundie, who lived in the reign of John, by deed s. d. granted to David de Hakelinton two virgates of land, with the appurtenances, in Grimesbor' (Grimsbury), namely, one which Richard the miller held, and one which Osbert held, with the two crofts between Osbert's messuage and the river Cherwell.⁵ In the cartulary of the priory of Canons Ashby this deed precedes the grant of these two virgates to the said priory by the said David de Hakillinton; which grant was confirmed by Baldwin de Betun, and by "Thomas de Parco, dominus Grimsbirie."⁶

About the year 1217, at the beginning of Henry the Third's reign, Roger was chaplain of the Castle of Bannebir, and was instituted to a moiety of the church of Bottenden (Boddington) at the presentation of the prior and canons of Chaucumb.⁷ In 1218 the following occurs concerning ADDERBURY:—

(3) Rot. Litter. Claus.

(4) This is witnessed by Roger the chaplain [of Banbury Castle] and others; and given by the hand of R. archdeacon of Huntingdon at Bannebir on the 7th February. (Mem. Hugh Wells, fol. 23; and Harl. MS. 6954, fol. 81.) The Hospital at Aynho here mentioned was founded as early as the 12th century, for the relief of poor and sick passengers, by Roger Fitz-Richard, Adelia his wife, and William their son. It was dedicated to the apostles St. James and St. John, and stood at the western end of the village.—*Baker's Northamp.*, p. 557.

(5) *Baker's Northamp.*, p. 748, 749. To the deed (says Baker) is appended a circular seal about three inches in diameter, with an armed knight on horseback, bearing on his shield, bendy, two bars; on the reverse is a circular counterseal an inch and a half in diameter with a shield bearing the same arms, circumscribed "Secretu' Will. Advocati."

(6) *Baker's Northamp.*, p. 749. In the 8th of Henry III. (1224) the advocate of Betun was pardoned scutage for one fee in Grimsbury, but it was included in the scutages paid by him for the honour of Chokes in subsequent scutages of that reign. In the 36th of Henry III., by the inquisition of the services and castleward due from the tenants of the honour or fee of Chokes, it was found that five shillings for sheriff's aid, watch and view of frankpledge, and ten shillings for ward to Northampton castle, were rendered for one fee in Grimsbury.—*Baker's Northamp.*, p. 746.

(7) 9th year of Hugh Wells.—*Harl. MS.* 6950, fol. 11.

2nd Henr. III. A. D. 1218. "Of the Market of Edburgebir'" [Adderbury]. "It is commanded the Sheriff of Oxfordshire that he cause P. bishop of Winchester [Peter de Rupibus, lord chief justice] to have a market every week on Monday at his manor of Edburgebur', so that it be not to the injury of the neighbouring markets. Witness the Earl at Bannebir' the 25th day of July."⁸

In 1219, (according to Knyghton) in a council of bishops held at Oxford, a blasphemous impostor who had assumed the name and pretended to the wounds of Jesus was condemned, and was crucified at Abberbury (Adderbury).⁹ In the 4th of Henry III., Wischard Ledet owed to the king a palfrey for the grant of a weekly market at his manor of (Chipping) Wardon.¹⁰ Two years later, the following documents occur relative to Banbury:—

6th Henr. III. A. D. 1221-2. "That the Constable of Ban'ebur' be not put on assises or juries." "The King to the Sheriff of Oxfordshire greeting. Know that we have granted unto Simon de Cropper' [Cropredy] Constable of Bannebir' that he be not put on assises recognitions or juries so long as he shall be Constable of Ban'ebir'. And therefore we command you that in the mean while you put not the same on assises recognitions or juries. Witnesses these &c. at Westminster the 25th day of January. By the same person.—In like manner it is written unto the sheriff of Northamptonshire in behalf of the same person."¹¹

6th Henr. III. A. D. 1221-2. "The King to the Sheriff of Oxfordshire greeting. We command you to pay unto Richard de Brademar' and Richard Pinchun our huntsmen three marks, to wit, 20 shillings to each of them, for the maintenance of themselves and of our dogs staying at Bannebir' by our order: and it shall be accounted to you at the Exchequer. Witness &c. at Westminster the 5th day of Febr. in the 6th year of our reign."¹²

At this date (14th Hugh Wells) John de Bannebir is recorded as being parson of the church of Licheberw or Lichesbarwe (Litchborough, Northamp.), on the presentation of the abbot and convent of St. James at Northampton.¹³ Walter de Bannebir is also stated to have resigned the church of Ennestan (Enstone).¹⁴ Two years after, William de Bannebir was instituted parson of the church of Little Karleton.¹⁵

(8) Rot. Litter. Claus. The witness here and elsewhere at the commencement of Henry the Third's reign is the Protector, the earl of Pembroke.

(9) Kennet. p. 267.

(10) Baker's Northamp., p. 528. In the 11th of Henry III., a mandate issued to the sheriff to prohibit the market at Chipping Wardon, on the ground of its being injurious to the Bishop of Lincoln's market at Banbury. In the 22nd year of Henry III. a similar prohibition was issued: but before the expiration of that year Gerard de Furnival obtained a regrant of the market at Wardon. This was held on Tuesday. Subsequently, Sir Thomas Latimer established his right to a weekly market at Chipping Wardon on Tuesday, in plea to a *quo warranto* 3rd Edward III.; and at his death the profit arising from it was returned at three shillings and sixpence yearly.—*Baker's Northamp.*, p. 528.

(11) Rot. Litter. Claus.

(12) Rot. Litter. Claus.

(13) Harl. MS. 6950, fol. 48, 49.

(14) Harl. MS. 6950, fol. 64.

(15) Harl. MS. 6950, fol. 105. It was common for the religious to assume a surname

The PREBEND of Banbury is first mentioned in the 23rd year of the episcopate of Hugh Wells (16th Henr. III., 1231-2), when J. [John] de St. Giles is recorded as canon of the said Prebend.¹⁶ In 1235-6 the said John de St. Giles is mentioned as rector of the church of Bannebir.¹⁷ The Prebend, it appears, consisted of the impropriation of the rectory and the advowson of the vicarage of Banbury.¹⁸ The tithes had however at one time been given by Robert Bloet bishop of Lincoln to the monastery of Eusham (see p. 62); and (subsequently to the above dates) it is recorded that there was "a dispute between Master Salo, canon of Lincoln, rector of the church of Bannebiri, and the monastery of Egnesham, about the tithes in the parish of Bannebiri, in the year 1238."¹⁹

Hugh Wells, bishop of Lincoln and lord of Banbury, died on the 8th of February 1235, and was succeeded by Robert Gros-tête, or Greathead.²⁰ The bishops of Lincoln had always been accustomed to visit the religious houses in the diocese; and, as early in his episcopate as 1236, Gros-tête visited many of them, and deposed many abbots and priors for unfitness, of whom the

from the place of their nativity or former residence. John de Bannebir was a frequent witness to instruments relating to the bishoprick during the time of Bishop Gros-tête. He is styled chaplain, and, in the 10th year of Gros-tête (1344) we find him inducted to the church of Orford, co. Huntingdon, "on the collation of the Bishop with the advice of his general council." (Harl. MS. 6950, fol. 155.) Subsequently, about 1273, a John de Bannebir is mentioned as clerk of the Chapter of the church of Lincoln. (Harl. MS. 6954, fol. 34.) In 1337 Thomas de Bannebur, priest, was presented by the Prior and Convent of Kenilworth to the Church of Glympton. (Harl. MS. 6951, fol. 196.) In 1390, John de Banbury was "rector or portioner of a portion in the church of Wodesdon, called atte Grene." In 1391, Master John Banbury is styled "learned in the law;" and the King gave in charge to him and Sir Thomas Boteller archdeacon of Bedford, to inquire and determine respecting the advowson and right of presentation in the prebendal Church of Thame. (Harl. MS. 6952, fols. 49, 58.) Master John de Banbury died in 1392. (Harl. MS. 7048.) In 1485, Thomas Banbury was elected twenty-second Prior of the Priory of St. Edburg at Bicester. He resigned in 1499. (Leland. Collectan.; Kennet's Paroch. Antiq.) Brother Thomas Banbury is elsewhere mentioned as Master of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist at Banbury, but he died before the 22nd April 1501. (Harl. MS. 6953, fol. 42.) In 1534, John Banbury, a religious of Wroxton Priory, subscribed to the King's supremacy. See p. 83.

(16) Harl. MS. 6950, fol. 75. In the time of Bishop Wells a memorandum occurs, that "by the ancient constitution of the Church of Lincoln it was held that every day there should be said one [illegible] and one psalter for living and deceased benefactors; and seeing that all the canons are bound by a corporal oath to keep the reasonable customs of the said church, when it had gone out of all memory which canon ought to say which psalms, lest danger might on this account impend upon the canons it was provided by R. the Dean in conjunction with discreet men of the Chapter and ordained in Chapter, Hugh bishop of Lincoln being present and confirming the same, that the psalms be said by the Bishop and Dean and Canons in the following order." Then follows the list; and, amongst others—"Banbury. Exultate d'no adjutor' n'ro. Dn's stetit. Dn's quis similis. Quam dilecta." (Harl. MS. 6954, fols. 8, 9.) These Latin titles point out Psalms 81, 82, 83, and 84, as the portion to be said by the canon of Banbury.

(17) Harl. MS. 6950, fol. 119.

(18) Willis's Cathedrals: see p. 62 of this vol. (note 33).

(19) Cartul. Egnesham, fol. 57; Kennet, v. 1, p. 162.

(20) Kennet. This eminent prelate was born about the year 1175, and appears to have been of obscure parentage. Before he was consecrated, a monk presented a deacon to him for institution to a large cure. The party had not the tonsure, and contrary to canon was dressed in red, wore a ring, and in his whole habit and carriage resembled a layman

prior of Cold Norton (near Chipping Norton) was one.²¹ Bishop Grostète again visited this archdeaconry in 1238, at which time there was a solemn dedication of churches in this county.²² In 1244 the Bishop was again engaged in this archdeaconry.

In the 33rd year of Henry III. (1249), another tournament was held at Bayard's Green, between Brackley and Mixbury.²³ In 1252, Stephen Longspe' (brother to William Longspear the renowned crusader) had a grant of a weekly market at King's Sutton every Monday, and a fair annually on the vigil, day, and morrow of St. James the Apostle; but both privileges fell into desuetude.²⁴ Also Ela countess of Warwick, sister of William Longspear, had a charter from the King of free warren at Hognorthon (Hooknorton).²⁵ Bishop Grostète died at Buckden in 1253,²⁶ and Henry Lexinton succeeded to the bishoprick²⁷ and to the lordship of Banbury. In 1258 Richard de Gravesend, Prebendary of King's Sutton,²⁸ was elected Bishop.²⁹ Philip Basset, baron of Wycomb, who died in 1271 (56th Henry III), gave to the Prior and Convent of St. Edburg at Bicester lands he had of the gift of Roger de Stampford in Cliftone', Heentone, and Dadyngtone, in Oxfordshire, and lands, tenements, and appurtenances in Grymesbury in the parish of Bannebyri and county of Northampton.³⁰

or a knight; to say nothing of his deficiency in literature. The bishop elect rejected him, but was blamed by many; and Michael Belet, the same who founded Wroxton Priory, wrote the bishop a reproof on the occasion. Grostete took Belet's rebuke in good part, and in his answer amply justified himself to his friend.—*Pegge's Life of Grosseteste*, p. 37.

(21) *Pegge's Life of Grosseteste*, p. 48. In 1250, Grostete, attended by the archdeacon of Oxford, went to the Pope to answer the appeal of the Knights Templars and other religious, who would have been exempted from his jurisdiction. From the declaration he made before the Pope it appears, that upon Grostete's first consecration he thought it necessary (lest the blood of his flock should in the last judgment be required at his hands) with all diligence, as the scripture commands, to visit the sheep committed to him. For which reason he began a circuit in his diocese, causing the clergy of every rural deanery to meet, and give notice to the people to appear with their children to be confirmed, and to hear the word of God, and to confess. In these assemblies he often preached to the clergy, and a friar predicant or minor to the laity; after which the friars heard confessions and enjoined penance: and when the children were confirmed the Bishop and his clergy applied themselves to the reformation of abuses, &c.—*Kennet*, v. 1, pp. 343, 344.

(22) *Kennet*, v. 1, p. 312. (23) *Kennet*, v. 1, p. 213. (24) *Baker's Northamp.*, p. 696.

(25) *Calend. Rot. Chart.* Ela countess of Warwick was found in 1285 to hold the manor of Hokenorton of the King in capite, upon the serjeantry of carving before the King on Christmas day, and to have the knife with which she carved.—*Kennet*.

(26) This celebrated prelate had studied at Oxford and Paris, then the most renowned seminaries in Europe, and became possessed of all the knowledge which those days could furnish; so that, like Roger Bacon who flourished later, he was looked upon as a magician. As he advanced in life, he became so far convinced of evils in the Romish system, that he is considered one of the precursors of the Reformation. Pope Innocent heard of his death, and said,—“I rejoice, and let every true son of the Roman church rejoice with me, that my great enemy is removed.”—*Pegge's Life of Grosseteste*; *Milner's Church History*.

(27) Whitworth. (28) *Baker's Northamp.*, p. 697. (29) Whitworth.

(30) *Kennet*, v. 1, p. 386. In 1262, Philip Basset, then Justice of England, witnessed at Bannebir', on the 25th of August, a writ from the King respecting making amends for surprisals contrary to the truce with Lewelin.—*Rymer's Fœdera*.

The HUNDRED of Banbury is first mentioned at this period. The Book of Fees in the court of Exchequer, in the time of Henry the Third and Edward the First,³¹ contains the following :—

“COUNTY OF OXON.—Fees of the Bishop of Lincoln.

“The said Bishop holds the hundred of Thame and the hundred of Dorkecestr’ and the hundred of Bannebur³² of the King *in capite*, and does not permit the Sheriff to enter for the purpose of making inquisition of the fee.

“Military tenants of the Bishoprick of Lincoln which is in the hand of our lord the King.

Robert de Chaucube iij parts of j knight [knights’ fee] in Burton [Bourton]

The same the eighth part of j knight in Wardinton

Ralph the son of Robert j knight in Claendon [Claydon] & Wardinton

Robert de Stokes iij knights in Wykam & in Sualcclive [Swalecliffe] & in Fanflur & in Ep’pewelle

Matill’ de Kussere j knight & a half in Setteford [Shutford] & in Burton

John de Builli j knight & a half in Prestecote

William de Duston j knight in Walmescote [Williamscot] for ward

Simon de Crop’peri half a knight in Crop’peri

Peter Talemache j knight & a half in Fanflur & in Swaleclive

The Town of Banneb’r is in the hand of our lord the King: two knights’ fees in Erdington [?] are in the hand of our lord the King; and Ralph Hareng holds it [i. e. the town of Banbury] in keeping for the King.”³³

In the 4th year of Edward I. (1276), an Inquisition made in different counties, and contained in the Hundred Rolls, supplies the following :—

“HUNDRED OF BANNEBYR’.

“The jurors of the aforesaid hundred say that the Hundred of Bannebir’ is in the hand of the Bishop of Lincoln, from what time or by what warrant they know not. And it is worth by the year £4.” [A marginal note states “What [was] in the Roll concerning the Officers is now wanting.”]

“Item, Of those who have liberties, &c.

“They say that the Bailiffs of the Bishop of Lincoln, to wit, Philip de Burne and others, take a certain portion of the penny³⁴ from each village of the Hundred of Bannebir’ at the view of frankpledge for

(31) Subsequently made up, 1st Edw. III., to obtain information of the scutage to be levied for the army about to march into Scotland. All tenants who held of the King by military service were bound to attend in all wars and expeditions; or, in default of personal service, a scutage or composition tax on every knights’ fee was assessed for the King’s use.

(32) The Hundred of Banbury now contains, in its northern division, Banbury and its Oxfordshire hamlets; Cropredy, with the chapelries of Claydon and Mollington, and the hamlets of Great and Little Bourton and Prescot; Wardington, also a chapelry to Cropredy and associated as one benefice with Williamscot chapelry and Coton hamlet; and Clattercot extraparochial. Westward of these, and separated by Bloxham hundred, are Swalecliffe, with the chapelries of Epwell and East and West Shutford. Southward, and isolated from all the above by Bloxham hundred and portions of Wootton and Chadlington hundreds, are the small town and parish of Charlbury, and its hamlets of Fawler and Finstock.

(33) Testa de Nevill sive Liber Feodorum in Curia Scaccarii.

(34) Bailey defines “Denarius Tertius Comitatus” “a third part of the profits which arise from country [county ?] courts, which were paid to the earl of the county; the other two parts being reserved for the king.”

fair pleading and nevertheless amerce the villages aforesaid at their pleasure. And this they have first done in the time of Richard the present bishop.

"Item, Of those who have of late appropriated to themselves chases, &c.

"They say that the Bishop of Lincoln hath ancient warrens in his demesnes at Bannebyr', but they know not by what warrant.

* * * * *

"Of those who have had felons &c.

"They say that one Thomas Gubin', having been taken by hue and cry for sheep stealing with the stolen goods in his possession and imprisoned in the Castle of Bannebyr', did by the will of Philip de Burne bailiff of Bannebyr' go forth out of prison; but whether he gave any thing or not they know not; but the said Philip retained goods of the said felon to the value of 27s. 6d.

"HUNDRED OF BLOKESHAM FOR THE KING.

"Of purprestures³⁵ &c.

"They say that John de Bikenton' bailiff of the Bishop of Winchester hath made purpresture upon the King's highway in Bannebyr' and Elbrebyr' to the nuisance of the aforesaid way.

* * * * *

"Of the Sheriffs' taking gifts that they may consent to conceal felonies &c.

* * * * *

"Item They say that when William Basiate, having been arrested for robbery and imprisoned in the Castle of Bannebyr', had escaped from the prison to the Church and had gone forth from the Church by the office of the Coroner,³⁶ there came Robert le Mund and others of the town of Bannebyr' by order of Philip de Burn' constable of Bannebyr', and him the said William going toward the sea did drag from off the King's highway and cut off his head.

"Item they say that the said Philip de Burn' took William Balle and him imprisoned till he gave him 3s. 8d. to let him go.

"Item, If any during the discord between the King and the Countess &c.

"They say that Walter Wyt of Bannebyr' Gilbert Laurenc' and Roger his brother Robert le Bercher and Robert de Cestreton' sold wool to merchants beyond sea at the time aforesaid; but they know not how many sacks.

* * * * *

"BOROUGH OF BANNEBYR'.

"Also what manors are wont to be in the hands of the Kings &c.

"They say that the manor of Hedington' [?] used to be in the hands of the Kings of the aforesaid kingdom, and Hugh de Plecet' holds the manor aforesaid, but at what time it was alienated, how, or by whom, they know not.

"Moreover, Who have of late appropriated to themselves new chases &c.

"They say that the Bishop of Lincoln hath warren at Bannebyr' but they know not by what warrant nor from what time.

"Of all purprestures by whomsoever made upon the King &c.

(35) A Purpresture [*Pourpris*, an Enclosure] is generally when any thing is done to the nuisance of the King's demesnes, the King's highways, &c. by enclosure or building; endeavouring to make that private which ought to be public.—*Wood's Institutes*.

(36) Abjuring the realm. When any one had committed felony, and the offender for safeguard of his life fled to the sanctuary of a church or church-yard, he might there, before the Coroner within forty days, confess the felony, and take an oath for his perpetual banishment, going the direct way to the sea.—*Cunningham's Law Diet*.

"They say that Richard de Wyk' seneschal of the Bishop of Lincoln and John de Ule constable of the Castle of Bannebyr' and Robert Godefrey have enclosed a certain King's highway in the town of Bannebyr' which used to be common to all going and returning towards the monastery, and this purpresture hath been made within ten years last past."³⁷

Nine years later the following records occur:—

13th Edw. I. In "Pleas without the Octave of the Purification of the Blessed Mary."—"Oliver Bishop of Lincoln was summoned to answer to our lord the King concerning a Plea *quo warranto* [by what warrant] he holds the hundred of Banneber' and also *quo warranto* he holds the hundred of Thame which belong unto the Crown of our lord the King &c. And the Bishop by his attorney comes and says that he and his predecessors have held the aforesaid hundreds from time out of mind without any interruption and by that warrant he holds them. And William de Gyseleh^{am} who sues &c. says that these hundreds are specially annexed unto the Crown of our lord the King which it is not lawful for any one to hold without the special warrant of our lord the King. And he demands judgment on the part of our lord the King whether since the aforesaid Bishop has shown no special warrant from our lord the King to hold the aforesaid hundreds he can by his own mere answer retain the same against the will of our lord the King &c. He says moreover that our lord King Richard and his ancestors were in seisin of the aforesaid hundreds. And this he is prepared to verify on the part of our lord the King as the court shall adjudge &c. Roll. 25. d."³⁸

13th Edw. I.—"The King by a fine of five marcs which the venerable father O. Bishop of Lincoln hath made with the King, hath restored to him his liberty of return of the King's writs to be had in the hundreds of Bannebury Thame & Dorkecestr' in the county of Oxon', which was taken into the hand of the King by reason that the Bailiff of the aforesaid Bishop for the hundred aforesaid of Bannebur' did not apprehend a certain thief as was commanded him &c. Roll 13."³⁹

In the 20th year of Bishop Gravesend (1277), Richard de Midilton, priest, was presented by Master Nicholas de Wantham, or Waltham, prebendary of the parish church of Bannebir, to the vicarage of the same, vacant by the death of Roger, 17th February.⁴⁰ Bishop Gravesend was removed to the see of London in 1280, when Oliver Sutton succeeded to that of Lincoln⁴¹ and to the lordship of Banbury. This Bishop, it appears, exerted his authority against a superstitious practice which prevailed in those times, of lame and blind persons resorting to supposed holy springs or wells, and making vows and offerings that they might obtain relief by the imagined sanctity of the waters. Dr. Hammond quotes the injunction of Bishop Sutton against the practice in this county.⁴² Among the holy wells of this neighbourhood were St. Rumbald's Well at King's Sutton, St.

(37) Rotul. Hundred.

(39) Rot. Orig. in Cur. Scac. Abbrev.

(41) Whitworth; Kennet.

(38) Placita de Quo Warranto.

(40) MS. Harl. 6950, fol. 223.

(42) Kennet, v. 1, p. 191.

Botolph's Well at Farnborough, and St. Stephen's Well at Banbury. The latter is a chalybeate spring, well-known and still often visited, situated on the west side of the town, a little north of the footway leading to North Newington.⁴³

In 1282, Richard de Mandevill and Matilda his wife had a grant for life of a weekly market and annual fair at Thorp (Thorp Mandeville). These privileges were never renewed.⁴⁴

In the 16th–17th Edw. I. (1288), a new taxation of the value of churches was begun, in consequence of Pope Nicolas the Fourth having granted the tenths of all spiritual preferments in England to King Edward, as an aid toward his expedition to the Holy Land. The two principal collectors were Richard bishop of Winchester and Oliver bishop of Lincoln; who appointed Ralph rector of Wotton and Richard rector of Gilling as taxers in the archdeaconry of Oxford. The return, which was not fully made till the year 1291, greatly exceeded the former computations.⁴⁵ In the diocese of Lincoln and deanery of Dadlington, the Prebendal church at Bannebur', deducting the portion (or allowance received by the vicar), is put down at £30. Among "Ecclesiastical benefices taxed at 10 marks and under, the possessors of which are not beneficed elsewhere," appears the Vicarage of the Prebendal Church of Bannebur', £6. 13s. 4d. In the same deanery of Dadlington, the Prior of Burncestr' had the manor of Grim'esbur, in the deanery (?) of Bannebur and county of Northampton, valued at £6.⁴⁶

At Easter in the 22nd year of Edward the First (1294), is recorded "An assise of novel disseisin taken at the head of the Bridge of Banebir" in the county of Northampton.⁴⁷ This is,

(43) This is called St. Stephen's Well in a plan of Sir John Cope's property at Banbury made in 1764. It also appears prominently as "A Well" in an unfinished view of Banbury made in 1730, of which a reduced copy is given in this volume.

The water of this spring is perfectly clear and colourless, having a brisk and slightly chalybeate taste. The stone channel is coated with a light red deposit, and a scum of the same colour appears on the water in parts where stagnant. The spring discharges from half a gallon to one gallon in a minute. In 32 oz. of the water at 50° are

Carbonic Acid gas.....	5 cubic inches
Hydrochlorate Magnesia.....	0.21 grains.
Chloride Sodium or common Salt	0.54
Sulphate Lime	1.5
Carbonate Lime	3.8
Protoxide Iron	0.024
Silica	a trace
Total weight of solid contents	6.074

The water of St. Rumbald's Well at Astrop is also slightly chalybeate.

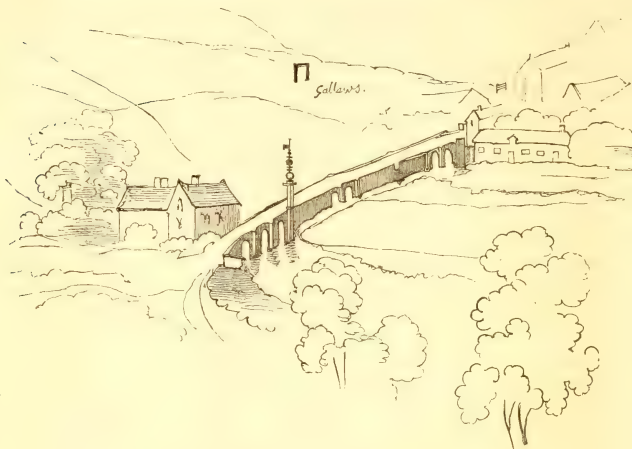
(44) Baker's Northamp., p. 720.

(46) Tax. Eccles. Ang. & Wall. Auct. P. Nich. IV.

(45) Kennet.

(47) Abbrev. Placit.

as far as I can discover, the first mention that is made of BANBURY BRIDGE: it refers to the present fabric, which is a work of the 13th century, and is one of the best specimens now remaining of the bridges of the middle ages. Originally it formed a perfectly level way across the valley of the Cherwell, and was about 258 feet in length exclusive of the approaches. The level has now



BANBURY BRIDGE IN 1731. N.E.

Facsimile of a Sketch in Mr. Gough's Collection Vol. 21, in the Bodleian Library.

been lost at that end of the Bridge which is nearest the town, by the erection, towards the close of the last century, of a disgraceful brick arch, of higher elevation than the ancient fabric, across the canal.⁴⁸ The two ancient arches at that end of the Bridge, as seen in the above cut, span the mill stream; they are in the pointed style, and are built on parallel ribs. (See Plate 18.) These arches are similar in design and construction to the land arches of Old London Bridge; the ribs being turned first at narrow intervals to enable the masons to lay the long stones from rib to rib, by this means avoiding expensive cen-

(48) It is surprising that the talented Brindsly, who was Engineer to this canal, could have designed such frightful bridges as this canal only can shew.

tering for the arches, and leaving the course of the current free in a very short time. There are two smaller and generally dry arches of similar construction eastward of these: and further eastward still are three large arches, of the same pointed style, and erected on ribs, which span the principal stream of the Cherwell. The cutwaters of these last, on the north side, rise to a level with the parapet in order to form recesses on this narrow part of the Bridge for the safety of foot passengers. The boundary post which formerly stood here (see the cut on the last page) marked the commencement of Northamptonshire.¹

Sir Theobald de Barro, kinsman of the lord count de Barro, was collated to the Prebend of Bannebir on the 1st November 1295, on the death of Master Nicholas de Waltham.² Oliver Sutton, bishop of Lincoln and lord of Banbury, died in 1300; and was succeeded by John De Alderby, Dalderby, or Baldreby.³ In the 1st year of the new Bishop, John de Kirkeby, deacon, was presented by sir William de Craven, proctor of sir Theobald de Barro prebendary of Bannebiri, to the Vicarage of the prebendal church of Bannebir, vacant by the death of Richard de Brancestr, March 29.⁴ On the 1st December 1301, Bishop Dalderby was at Banbury.⁵ The Prebend of Baneburi becoming void by the consecration of sir Theobald de Barro to the bishoprick of Liege, the Bishop of Lincoln conferred the same in 1303 upon sir Hugh de Normanton, canon of Lincoln. The Bishop afterward stayed his collation; and, on the 30th March

(1) There is property appropriated to the repair of the Bridge and highways, which is held by the Corporation, who appoint Bridgemasters to manage the trust. The Decree of the Commissioners of Charitable Uses made at Banbury in 1603 mentions, 1st a burgage on the south side of Bridge-end Street of the yearly rent of 7*s.* 6*d.* given to the repair of the Bridge and highways; 2nd a burgage on the north side of Sheep Street or Bolting Street of the yearly rent of 20*s.* given to the same use; 3rd a burgage on the south side of High Street of the yearly rent of 6*s.* 8*d.* given to the repair of the highways without Sugarford Bar; 4th a tenement on the west side of North Bar Street of the yearly rent of 2*s.* 8*d.* given to the repair of the highways in North Bar Street. A "Note of all such Leases as are now in esse of the burgages & landes given to the Church amement of the Bridge & High wayes & other charitable vses in the sayd Borough," apparently of the date of 1616, and preserved among the Corporation records, enumerates—"A peece or plot of ground to buyld two bayes of howsing vppon lying betweene the Bridge Strete & Parsons meadowe," rent 2*s.* 6*d.*; "A Tenem't in Brederosse Streete or Bowlling Streete," rent 20*s.*; "A Tenem't in Colebar Streete given by Mr. John Knight to the vse of the poore," rent 26*s.* 8*d.*; and "A Tenem't at the west end of P'sons Lane on the south syde." In the same volume of Records, in the 36th of Charles II., mention is made of the "Bridge house in ye Shambles." The Commissioners on Charities in 1824 and 1825 describe the present property left for the repair of the Bridge and Highways as being, 1st an acre and a half of land near the Bridge of the annual value of £10; 2nd a house &c. on the north side of the Butcher's Row [or Shambles] let to Jabez Welch for £15. 1*s.* per annum; 3rd a house &c. on the south side of High Street let to Richard Boswell at £18. 1*s.* per annum; 4th a house on the west side of North Bar Street let to Richard Austin for £25.

(2) Harl. MS. 6951, fol. 53.

(3) Whitworth's Nobil.; Kennet.

(4) Harl. MS. 6951, fol. 119.

(5) Harl. MS. 7048, fol. 335.

1304, George de Solar de Poraya, by virtue of a provision from the Pope, was admitted to the same.⁶

In the 30th of Edw. I. (1302), Robert de Elseffeld and Henry Durnal were returned burgesses in Parliament for Dadintone. In the 32nd Edw. I., John Tankrevy and William Gyllot were returned burgesses in Parliament for Dadyngton.⁷

In or about the year 1305 (33rd–34th Edw. I.), inquisition was made into the rents, &c. of all manors and lands of the bishop of Lincoln; the rents as regard Banbury were found to be as follows :—

“Sum of the assised rents for the outward manor⁸ of Banbury with the outward mills £54. 14s. 3d.—Item, for increase [of rent] made in the said manor £3. 15s. 4d.—Item, for the mills in Banbury let to farm, £22.—Item, for the Burgh let to farm, £23.—Item, for the Hundred let to farm, £9.—Sum total of rents &c. £170. 9s. 7d.—Sum of the hens in the said manor for 2 assises 118 hens.—Item for serjeantry⁹ 140 hens and one thousand and 300 eggs.”¹⁰

THE BROUGHTON FAMILY.

In the reigns of John and Henry the Third many particulars appear relating to the BROUGHTON family, which show them to have been of great rank and consequence.¹¹ In the 29th year of Edward the First (1301) John de Broughton had a charter of free warren on his land at Broughton. About this period BROUGHTON CASTLE appears to have been erected.

The greater part of the present mansion at Broughton belongs to what is called the Elizabethan era, but some portions of an earlier building, of the 14th century, remain tolerably perfect. The Chapel belongs to this older part, and though small and plain is interesting, as very few domestic chapels of that age have

(6) Harl. MS. 6951, fol. 95.

(7) Parl. Writs.

(8) *Forinsecum manerium*; the manor, or that part of it, which lies without the bars or town, and not included within the liberties of it.—*Cunningham*.

(9) *Serjantia*, a serjeantry or service done for the holding of lands.—*Kennet*.

(10) “Summa reddituum assis. de manerio forinseco Banbury cum molendinis forinsecis LIVl. XIVs. IIIId. Item de incremento facto in dicto manerio IIIl. XVs. IVd. Item de molendinis in Banbury affirmat. XXIII. Item de Burgo affirm. XXIII. Item de Hundredo affirm. IXl. Summa totalis reddituum, &c. CLXXl. IXs. et VIIId. Summa gallinarum in dicto manerio de II. assis. CXVIII. gallinæ. Item de serjantia CXL. gallinæ, et mille et CCC. ova.” Ex Rental. Episc. Linc. MS. membran. penes D. D. T. Halton, archid. Oxon.—*Quoted from Kennet*.

(11) In 1212 (6th July, 14th John) Falkes' was apparently in command over a district of country, and is directed to send an account of the number of men he has for the defence of the King's territory against his enemies: and Falkesius is mentioned as in an office of command in several other passages. (Rot. Litt. Claus.) In 1213 (19th Nov.) Falkes' de Breaute [Broughton] has seisin given him of the manor of Cumgresbir', “for the support of our castles in Wales which are in his keeping.” In 1214 there are several entries

been preserved. The east window is of the Decorated style, with the Geometrical tracery which was in use in the beginning of the 14th century. Immediately under this window is the stone Altar, consisting of a slab supported on three plain corbels: the

respecting money paid through Falkes' de Breaute to different persons. In 1215 (17th Jan.) he goes from the King to certain persons, and is to return with them to the king at Winchester, and bring Robert de Drous under safe conduct. In the same year Falkes' de Breauton' is styled "our Seneschal;" and there is also an order to pay him £200. On the 27th of April in that year, the house next to the wine tavern in Oxford, which was the property of Isaac the Jew, is given to Nicholas de Breaute, the brother of "our faithful Falkes' de Breaute." On the 6th of June the King commands Falkes' de Breaut' to send our beloved brother W. earl of Salisbury 400 Welsh, so that they be at Salisbury on Whit-Tuesday. And he is directed to send to the King some persons in whom he can confide, to receive the pay of the Welshmen who remain with him. On the 18th Sept. there are several orders to Falkes' de Breaut' respecting the sending parties of his men to garrison certain castles, and also his receiving certain knights sent by the King to serve under him. On the 21st Nov. is an order to Falkes' de Breaut' about the soldiers holding Bridgenorth. On the following day he is to put Eustace de Leon in possession of Sumerton. On the 12th Dec. he is to put the castle of Midelinton into the possession of Engel' de Cygoir'. On the 23rd Dec. he is to cause Thomas Kerel to have 100 marcates of land formerly Robert Mauduit's. On the 25th he, with the sheriffs of Beds and Bucks, are to cause a man to have some land. (*Rot. Litt. Claus.*, various places.) In Feb. 1216 he is called sheriff of Hertfordshire. On the 22nd March in that year, the town of Awelton' (Alton, Hants.) is bestowed upon Falk' de Breaut'. On the 15th April, there is an order to him, the earl of Salisbury, and others, to pay soldiers. On the 5th June he is to take possession of Thoren' Abbey for the King, the Abbot being dead; and give it in charge to the Prior thereof. On the 3rd Aug. lands are given him in Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, and Gloucestershire. On the 15th Sept. all the lands which belonged to Baldwin de Betun, earl of Albemarle, in the counties of Kent, Bedford, Berks, Norfolk, Suffolk, Northampton, and Worcester, are bestowed upon Falkes' de Breaut'. In the 1st. of Henry III. (1217) it appears that his wife was Margaret, widow of Baldwin de Lisle son of the earl de Lisle, and daughter of Warin the son of Gerold. In March 1218, he is one of the witnesses to an agreement between the King and Llewellyn Prince of North Wales; and numerous entries shew that he had authority in Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, and Gloucestershire. In 1220 he is ordered to allow certain persons to kill deer in Rockingham Forest. Soon after, he is to restore the bailiwick of that and other forests to Hugh de Neville. In November following is an order to repay him money expended in the siege of Rockingham castle. In April 1224 he is commanded to restore Woodstock &c.—*Rot. Litt. Claus.*

In the same year 1224 (8th Henry III.) the land of Newenton, which belonged to Emma de St. Paul, is given to John de Breaut'. (*Rot. Litt. Claus.*) On the 11th Oct. in the same year the King commands the Sheriff of Oxfordshire, "with respect to 5 shillings and 6 pence of rent with the appurtenances in Bannebir' which John de Breaut' was to have purchased of William de Mildeu'be [Milcomb] for 5 marks, and with respect to 43 shillings from which he was to have acquitted the said William in the Jewry at Oxford, neither of which he has done, as is certified unto us by an inquisition therein made by our command which you have sent unto us; that you cause the said William to have full seisin thereof without delay." In the same month the sheriffs of Beds and Bucks are to put Henry de Capella in possession of a manor which had been held by Falkes de Breaut'. On the 10th July Falkes de Breaut' is proclaimed a rebel &c.; and, subsequently, his wife is provided for.—*Rot. Litt. Claus.*

In the 19th of Hugh Wells, bishop, (1228,) Robert Mauduit presented to the church of Broucton [Broughton]. In 1229, Nicholas de Wroest' [Wroxton] sub-deacon, was instituted to the church of Brocton at the presentation of Master Michael Belet, by reason of his guardianship of the lands and inheritance of Ralph de Brocton. (*Harl. MS. 6950*, fols. 71, 72.) Near or subsequently to the year 1230, Sir John de Bruchton appears a witness to a grant of Michael Belet of 40s. yearly to be paid by the Prior and Canons of Wrookstan to the Lady Abbess of Godesthough. (*Warton's Life of Sir T. Pope.*) In the 29th of Edw. I. (1301) John de Broughton had a charter of free warren on his land at Broughton, Oxfordshire, and at some places in Warwickshire. (*Cal. Rot. Chart.*) In the reign of Edward the Second (which commenced in 1307) the manor of Broughton was held of the King in capite by John Mauduit, by the serjeanty of mewing one of the King's goshawks, or carrying that hawk to the King's court. (*Kennet's Paroch. Antiq.*, v. 2, p. 247.) In the same reign, the church of Broughton being void by the death of Richard de Everdon the last rector, Thomas Earl of Lancaster, High Steward of England, by reason of the minority of John the son and heir of John de Broughton, presented to

slab retains the small crosses which were marked on the surface of an altar at the time of its consecration in Roman Catholic times. A considerable part of the walls in the north front¹² and east side, and several rooms with their groined stone roofs, are of the same age. The whole of the south front is in the Elizabethan style and a good specimen of it. The west side appears to have been rebuilt at a later period. There are some good plain chimneys; and a square tower with battlements, gurgoyles, and arrowlets, at the southeast corner; these probably belong to the original building. Several of the rooms have good plaster ceilings and chimney-pieces of the time of Elizabeth or James the First; and there is a singular sort of inner porch of carved wood over the door in the drawing room.¹³ The Castle is moated and has a stone bridge of two arches over the moat, with a Gateway Tower and some other out-buildings (now used as stables) which are of the early part of the 15th century. (Plate 24.) The battlemented wall connecting these with the main building is of the 14th century: it has cruciform apertures or arrowlets through which the besieged could discharge their arrows with safety from a continuous terrace along the inner face of the battlements. The appearance of this fortified mansion with its moat and tower gateway is exceedingly picturesque from every point of view.¹⁴

The Church of Broughton is also of the 14th century (see hereafter). In the south aisle is a fine monument of the time of Edward the Second with a canopy let into the south wall: it is a very rich and beautiful specimen of Decorated work,¹⁵ and is

the bishop Ralph de Berford [Barford] clerk to succeed to the said church; and Sir Robert de Wykham knight, by reason of his guardianship of the lands and inheritance of John de Broughton aforesaid, presented Elias de Colleshall clerk; and William Paunes lord of Narburn by reason of his guardianship of the lands and inheritance of John de Broughton aforesaid, also presented the aforesaid Elias de Colleshall clerk. The matter having been litigated in the King's court for some time, at length Sir Robert de Wykham recalled his presentation for this turn, and Thomas earl of Lancaster recovered his presentation against William de Paunes. Wherefore Ralph de Berford, acolyth, was admitted to the said church of Broughton Nov. 23rd 1317, with the consent of the coadjutor. (Harl. MS. 6951, fol. 137.) In 1319, William de Paunes granted to Thomas earl of Lancaster the homage and all the services which John son and heir of John de Broughton held of him, by reason of the manors of Broghton and Newinton near to Banneburi &c. (Kennet, v. 1, p. 543.) In 1369, sir Roger de Gledston of Newenton, priest, was presented by Thomas de Broughton knight, to the church of Broughton, on a vacancy occasioned by the death of sir Ralph de Barford 24th April 1369.—*Harl. MS.* 6952, fol. 3.

(12) The less ancient part of the north front is stated to have been erected by the Fienes family in 1544.—*Skelton's Oxf.*

(13) See a vignette thereof in *Skelton's Oxf.*, where there are also two splendid views of Broughton Castle.

(14) This account of Broughton Castle was chiefly furnished by J. H. Parker Esq., Secretary of the Oxford Society for promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture.

(15) It is engraved in *Skelton's Oxfordshire*.

traditionally stated to represent one of the De Broughton family, the founder of the church and castle. Anthony à Wood records a Latin inscription to the memory of Thomas de Broughton, which appears to have been upon his tomb in this church: "Thomas de Broughton knight formerly lord of Broughton who adorned this church with various ornaments: upon whose soul may God have mercy. Amen."¹⁶ Thomas de Broughton was living in 1369 (see note 11, p. 102).

THE REIGN OF EDWARD THE SECOND. ROBERT DE ARDEN OF WICKHAM.

Piers de Gaveston, the King's favourite, having made himself odious to the English lords, the latter in 1312 concerted and executed a plan for revenge. They made Gaveston their prisoner, and committed him to the custody of the Earl of Pembroke, who proposed to take him to Wallingford castle; but on arriving at Deddington the Earl committed Gaveston to the care of some of his guards while he himself went to lodge at an adjacent village. It seems that Guy de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, who was Gaveston's implacable enemy, and whom the courtly favourite had been used to designate as the "Black Dog of Arden," had some intelligence of the place of Gaveston's temporary imprisonment and of the slender guard by which he was surrounded. Attended by a large force he came that night to Deddington. Gaveston, in the morning, was ordered to dress speedily, and on descending into the court-yard found himself in the presence of the Black Dog of Arden. He was put upon a mule and carried away with shouts of triumph and music to Warwick castle. There Gaveston threw himself at the feet of the Earl of Lancaster, whom he styled "gentle lord;" but all his entreaties were vain, and, in the barbarous and lawless spirit of the times, he was hurried away to Blacklow hill, near Guy's Cliff, and there beheaded.¹⁷

(16) Wood's MSS. in the Ashmolean Library; Skelton's *Antiq. Oxf.*

In removing a tree of large growth on the Broughton estate some years ago an elegant ring of pure gold was found, having a device of St. George and the Dragon. An inscription in Norman French is on the part which encircles the finger:—"Joye san ni fyn" (Joy without end). The seal is engraved in Skelton's Oxfordshire.

(17) *Pict. Hist. England, &c.* The Castle at Deddington was no doubt the place of Gaveston's temporary confinement, although some have imagined, from some vague ground of tradition, that an ancient house which formerly stood a little westward of the King's Arms Inn, near the turnpike road to Banbury, was the scene of this occurrence. This

In 1311, the assent of John de Alderby, bishop of Lincoln, was requested to a levy of one foot soldier from each township within his lordships. Five years after, this Bishop was certified as lord of certain townships, among which are the hundred and township of Banbury, Neithorp, Corthorp, Hardwick, and Great and Little Burton; and as joint lord of Wardington, Cropredy, and Cotes.¹⁸

In 1314 was fought the fatal battle of Bannockburn, at which John Segrave of Segrave and of Chacombe, and John Claveringham of Aynho &c., were among the prisoners taken by the Scots.¹⁹ This John de Segrave, in the 28th of Edward I. (1300), had a charter of free warren at North Newenton, Oxon.²⁰ He was summoned to Parliament from the 24th Edward I. to the 18th Edward II. He died 19th Edward II. (1325), seised (int. al.) of the manor of Chacombe, held of the Bishop of Lincoln by service of half a fee, and of being constable of the bishop's castle of Bannebiri during war for forty days at his own expense.²¹ John de Claveringham, in 1324, had a grant of a weekly market on Tuesday and a yearly fair at his manor of Eynho.²²

In the 9th of Edw. II. (1315-16), the prior of Burcester was certified to be co-lord of Grimsbury; as was John le Boteller, in whom the Park estate was vested partly by marriage with Beatrice, daughter and coheirress of William de Park, and partly by agreement with, and release from Alicia de Park, and the other sisters of Beatrice, Alianora and Joan.²³ In 1320, Walter de Burcester, clerk, gave unto the Priory of Burcester one

latter building is mentioned by Gough as "an old inn, chiefly of stone, for pilgrims." The Rev. C. Winstanley, who resided at Deddington in 1809-1812 (before the building was taken down), has kindly furnished me with drawings of the more ancient parts, by which it appears that the date of the erection cannot have been earlier than the 16th century.

(18) Parliamentary Writs.

(19) Stow's Annales.

(20) Cal. Rot. Chart.

(21) Baker's Northamp., pp. 588, 589; Cal. Inq. Post. Mort. His grandson, Sir John Segrave, by his will dated 1352, directed his body to be buried at Chacombe, and appointed Henry (de Kegworth), prior of Chacombe, one of his executors.—*Baker*, p. 594.

(22) Baker's Northamp., p. 550. John de Clavering and Hawise his wife were summoned in 1329 by writ of *quo warranto* to shew their right to view of frankpledge, assise of bread and beer, with tumbrel and pillory, infangtheefe and gallows, warren, wayfs and strays, weekly market and annual fair, at their manor of Aynho. In the following year, 1330, the crown confirmed the grant of the market and fair to Ralph de Neville, on whom Clavering had settled the manor in reversion. In 1623, Richard Cartwright had a regrant of the market and fair at Aynho, with the addition of another yearly fair. The market had however been discontinued upwards of sixty years when Bridges wrote, and both the fairs have fallen into desuetude.—*Baker*, pp. 545, 550.

(23) Baker's Northamp., pp. 746, 747. In the 19th Edw. II. (1325), John le Botiller and Beatrice his wife claimed against the prior and convent of Burcestre a moiety of the manor of Grymesbury, as the right of the said Beatrice by inheritance from Thomas de Park; and in the next reign, 1330 (4th Edward III.), the prior and convent gave the King a mark for licence of agreement with the claimants, who bound themselves in one hundred pounds to levy a fine of the said moiety to the prior and convent; and in further

messuage, ten acres of arable land, four acres of meadow, and twenty-five shillings yearly rent, with other appurtenances in Grymesbury and Werkworth.²⁴

13th Edw. II.—“John Gunvyle of Bannebur, priest,” [query, John Gynwel, afterwards (in 1347) bishop of Lincoln,] “was presented by the procurator of sir George de Salerio, prebendary of the Prebend of Bannebir, to the Vicarage of the Prebendal church of Bannebur vacant by reason that Master John de Kirkeby, the last vicar of the same, had accepted the custody of the chapel of Kirkeby,” &c. Gunvyle was admitted to the Vicarage of Bannebur Dec. 9th, 1319.²⁵ There is a record after the close of Bishop D'Alderby's episcopate, that the king recovered the presentation to the Prebend of Bannebir, by reason of the bishoprick of Lincoln being vacant.²⁶ In 1320 (13th–14th Edw. II), Henry Burgherst, or Burwash, lord treasurer, was consecrated to the said bishoprick,²⁷ and became lord of Banbury.

Some measures taken by George de Salerio, Prebendary of Banbury, became a question of dispute between the courts of England and Rome: at the same time the Bishop of Lincoln's Castle of Banbury was given by the King into the keeping of Robert de Arden.

14th Edw. II.—“The King.—The Jurors say that George de Solario de Iporeya, prebendary of Banbury in the church of the blessed Mary of Lincoln, drew William de Bevercote prebendary of the prebend of Rampton in the church of the blessed Mary Suwell in plea in the court of Rome out of the kingdom concerning the advowson of the prebend aforesaid and concerning the carrying away of goods, the cognizance whereof pertains unto our lord the King even as our lord the King lays it upon him. Wherefore let the said George be taken &c. And beneath it is thus written, The Jurors estimate damages to the King ij thousand pounds and to the Clerk j thousand pounds. Roll 10.”²⁸

15th Edw. II. “Of } “The King to the Sheriff of Oxfordshire
taking and keeping the } greeting. For certain reasons we command you
Castle of Bannebury. } that without delay you take into our hand the
body of the Bishop of Lincoln's Castle of Ban-

corroboration of their title, Alicia de Park, and Simon de Solers son of Alianora de Park, released to the Prior and Convent all their right and claim.—*Kennet's Paroch. Antiq.*, v. 2, p. 11; *Baker's Northamp.*, p. 747.

(24) Kennet, v. 1, p. 547. The following occurs subsequently.—“3rd Edw. III. Pleas of the crown at Northampton.—The Jurors say that the prior of Burcestre now of late hath gotten 10 acres of land, 4 acres of meadow, & 25s. & 10d. of rent with appurtenances in Warkworth & Grymesby of Walter de Burncestre clerk appropriating the same to himself & his church they know not by what title. Afterwards cometh the prior & saith that the lord King Edward the father of our lord the present King granted to the said prior & convent of Burncestre that he might receive of Walter de Burcestre clerk the aforesaid 10 acres of land, 4 acres of meadow, &c. Let the prior go sine die.” (*Kennet*, v. 2, p. 11.) When judgment is given for the defendant it is said—“eat inde sine die;” that is, he is dismissed the court.—*Bailey*.

(25) Harl. MS. 6951, fol. 143.

(27) Whitworth's Nobil.

(26) Harl. MS. 6951, fol. 164.

(28) Abbrev. Placit.

nebury in your bailiwick and deliver the same unto our beloved and faithful Robert de Arden' to keep according to the tenor of our commission to him for that purpose given. And this by no means fail to do. Witness the King at Worcester the 3rd day of January.—By the King himself."

"The King has committed unto Robert de Arden' the keeping of the body of the Bishop of Lincoln's Castle of Bannebury with the appurtenances in the county of Oxford which for certain reasons is now in the King's hand, to have the same so long as the King shall please. In [witness] whereof &c. Witness as above.—By the King himself."

"And it is commanded unto the soldiers [*militibus*, knights, or military tenants] and all others of the parts of Bannebury that unto the said Robert as the keeper of the Castle aforesaid they be, in all things which pertain to the safe keeping of the same and the preservation of the peace of the King therein and in the neighbouring parts and which concern the King and the King's honour, heedful advising and assisting as often as and whenever by the said Robert on the part of the King they shall be warned hereof. Witness as above.—By the King himself."²⁹

ROBERT DE ARDEN, who is mentioned in the above documents, resided at WICKHAM,³⁰ within the parish of Banbury. He had been returned knight of the shire for Oxford in 1314.³¹ Besides Wickham, he owned Drayton³² where he had charter of free warren in 1317,³³ and much other property hereabouts. At the date when the Castle of Banbury was given by the King into his keeping (1322), Robert de Arden was appointed one of the commissioners for arraying the forces of Oxon and Berks³⁴ raised against the confederated nobles who opposed the King in the north under the Earl of Lancaster. Bishop Burgherst, for certain causes, was not requested to raise men at arms.³⁵

In 1323, Robert de Arden was directed to enforce the general array in the county. In 1324 he was re-appointed commissioner of array for the county with special powers.³⁶ At this date the following occurs:—

17th Edw. II.—"The King to the Sheriff of Oxon' &c. greeting. Although George de Iporegia prebendary of the Prebend of Bannebury in the church of the blessed Mary at Lincoln, for that he in respect of certain contempts to us by him done whereof he was convicted in

(29) Rot. Patent. 15th Edw. II., p. 1, m. 4.

(30) Wood's MSS., F. 21.

(31) Parl. Writs.

(32) In 1223, Sir Thomas de Arden, knight, presented Roger de Arden to the church of Drayton. In 1247-8, the Lady Eustathia de Ardenne presented Ralph de Ardenne to the said church.—*Hart. MS.* 6950, fols. 64, 132.

(33) Cal. Rot. Chart.

(34) Parl. Writs.

(35) Parl. Writs.

(36) Parl. Writs. At this date (17th Edw. II.) the following occurs. "—John de Clare, who of the lands and tenements (to wit of the manor of Bannebury) of the bishoprick of Lincoln now being in the hand of our lord the King and in the keeping of Robert de Ardenne by the said Lord the King's commission, held at Great Bourton one messuage with a dove-house and garden &c. &c.—the aforesaid lands and tenements are held for the third part of one knights' fee and suit of the court of the Hundred of Bannebury from three weeks to three weeks. John de Clare son of the aforesaid John is his next heir and is of the age of 14 years, whose body remains in the power of Robert de Ardenne keeper of the manor of Bannebury."—*Inq. Post. Mort.*, 17th Edw. II. no. 24.

our court came not to make satisfaction unto us in the said court for the aforesaid contempts, was put in the Exigent in order to Outlawry in the aforesaid county, and was on that account outlawed, whereupon you took into our hand the corn &c. of the aforesaid George found within the aforesaid Prebend; nevertheless we, desirous of showing favour to Parnolus de Monte Florum procurator of the Venerable Father Lord Neapolion St. Adrian cardinal deacon our much beloved cousin on account of our regard for the said cardinal deacon, do command you that you commit the corn &c. to the said Parnolus and to some one of our faithful subjects of your Bailiwick to be by you chosen for this purpose at a reasonable charge for the same &c. to be kept for our service, if it ought to belong to us, so long as &c.—Roll. 8."³⁷

In the 1st Edw. III. (1327), Robert Ardern' had a charter of free warren at Drayton, Hanewell, Hornle [Horley], Horington [Hornton], Dunstuwe, and Swaleweelis [Swalecliffe], all in Oxfordshire.³⁸ In the next year there is similar record of free warren to Robert Arderne at Drayton, Hanewell, Hornle, Horinton, Dunstuwe, Yolingbury, Wikham, and Swaleweelyve in Oxfordshire.³⁹ In the 3rd of Edw. III., Robert Arderne had a fair at Drayton, and view of frankpledge and other liberties there and at Hanewell, Dunstan [Dunstew], Yolghbury, and Hornle in Oxfordshire.⁴⁰ In the same year, pardon was granted to Robert de Arderne, knight, and to William de Montacute and Oliver de Ingham, knights, for all murders, &c.⁴¹ In the 4th year of Edward the Third, Robert de Ardern' had licence from the King to fortify his mansion at Wickham; as follows:—

4th Edw. III. "In } "The King to all Bailiffs, &c. unto whom
behalf of Robert de } &c. greeting. Know ye that of our special
Ardern' } favour we have granted to our beloved and
faithful Robert de Ardern' that he his mansion
of Wykham in the county of Oxford may with a wall of stone and mortar fortify and kernel,⁴² and the said mansion so fortified and kernelled hold for himself and his heirs for ever without let or hindrance from us or our heirs our justices sheriffs or other our bailiffs or officers whomsoever.—Whereof in &c.—Witness the King at Wodestok the second day of May.—By Writ of Privy Seal."⁴³

No part of this ancient mansion at Wickham remains; but two successive residences have been since erected on the site. Sir Robert de Arden died in the year after he was empowered to fortify Wickham, namely in 1331, "seised," says Anthony à Wood, "of a very fair estate."⁴⁴

(37) Rot. Orig. in Cur. Scac. Abbrev.

(39) Cal. Rot. Chart.

(42) Kernelled walls were walls built with notches or crannies for convenience of shooting with bows, &c.—Bailey.

(43) Rot. Patent. 4th Edw. III. p. 1. m. 27.

(38) Cal. Rot. Chart.

(41) Cal. Rot. Patent.

(44) Wood's MSS. F. 21.

ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE.

CHURCHES &c. OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD.

It has been mentioned (p. 93) that on Bishop Grostête's visitation of this part of his diocese in 1238 (which occurred in the month of May 22nd Henry III.), there was a solemn dedication of Churches in the county of Oxford.¹ Portions of many Churches remain in this neighbourhood which were erected in the century preceding this date: yet by far the greater number of the edifices now remaining appear to have been chiefly the work of a later period, namely, the 14th century (extending from the latter part of Edward the First's reign to the beginning of that of Henry the Fourth), a period during which the Decorated style of Architecture prevailed. Mr. J. H. Parker² observes of the Banbury district—"It would be difficult to find another district which presents so many fine and interesting Churches, abounding most in those very points which are most rare elsewhere. One of the most eminent Antiquaries in Europe, M. de Caumont, says in his History of Gothic Architecture that it is difficult to meet with an entire Church of the 14th century, or Decorated style—that this most beautiful style is usually found only in additions and alterations: yet almost all your Churches are precisely of this age and style." Again—"I do not remember in your neighbourhood an instance of a Church of the 15th century, which is singular, since in many districts almost all the Churches are of that date, and in most they are very common." A tradition

(1) The dedication was by Robert Grostete bishop of Lincoln and William Brewer bishop of Exeter. (Kennet, v. 1, p. 312.) There is an epistle from Grostete to the archdeacon of Lincoln, wherein he warns him to give notice to the rectors of all Churches to provide for consecration: since, according to the canons of a late council held at London, every church unconsecrated was to have a solemn consecration within two years following. The epistle is not dated, but the subject of it seems to fix it to 1236.—*Ibid.*

(2) Secretary of the Oxford Society for promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture, and compiler of the "Glossary of Architecture." I am deeply indebted to this gentleman, who himself paid a visit, in 1839, to nearly all the Churches in the vicinity of Banbury, for his valuable MS. notes respecting them. The descriptions which follow, to which Mr. Parker's name is attached, are from his pen. For the notices of the Churches of this neighbourhood which were not visited by Mr. Parker, I am in like manner indebted to the Rev. J. C. Stafford of Chacombe, and to Mr. Derick, architect, of Oxford, both of whom visited the places described for the express purpose of assisting this work.

prevails that the three fine churches of Adderbury, Bloxham, and King's Sutton were erected by three masons who were brothers:³ and some well-known traditionary lines celebrate these three Churches, or rather their Spires, for their (supposed) respective merits:—

BLOXHAM for length,
ADDERBURY for strength,
And KING'S SUTTON for beauty.

“In most instances,” observes Mr. Derick, “the tracery of the windows, the carving, and ornamental parts of the Churches in this neighbourhood, are of freestone, worked up with the stone of the neighbourhood; the freestone appears to be of a similar kind to that at Heythrop. In all the Churches which I have visited there are extensive remains of early paintings on the walls and arches.”

The whole of the edifices described in this section are situated within six miles of Banbury.

ADDERBURY CHURCH (St. Mary). The body of this Church with the aisles, and the very beautiful Spire, are in the Decorated style prevalent in the middle of the 14th century. The Chancel is of somewhat later character, in the Perpendicular style generally used in the 15th century, but in this instance in the latter part of the 14th, as this chancel is known to have been built by William of Wykeham, whose bust and arms are sculptured on the external wall over the east window. It is a fine specimen of his peculiar character and does not disgrace his well-known talents as an architect: the whole effect is extremely rich and magnificent, and the minutest details will bear and are worthy of a careful examination. This chancel was restored at the expense of New College in 1834, under the superintendence of Mr. Buckler the well-known Antiquary. The Sedilia (stone seats for the priests) and Piscina (niche containing a small basin and water drain) on the south side of the altar are very rich and beautiful specimens restored in a very perfect manner. The Altar itself is of stone, corresponding with the building; the altar-screen or Reredos also of stone and very handsome, but not original, and the original design not strictly followed, which is to be regretted, though the general effect is very good. In the body of the Church all the windows have lost their tracery, which was

(3) See the rest of the legend, p. 10 (note 22).

cut out about the year 1790 to save the expense of repairing it, and its place supplied by upright stone bars. These windows will be a disgrace to the parish so long as they are suffered to remain in this mutilated state. This part of the Church must originally have been very fine. The Clerestory and roof remain perfect and very good. Between each of the Transepts and the side aisles of the Nave are two arches resting on clustered columns with fine sculptured capitals of the Decorated style, consisting of heads and figures, a fashion which is to be found in some other churches of this neighbourhood, as at Hanwell, but not of common occurrence. There are stone Porches to the north and south doors; that on the north side a particularly good specimen of the 14th century, as is the richly ornamented doorway under it. The Spire is of the 14th century, lofty and tapering: it springs from a plain Tower of the 13th century with an open parapet of trefoils, under which is a good Decorated cornice. On the north side of the Chancel is a Vestry with Muniment room over it, which has an Oriel window.⁴

The length of Adderbury church from east to west (exclusive of the tower) is 118½ feet. The chancel is 20¾ feet wide, and the width of the nave with the aisles 60 feet.⁵

BLOXHAM CHURCH (St. Mary). The general appearance of this Church is very striking, both from its fine situation, and from its very beautiful Spire, which is said to be 195 feet in height, and is a conspicuous object for many miles round. Nor does a more minute examination disappoint the careful observer; it possesses several interesting and peculiar features, and much beautiful workmanship. The Chancel is very remarkable, probably unique, and very puzzling to a novice in the study of Gothic Architecture: this peculiarity consists in the windows, which are of the form in use in the 14th century, while the mouldings of their arches have the zigzag and other well-known ornaments peculiar to the 12th century. A careful examination will however soon satisfy the inquirer that these windows have been rebuilt of old materials, the mouldings &c. being worked up again in a new

(4) Mr. J. H. Parker.

(5) Mr. Skelton, in his *Oxfordshire*, gives a fine engraving of Adderbury church, previously however to the restoration of the chancel. The *Glossary of Architecture* contains engravings of two of the mouldings (edit, 1840, Plate 62). In *Boswell's Picturesque Views of Antiquities*, and in *Gosse's Antiquities of England and Wales*, vol. 1, are engraved a curious series of grotesque figures carved on the outside of this Church, on the cornice beneath the parapet.

form.⁶ The walls and buttresses of the old building have been preserved, with a round-headed doorway. The roof of the chancel is modern: there are several Monumental Brasses attached to the walls of singularly late date, 1750 and 1760, a period when that material was rarely employed for such a purpose. The Nave has four arches on each side opening into very wide aisles: the roof is plastered over. The Aisles are in the Decorated style of the 14th century, several windows remaining of that age, but others have been renewed in the 15th. The fine open timber roofs of these aisles remain, supported on very bold and good corbel heads. Across the north aisle near the east end are two smaller arches forming a sort of transept; these arches rest on a clustered column of the 14th century, with a richly sculptured capital consisting of heads and half length figures. The west window of the south aisle and one on the south side are worthy of notice as good specimens of Decorated work. The lower part of a fine Screen remains between the Nave and Chancel, but the upper part and the arch over it are plastered up: this plaster ought to be removed, and the screen restored. The Church is altogether in a sadly neglected state, and has suffered much from plaster and whitewash. The Font is octagon, panelled, each panel ornamented with a sculptured representation of a Decorated window, with ogee canopies, buttresses, and pinnacles. On the exterior, the Nave and north aisle have good parapets richly ornamented with quatrefoils; under these is a cornice filled with a curious series of grotesque figures of animals &c. in great variety. On the south side of the Church, projecting from the south aisle, is a Chapel of the 15th century with four large windows in the Perpendicular style, and a good open timber roof. The Tower is very fine, of the 14th century: the western Doorway is a rich specimen of the Decorated style, with curious sculptures representing the Day of Judgment. The Spire appears to be of a later period; for the tower was built in a way unprepared for a spire, and the upper part of the masonry of the tower was taken down to enable the builders to unite the octagonal figure of the spire with the square figure of the tower. There is a vague tradition that

(6) The earlier church of Bloxham appears to have been partly built in the reign of Stephen, which King is stated to have erected a chantry or chapel there and given two fields for a priest to say masses for the soul of his mother Adela daughter of William the Conqueror.—*Skelton's Antiq. Ox.*

this Spire was built by Cardinal Wolsey, but this rests on no certain authority.⁷

Bloxham Church measures 110 feet in length from the entrance to the east end of the chancel, and 70 feet in width including the aisles. The dimensions of the interior of the tower at its base are $16\frac{3}{4}$ by $14\frac{1}{2}$ feet.

KING'S SUTTON CHURCH (St. Peter). This fine Church consists of a nave, aisles, chancel, and a magnificent tower and Spire at the western end of the nave. The South Aisle is divided from the nave by a series of three arches of the Transition Norman style, sometimes called Semi-Norman, being that style which prevailed at the end of the 12th century and the beginning of the 13th. These arches spring from cylindric shafts with bold moulded bases and capitals of varied design. The abaci are square: one of the intermediate capitals is very singular, having the ball-flower beneath each angle of the abacus with a single square leaf ornament intervening: the figure of the shaft is continued through the necking and intersects with a large hollow moulding or cavetto which forms the elementary moulding of the capital. The other intermediate capital is of the reeded Norman character. The remaining capitals on this side are of a more decided Transition period. The arches are pointed but quite plain, without sinking of any kind, and having Norman labels: these arches are very similar to that beneath the tower of St. Giles's Church Oxford, which is undoubtedly Transition Norman. The South Aisle is Decorated work of an early period: the Piscina has an ogee crocketed canopy which is flanked by buttresses and pinnacles; the eyes of the cusps are pierced; the tracery springs from attached shafts having moulded capitals, shewing its date to have been early in the 14th century, perhaps the early part of Edward the Second's reign. In this aisle was the entrance to the Roodloft turret; this is now walled up, but a mutilation of the Roodloft Screen still remains. The eastern end of this Aisle or Chapel was partitioned off on the west and north by a beautiful wood Screen of very early Decorated work: the

(7) Mr. J. H. Parker; Mr. Derick. Mr. Skelton has given engravings of this Church and of the western doorway: also vignettes of the round-headed or Norman doorway and the ornamented capital mentioned in the text. The Glossary of Architecture contains engravings of one of the windows and one of the mouldings of this Church (edit. 1840, Plates 99 and 60). Bloxham Spire was damaged in the great storm of 1703: also twice subsequently in or about the years 1773 and 1782. On the morning of the 23rd December 1790 the upper part of the Spire was destroyed by lightning: it was restored by Mr. Cockerill in 1792.

tracery springs from cylindric shafts of decidedly Early English character. This example, together with that of the roodloft screen at Stanton Harcourt Church near Ensham, which is undoubtedly work of the 13th century, shews the early use of the turner's lathe for Architectural purposes in this country. The Font, which has been sadly knocked about, is large, and had detached buttresses at the angles of the base, which is square; these were surmounted with pinnacles having flying buttresses, and the whole most likely was surmounted by a pierced canopy charged with tracery; the plinth of the buttresses is still entire, and shews their situation and that the style of the font was Decorated. The windows have flowing tracery of plain character. The nave has a Clerestory of three-light windows of the insipid character of the 16th century; the roof is of this period and leaded. The North Aisle is somewhat later in the 14th century than that on the south; it is divided from the nave by a series of three Early English arches having shafts composed of flat quadruple curves, the lower parts of these shafts have a band of foliage surrounding them, the bases are octagonal with bold mouldings.

The Chancel is of very singular character, and probably was the original Church: the Norman corbel table is still perfect externally beneath the north and south parapets: within the chancel, on the north and south sides, are stone seats, six on each side, with a screen of detached columns and plain semicircular arches resting on them; the arches and columns are flush with the superincumbent masonry, the capitals are of plain Norman character with square moulded abaci. The Piscina is quite plain, the head is formed by two stones meeting at an acute angle, the jamb has a plain chamfer on the edge: the piscina contains a Credence shelf for the bread and wine which were to be used at the altar.

The Tower is of early Perpendicular work, extremely beautiful, of graceful proportions and of solid construction; it is one of the few towers which we have that are not fractured by bell ringing. It is surmounted by an elegant and lofty Spire, having graceful pinnacles and flying buttresses at the angles. The principles of construction developed in this Spire are worthy the attention of every practical Artist: here there is the maximum of strength with the minimum of material: the whole is as sound as a thing of yesterday, yet its greatest thickness

does not exceed nine inches, and it rises to a height of more than 60 feet above the prism which supports it. The angles of the Spire are enriched with bold crockets at wide intervals; the crockets start from a raffle stem, which is continued along the angles of the octagon and finally wastes itself into the finial which crowns the whole. This mode of disposing the crockets at wide intervals shews the attention paid to perspective by the Architect of this beautiful Spire, for by this means only could he avoid the crowded and confused effect which they would otherwise have produced at near points of view by their bold projection, while it enabled him to produce that sparkling effect of outline to the Spire which he aimed at for points of view more distant: the crockets correspond in style with those at John of Gaunt's palace at Lincoln.

The western entrance, which is through the Tower, has a very beautiful Porch of the 15th century with a groined ceiling and stone roof: the inner doorway of this porch still retains a door of the 14th century, originally an external door; the tracery can be well made out. There are extensive remains of tiles of the 13th century in the floors of this Church, but they are much worn and mutilated. The Pulpit is very singular: it is of oak, circular in plan with mouldings of the 12th century; it rests upon a capital of stone which is octagonal; the lower part of the pulpit is of an ogee shape. "Were I the historian of Banbury" (continues the talented Architect to whom the reader is indebted for this description) "I should pronounce it a Norman production; the mouldings correspond with those of the crypt of the chapel of Joseph of Arimathea at Glastonbury which is Norman work,—but as I am an humble assistant I can only draw attention to it; if I am right in my conjecture it is the oldest wooden Pulpit in England." The north and south aisles have still the stone platforms on which the Altars stood. The north Porch is plain Perpendicular work; it has had a parapet of true churchwarden character added in 1832.⁸

BODICOT CHURCH, or rather Chapel, (St. John the Baptist,) is a chapelry to Adderbury. The ground plan of this Church is somewhat unusual; it consists of a nave, aisles, and chancel,

(8) Account furnished by Mr. Derick for this work. Mr. J. H. Parker agrees with Mr. Derick in opinion that the Pulpit of King's Sutton church is of the 12th century: it will probably be the cause of many pilgrimages to King's Sutton. This Church has been engraved in Baker's Northamptonshire.

and a tower placed on the north side. The Chancel is of the Decorated style, the east window has had the tracery cut out in the disgraceful fashion of the mother parish of Adderbury: over this window is a niche, in which an ingenious workman of modern days has inserted a perfect Holy Rood or crucifix, with the figures of the Virgin Mary and St. John on either side, on a small scale, but not badly executed. Of the side windows of the chancel one is pointed, with flowing tracery; four are square-headed; and one is long and narrow, with a transom, which is not very common in Church Architecture of that period (the 14th century). The Nave, Aisles, and Tower, are the work of the 15th century in the style then prevalent called Perpendicular, and without any remarkable features. The Roodloft, or ancient gallery in which the Holy Rood was placed, between the nave and chancel, remains perfect, and should be carefully preserved, as such relics of antiquity are far from common: the arch above is plastered up; this plastering might be removed with advantage, which would sufficiently throw open the Chancel without destroying the Roodloft as has been too frequently done in similar cases.⁹

Bodicot Cross was standing, in the middle of the village, until the early part of the present century.

WEEPING CROSS stood formerly by the way side between Banbury and Adderbury, two miles from Banbury Church and one mile and a half from that of Adderbury (see p. 2). It was perhaps an erection of the 15th century. The remains of this Cross towards the close of the last century were an oblong base with steps on the north and south, and a mutilated portion of a round pedestal of freestone on which, at no very remote date, a dial had been placed. (Plate 18.) These relics were removed in 1803.¹⁰

BROUGHTON CHURCH (St. Mary). This very interesting structure affords a valuable specimen of the Decorated style of the 14th century: it is less richly ornamented than some others, but the workmanship is particularly good, and the mouldings and ornaments are remarkably clear and of well-defined character; it would be difficult to find a better study in this style for a young architect. The plan consists of a nave and chancel,

(9) Mr. J. H. Parker.

(10) Information from Mr. John Wilson of Bodicot.

with one aisle only on the south side of the nave, and a tower and Spire at the west end. The Tower is of good early Decorated work, with a fine doorway of the same style having the ball-flower ornament in good preservation. The Spire is of the description called in some districts a Broach, that is to say, it rises immediately from the tower, or is placed upon it without any parapet intervening to conceal the junction, and consequently without pinnacles at the angles: in the spire are some good Decorated windows. The Nave has, on the north side, three windows, not foliated, but with mullions and mouldings of Decorated character; and on the south side four arches supported on plain round pillars, which are also good specimens of Decorated work notwithstanding their plainness. The roof and Clerestory, which has windows on the north side only, are an addition of the 15th century. The South Aisle has a remarkably fine east window of four lights with Geometrical tracery; the inner arch of this window is richly ornamented with open foliation hanging from it, which has a very light and elegant effect: on the south side are two windows, one Decorated, the other Perpendicular and evidently a subsequent insertion: the doorway and Porch are good Decorated. In this aisle there are some fine monuments: one of the time of Edward II. (already mentioned p. 102) is a beautiful specimen of Decorated work; another is of the time of Henry VIII; there is also a good brass of Lady Philippa Bishopsden who died in 1414. The Chancel is unusually wide: it has, on the north side, three Decorated windows of two lights foliated with a quatrefoil in the head; the east window is also Decorated, but the arch is unusually low; on the south side is a good square-headed window of the 14th century with Decorated tracery. In the chancel is a fine Perpendicular monument to the memory of a male and female of the Wykeham family, of the time of Henry VI, but much mutilated; the altar-tomb itself is tolerably perfect, also the back of a very rich canopy, but the front and upper part have been wantonly destroyed.¹¹ The Chancel is parted off from the Nave by a very fine stone Screen of Decorated work. Of the exterior, the tower and spire have been already described, and the windows mentioned in their places in the in-

(11) The injury is said to have been done by the fanatics during the Civil Wars.—*Brewer's Oxf.*

terior. The Church is surmounted by a plain parapet and pinnacles; the east end of the South Aisle is particularly good, having niches and pinnacles standing up above the parapet. One peculiarity of this Church worthy of notice is the variety in the forms of the arches over the doors, windows, &c., though they are evidently all of the same date.¹²

NORTH NEWINGTON CROSS. The base of this lately remained, in the middle of the village.

DRAYTON CHURCH (St. Peter) is a small Church of the 14th century, very plain, and of rude workmanship. The plan is the usual one, nave, aisles, and chancel, with tower at the west end; the tower is modern, and scarcely higher than the roof of the Church. The Chancel is in the Decorated style, the east window of three lights with flowing tracery, the side windows square-headed but in the same style: on the north side is a monument with an alabaster slab having two figures, representing Ludovick Grevile and his lady, engraved in outline upon it, and the date 1438; part of the old painting remains on the side of it. The Nave has three plain arches of the Decorated style on each side, with Clerestory windows over them of the same age though square in form. One of the pillars has the capital ornamented with figures sculptured in bold relief, similar to those at Adderbury, Bloxham, and Hanwell, and worthy of notice. The Aisles are in the same style with the rest of the Church, none of which appears to be much earlier than 1350, if we except an ancient sepulchral erection which is beneath a window in the north wall; this is a pointed arched recess, quite plain, under which is a flat coffin lid with carving on it representing a sort of trellis with leaves running up. Traditionally the coffin is said to have contained the body of the founder of the church; it would appear to be of the 13th century. In the south aisle is another monument with an alabaster slab engraved, to the memory of William Grevile, son and heir of Ludovick Grevile, and bearing the date of 1440. This monument stands against and blocks up two¹³ Decorated

(12) Mr. J. H. Parker. Mr. Skelton has engraved the splendid monument of the time of Edward II.; also an interior view of the Church, which takes in the Wykeham monument, the Perpendicular window in the south aisle, the Screen, &c. The Glossary of Architecture contains engravings of the east window of the south aisle (edit. 1840, Plate 98) and another window (page 237).

(13) *Two* Sedilia. See the account of Wroxton Church (p. 123).

Sedilia, by the side of which is a Piscina of the same style; and in the east wall the label over an altar remains: all these are of rude work of the 14th century, and clearly indicate the position of a Chantry chapel at that period. The Font is plain round.¹⁴

Drayton Cross was partly standing twenty-five years ago, in the middle of the village.

HANWELL CHURCH (St. Peter). A fine Church, mostly of the 14th century, with some portions of the 13th. The plan is oblong with aisles, the tower at the west end. The Chancel is of good Decorated character; the east window is of five lights, the mullions crossing in the head, not foliated, but the heads of the lights trefoiled, the mullions are not good, and were perhaps renewed in the time of Charles II (?); of the side windows three are original Decorated, one has the mullion and tracery cut out. The Sedilia and Piscina are good Decorated work, but unfortunately a vault has been built in modern days under the eastern part of the Chancel, which has caused the floor to be raised so much as greatly to injure the effect. There is a fine monument to Sir Anthony Cope 1614. There are marks of openings under the two western windows. The Nave has three Decorated arches on each side supported on clustered columns, each of the capitals of which is ornamented with, or rather composed of, figures sculptured in bold relief, with a Decorated abacus; those on the north side have a sort of small battlement above the abacus as an additional ornament, and the whole are very good rich work; there are also some finely carved corbel heads as terminations to the labels over the arches. The Clerestory and roof are an addition of the 15th century, but the marks of the old roof may be seen on the tower. The North Aisle is Decorated, with a good small Early English door; at the east end of this aisle are evident traces of a Chantry altar; the Reredos-screen¹⁵ remains unusually perfect, consisting of five small rich Decorated niches, with figures in them, two of which are perfect, the others mutilated. The South Aisle is of earlier character than the north, and may be called Early English though rather late in that style; the east window is of three lights

(14) Mr. J. H. Parker.

(15) This has been very carefully cleaned by the Rev. W. Pearse the present rector, who has evinced much taste in removing the whitewash with which tasteless Churchwardens had covered the enrichments throughout the Church.

with foliated circles in the head; under this window are the indications of another altar, a Decorated Piscina and Credence shelf, a bracket, and one of the corbels on which the slab rested. In this corner also, behind a large modern altar-tomb, are two stone coffin lids, one ornamented with a very rich cross fleury, the other with a female figure of the 13th century. The south doorway is plain Early English, and the windows on this side are of the same age but have had their mullions and tracery renewed; the west window is of three lights foliated, and of Decorated character: in this aisle there are some very curious and elegantly carved little figures used as terminations to the labels. The Font is Norman. The Tower is of plain Decorated work, with very massive walls, the side arches being eight times recessed, or what Mr. Willis calls arches "of eight orders." There are good ornamented cornices to the Chancel, and two open pinnacles at the west end of the South Aisle.¹⁶

CHACOMBE CHURCH (St. Peter and St. Paul) is a good Decorated Church of the 14th century, with a Tower in the Perpendicular style, either late in the same century or early in the following. The plan is the usual one, nave, aisles, and chancel, with the tower at the west end. The windows of the Chancel are very elegant, having ogee arches with characteristic labels and mullions. The Nave has three arches on each side, the pillars of which are octagon while the capitals appear to have been made for round clustered pillars, so that a part hangs over on each face of the pillar the effect of which is very singular; these capitals are clearly of Decorated character; there are good labels over the arches, terminated by heads. The Clerestory windows are good examples of the same style; those on the north side are small quatrefoil openings, or rather perhaps foliated circles; those on the south side are square-headed. The Aisles are of the same age and style; some of the windows are rather peculiar, having flat segmental arches evidently original, with mouldings and mullions quite characteristic of the 14th century: this is also the case at Broughton, and affords additional evidence that the form of the arch was at all periods varied according to circumstances, and is never a safe guide to style or by which to judge of the age of a building. The Font is a good specimen of the late or Transi-

(16) Mr. J. H. Parker. There is a vignette of Hanwell Church in Skelton's Oxfordshire.

tion Norman, with an arcade of intersecting arches cut in the stone round it by way of ornament. In the Chancel is a curious small brass in the form of one of the usual emblems of the Holy Trinity, to the memory and evidently prepared during the lifetime of "Myghell Fox Cytyzen & Groc' of London," 15— (a blank being left for the date, which was never filled up). The Porch is good Decorated work, with a stone vaulted roof of the same character.¹⁷

MIDDLETON CHENEY CHURCH (All Saints) is a fine large Church, the body of it of the 14th century, with a very elegant tower and Spire of somewhat later style belonging either to the end of that century or the commencement of the succeeding, being in technical language good early Perpendicular work; this Spire is said to be 150 feet in height; the western doorway is particularly fine. The plan of the church is the usual one. The Chancel is good early Decorated work; the east window a fine one of four lights with Geometrical tracery; the side windows are plain; there is a Decorated Piscina, and a singular double Locker or place for the sacred vessels. The Nave has four fine arches on each side with clustered pillars having plain capitals; the labels are good, resting on heads. The Porch is a very remarkable one, being fine Decorated work of stone, with a lofty roof also of cut stone, supported in the interior by an arch of open stone-work with a sort of tracery over it connecting it with the roof which it supports; no description can make this intelligible but it is a curious and interesting specimen.¹⁸

WARKWORTH CHURCH (St. Mary). This interesting Church consists of a nave, chancel, north aisle, a lady-chapel on the south, and a small tower at the western end of the nave: the upper part of this tower has been removed, and it is now covered with a slated pointed roof of the same height as the nave, which gives a very bad effect to the exterior of the Church. The North Aisle is of the 13th century, perhaps 1270; it has three monumental recesses in the north wall having low pointed

(17) Mr. J. H. Parker. There is an engraving of the Font of this Church in Baker's Northamptonshire. Mr. Baker states that there is, by the side of a door at the east end of the north aisle of Chacombe Church, an aperture communicating with the chancel for auricular confession. (P. 596.) This is an error. The aperture is similar to those in many other churches, and designed for enabling that part of the congregation which assembled in the north aisle to witness the elevation of the host at the high Altar.

(18) Mr. J. H. Parker. This Church is engraved in Baker's Northamptonshire. The Spire has been three times struck by lightning, namely in 1720, 1794, and 1797.

arches with plain labels of Early English character; one of these recesses contains the recumbent figure of a female with close drapery and the chin dress of the 13th or early part of the 14th century; another contains the figure of a Knight cross-legged, the feet resting against a lion: these monuments appear to be of the ancient family of Lyons. On the south side of this aisle is a beautiful altar-tomb of the early part of the 14th century, not later than 1330; the sides of the tomb are exquisitely wrought in compartments consisting of panels containing shields beautifully sculptured; they are suspended from the triple oak-leaf ornament like those of the Queen Eleanor Crosses at Waltham, Northampton, &c; the panels are alternate with niches containing the figures of knights and females; on the lid is the recumbent figure of a Knight (doubtless the Sir John Lyons of that date) in the attitude of prayer, the feet resting against a lion couchant; the belt, to which are attached a long and a short sword, is elaborately sculptured with Gothic ornament; the shield which is attached to the left arm has a lion rampant sculptured upon it; the end panel of this tomb has the figure of a knight on his knees in the attitude of prayer: the whole of this monument is of Caen stone and of most exquisite workmanship, the parts (which have escaped the touch of those barbarians of our country who can see only with their fingers and their knives) are as sharp as if sculptured in gold; "it is one of the most faultless pieces of workmanship," continues Mr. Derick, "I ever beheld." At the end of this monument is the fragment of a canopied niche containing a statue of the Virgin and Child in a sitting posture.

The open wood sittings of this Church are enriched with some beautiful carving of the 15th century; on the backs are inscribed various passages in Latin, taken from the Psalms, the Creed, &c. The north aisle is divided from the Nave by a series of three Early English or 13th-century arches, which spring from polygonal shafts having bold moulded capitals with sculptured heads on the alternate sides: the nave was newly roofed in the 17th century. The south Chapel is of the Decorated period, and has a fine four-light window at the eastern end; the side window is of early Perpendicular work, it may be said to be of the period of transition from Decorated to Perpendicular work, for it retains some features of a

Decorated character; the Piscina in this chapel is of Decorated work, the canopy is of an ogee shape crocketed and the head is trefoiled, it contains the Credence shelf. The Chancel is very plain, of Early English character; its Piscina is of the same simple character as the chancel, the head is lancet with a plain chamfer on the edge; this Piscina was discovered very recently, having been walled up for centuries. A portion of the Roodloft-screen still remains in the Chancel arch, but it is much mutilated. The Font is large and of early Decorated character, but very plain. Throughout the Church are extensive remains of Early English tiles of beautiful and varied design, but in some parts much worn.¹⁹

On two large slabs in the nave are brass effigies to the memory of Sir John Chetwode (mutilated) and his lady, 1412 and 1430: in the north aisle are similar records to the memory of Sir John Chetwode son, and Margery Brovnyng daughter, of the above, both dated 1420: another brass, in the chancel, bears the date of 1454.

WALTON CHAPEL (St. Rumbald). This once stood in what is called the Chapel Field, in the parish of King's Sutton, near the principal farm-house in Walton Grounds. Leland (in the reign of Henry VIII.) says—"There was a late a Chappell dedicated to him [St. Rumbald] standing about a mile from Sutton in the Medes, defaced and taken downe."²⁰ The site is marked by traces of old foundations.²¹

MILTON CHAPEL (St. John) destroyed. This was a chapel under Adderbury.

WROXTON CHURCH (All Saints) is a good plain Church of the 14th century, with a tower at the west end, of the same style. The plan is simple oblong, with aisles to the nave only. The Tower has been rebuilt, but the original character carefully preserved; it has pinnacles at the angles, and a battlemented parapet under which is an ornamented cornice; the west door has a square dripstone over it with a hollow moulding having flowers at wide intervals. The windows of this Church are of that plain description which is easily mistaken for the Church-

(19) Mr. Derick. It is greatly to be hoped that the tiles as well as the open seats of Warkworth Church will be carefully preserved during the repairs and alterations which are now in contemplation.

(20) Leland's *Itin.*, v. 4, pt. 2, fol. 162, b.

(21) Baker's *Northamp.*, p. 708.

warden's Gothic of the last century, the tracery consisting merely of the mullions crossing in the head and intersecting, but without any cusps: the mullions themselves are of good style with a round moulding on the edge; it is possible that the cusps may have been cut out, as was frequently done to save the expense of repairing them, but there does not seem sufficient ground to imagine this to have been the case in the present instance, as the same character is preserved throughout the church: the east window is of five lights, the side windows all of three. The south door and Porch are good plain specimens of the Decorated style. In the Chancel there are two Sedilia or stone seats for the Priests; the number is unusual, there being generally three, for the Priest, Deacon, and Subdeacon, but in some instances where the endowment was too small for this establishment there were only two, as in the present case, and sometimes, though rarely, only one. The Font of this Church is a very good piece of Decorated work. In the chancel there is a magnificent alabaster monument to the memory of Sir William Pope, first Earl of Downe (who died in 1631) and his lady, with their recumbent effigies; over the effigies is a splendid canopy supported on pillars of black marble; the funeral achievement remains perfect, with escutcheon and flags, and an earl's coronet painted and gilt in good preservation; this monument was made by Nicholas Stone. There is also an alabaster slab with the date of 1660. The nave and aisles present nothing worthy of notice; they are of the Decorated style but plain.²² The Lord Keeper Guilford, who died at Wroxton in 1685, lies buried in this Church, with no memorial but a short inscription on the large plain slab which covers his remains. Lord North (the Premier) and several of the Earls of Guilford and other members of the North family also lie buried here.

BALSCOT CHURCH, or rather Chapel, (St. Mary Magdalene,) is a chapel under Wroxton. It is a small Church but quite a gem of its kind, of the Decorated style, consisting of a nave, chancel, south aisle, and tower. The South Aisle is separated from the nave by a series of four Decorated arches, the chamfers of which die against the octagonal piers from which they

(22) Mr. J. H. Parker.

spring, the piers not being tangents to the curves; there are labels on both faces, which terminate in two instances against a human head having the chin dress of the 14th century. The Chancel has a fine Decorated east window of three lights with flowing tracery, but this is in part hidden by a flat modern ceiling which comes nearly to the springing of the arch; on each side of the chancel is a Decorated window, the heads are formed by the flat segment of a circle, they are varied in design and beautifully executed: the Piscina is of good Decorated work, having a trefoiled head and an ogee canopy which is twisted as it ascends and is enriched with crockets and a finial; it contains a Credence shelf: the Locker remains. The South Aisle has a plain Decorated Piscina with a trefoiled and crocketed canopy; the brackets which supported the lights for the Altar remain in this aisle. The Tower is Decorated work, of remarkably graceful proportions; it springs from the porch in a very singular manner; it is of three stages, the upper is octagonal of the 15th century, the lower stage has a small Decorated niche on each face with a projecting canopy. The doorways are simple Decorated work, the labels are quite plain and without carvings at their terminations. The Font is Norman, large and plain, the vase part is formed by the inverted frustum of a cone, the base is moulded with a torus, chamfer, and fillet. The sancte-bell turret remains at the eastern end of the nave; the roofs of the nave and aisle are original, of Decorated work, open timbered and leaded; that of the chancel is hidden by the ceiling alluded to.²³

HORLEY CHURCH (St. Ethelreda) is principally of the 14th century; it consists of a nave, aisles, and chancel, with a square Tower of the 14th century starting up between the chancel and the nave. Such of the windows of the Chancel as have escaped the improvements of the last century are of good Decorated character and of excellent workmanship, the eastern window has suffered terribly: the Piscina is very beautiful, of Early English character, the head is trefoiled and enriched with the tooth ornament; this Piscina has lately been restored by the Rev. R. J. Buddicom: in the sill of one of the side windows is the seat for the priests instead of the usual Sedilia. The Tower rests on plain pointed arches of Decorated character;

(23) Mr. Derick.

on the north and south sides are windows of the same age, and beneath these are two sepulchral recesses having plain Decorated mouldings. The Nave is divided from the aisles by four lofty arches on each side, the pillars are alternately cylindric and octagonal; over these arches is a Clerestory; all these are of 14th-century work. The west window is of the date of Elizabeth or James the First; the north, south, and west doors are of Early English character and very fine of their class; the Font is Norman, cylindric in form and quite plain. The windows of the Aisles are principally Decorated work, those of later character are very early Perpendicular, and all are of good design and execution.²⁴

HORNTON CHURCH (St. John the Baptist) is principally of the 13th century, but retains extensive remains of an older building of the beginning of the 12th century. It consists of a nave, chancel, and aisles, with a tower at the west end of the nave: this Tower is of three stages, the two lower are Early English, the upper is of Decorated work, it has a plain parapet; the walls are unusually thick; at the northwest angle is a square turret which gives a good effect to this otherwise plain tower. The arches which divide the Nave and North Aisle are Transition Norman work, they rest on cylindric shafts having reeded capitals with square abaci chamfered on their edges: those next to the South Aisle are work of the 14th century, they spring from an octagonal shaft having a round moulded capital: on the walls at the east end of this aisle are the remains of a painting of the 14th century, the subject seems to have been the Virgin and Child with a figure of what appears to be a Bishop in a kneeling posture at their feet, on the left of Mary is the figure of an old man, most likely Joseph; the figures are carefully drawn, very formal, the colours are brilliant but much injured by whitewash: this aisle contained a Chantry chapel, the wood Screen of which remains and is a fine example of early 15th-century carving: the whole of this aisle, walls, roof, and screen, was painted in brilliant party colours and gilt. The Chancel is of the 13th century but retains some features of the 12th, on the north side are the remains of an Early English arch which formerly opened into a transept or Lady-Chapel; the Piscina is very plain, the head is of an ogee shape

but without mouldings; the eastern window is of the 15th century and is of four lights; the roof is of the same date, open timbered with spandrel brackets which spring from Early English corbels: in the sill of the east window is a large fragment of bold carving of Norman character, this, like every other part of the Church, retains the remains of early painting and gilding: the Font is cylindric, having an arcade of intersecting arches in slight relief running round it, the base moulding is composed of three cables the strands of which run in contrary directions; this Font is of Transition Norman work, and was painted in party colours of white, red, and green, in oil: the chancel has an inclination from the nave of about three degrees towards the north, as was usual with our early Churches, the chancel being a symbol of the head of Christ after death, leaning on one side: the Porch is on the south side and is of plain Decorated work. This Church is in a very unsound and dangerous condition, the walls are fractured in an alarming manner and are much out of the perpendicular.²⁵

SHOTSWELL CHURCH (St. Lawrence) is a small Church mostly of the 13th century, with some interesting features. The plan is the usual one, with a Tower at the west end originally of the 13th century but which has been rebuilt of the old materials. The Chancel has windows of the 15th century, but these are probably insertions in an earlier wall; it presents nothing particularly worthy of notice. The Nave has three arches on each side; those on the north side are in the Norman style of the 12th century, those on the south in the Early English of the 13th. The South Aisle is of the 14th century, with a Piscina and bracket at the east end marking the situation of an ancient Altar. The North Aisle is also of the 14th century, with square-headed windows; in it is part of an original wooden Screen which appears to be of the same age. At the east end of this aisle is a good Decorated doorway with its label or canopy, opening into a small Chapel on the north side of the chancel; the doorway has lately been removed, its original situation was in the Chancel opening into the Chapel in that direction instead of the present one: the removal was in bad taste, as there is no authority for a door at the east end of an aisle, and it was before in its original and appropriate position. This

small chapel or vestry has an original stone Altar-slab still remaining supported on brackets under the east window.²⁶ The good old open seats in this Church deserve particular notice; the panels at the ends are richly carved with flowing tracery in the style of the 14th century, but this sort of wood-work continued in use in the 15th. The Pulpit is also of old carved oak, of about the beginning of the 15th century. The Font is circular, Norman, supported on a central pillar with slender shafts round it.²⁷

MOLLINGTON CHURCH, or rather Chapel, (All Saints,) is a chapel under Cropredy. This Church consists at the present time of a nave and chancel, the north aisle having been taken down in 1786 and the space between the pillars built up. The Nave, which is of the 14th century, is entered by a handsome doorway and Porch of the same date. The Chancel is also of the 14th century. The Clerestory windows and the Tower are of the 15th century. The Font, though injured, is handsome; the character Semi-Norman.²⁸

CROPREDY CHURCH (St. Mary) is another fine Church of the 14th century, of the usual plan, with a tower at the west end. The Tower is of transition character, the lower part in the Decorated and the upper part in the Perpendicular style; it was probably built towards the end of the 14th century. The Nave has four lofty arches on each side with plain Decorated mouldings continuous to the ground, without capitals to the pillars, a rather unusual feature in this country though common on the continent:²⁹ the arch at the west end opening into the tower is of the same character. The Clerestory windows are good square Decorated; the roof is plain open timber work of somewhat later character. The South Aisle has five very good Decorated windows, and on the exterior a cornice of the same style, with the ball-flower and heads alternate; there is also a good Decorated Porch. The North Aisle is later, and of the Perpendicular style, but also good of its kind. The Chancel is Decorated; it has a fine east window of four lights with flowing tracery, and a Piscina of the same style, double, each side

(26) The ancient stone altars were mostly destroyed at or subsequently to the Reformation. There is however an ancient one remaining in the Chapel of Broughton Castle (see p. 101), and one in Warmington Church (see hereafter).

(27) Mr. J. H. Parker. (28) Rev. J. C. Stafford, Fellow of Magdalene College, Oxford.

(29) It marks the early part of the reign of Edward II. in England.—*Mr. Derick.*

with trefoil head, and shafts. The Roodloft and Screen were wantonly destroyed a few years ago when the Church was pewed with "sleeping-boxes" according to the taste of the age. This Screen must have been remarkably fine, as is shewn by a portion which has been preserved though cut down and converted into a railing on the side of the Chancel; it is remarkably good work of the 14th century, unusually bold and massive, consisting of open flowing tracery of very elegant patterns. There is another piece of good wooden screen-work enclosing a Chantry chapel in the north aisle, but this is of the 15th century. The Pulpit is octagonal, formed of wooden carved panelling in the Perpendicular style but rather flat, with the date of 1619 upon it. The Communion table is plain of the same age: there is a brass Eagle sadly mutilated and the feet used as ornaments to a wooden desk, this is probably also of the same period. A few years ago, before the modern improvements (?) were made, this must have been one of the most perfect and interesting Churches in this part of the country.³⁰

GREAT BOURTON CHAPEL (St. Michael). Great Bourton is a hamlet, and was formerly a chapelry, to Cropredy; the vestiges of the Chapel are now used as a school-house. The Chancel is all that remains of the original Church in a tolerably perfect state; it originally consisted of a nave and chancel and a single bell-turret at the western end of the nave; the turret is now no more. The Chancel, now used as the school-room, is of the early part of the 14th century: it retains the original roof, which is acutely pointed; each pair of rafters are united by a semicircular rib, and all the timbers are exposed to view: the base of the cross which surmounted the eastern gable yet remains. The eastern window is of two lights with beautiful flowing tracery, but most of the tracery has been removed, and the stone mullion has been succeeded by one of wood. The simple Piscina and Locker remain in their original position: there is a very beautiful Decorated window in the north wall, of a single light. The Chancel arch is walled up, and the Nave desecrated by being converted into a dwelling-house for the schoolmaster and a part fitted up as a grocer's shop. The angular buttresses of the Nave are uninjured, but the side windows appear to have been destroyed in the 16th

(30) Mr. J. H. Parker.

century, and some windows of that period have been substituted; the western windows have been walled up, but their situation can be well made out. This Church is an interesting relic of other days, and one most melancholy to look upon.³¹

PRESCOT CHAPEL. Walter Gostelow, who was born at Prescott, in the parish of Cropredy, states (in 1655) that an altar and Chapel were remaining at Prescott during his childhood.³²

WARDINGTON CHURCH, or rather Chapel, (St. Mary Magdalene,) is a chapel under Cropredy. It is a small Church of the usual plan and style of this district, but very plain and rude country work. The Chancel is of the early part of the 14th century, with a good east window of early Decorated character; the windows on the north side are square-headed, but early Decorated; those on the south side have had their mullions and tracery destroyed. The Nave is of the 13th century, having five Early English arches on each side; these are small and low, quite plain, with simple round pillars, excepting two on the south side which are more ornamented, having clustered pillars, and labels over them, but which are also Early English. The Clerestory and roof are of the 15th century. The South Aisle is a mixture of the styles of the 13th and 14th centuries; the windows at the west end are of three lancet lights united in the interior under one arch; those at the east end are Decorated with flowing tracery; the door is Early English, with a good plain Stoup very perfect. The North Aisle is of the 14th century, the east window Decorated with flowing tracery, the side windows plain, of two lights. The Tower is of the early part of the 15th century, good plain Perpendicular work. The Font is of the octagonal cup form, with the date of 1566. This Church, from the plainness and even rudeness of the work, is one of a class which it is impossible to reconcile with the favorite theory of Freemasonry: it is palpably the work of country builders in imitation of some neighbouring Church.³³

EDGCOT CHURCH (St. Mary) is a small Church of various dates and styles, with a tower at the west end. The general character of the Tower is of the 15th century, but the west

(31) Mr. Derick.

(32) Gostelow's Charles Stuart and Oliver Cromwell United.

(33) Mr. J. H. Parker.

door, which is very good, appears somewhat earlier, it has an ogee head crocketed, with bold mouldings of the 14th century; the window over it has similar mouldings, but the tracery bars in the head run in vertical or perpendicular lines, and it must be considered as transition work between the Decorated and Perpendicular styles. The Nave has three arches on the south side, of Transition Norman work, the pillars Norman, the arches more like Early English: the South Aisle is early Decorated, with a good plain door, the windows are much mutilated: on the north side there are two Decorated windows and a door. The Chancel is of the 15th century, with two windows having Perpendicular tracery, and a Piscina of the same character: on the north side of the chancel is a small building of two stories, similar to that hereafter mentioned at Warmington; the floor is gone and the whole interior is gutted. In the south aisle are two fine large monuments of the Chauncy family, one of the dates 1571—1585; the other 1579, of a knight and his two ladies, and their children round as weepers, some wrapped in swaddling clothes, others in appropriate costume; these monuments are in very fine preservation, with the original painting.³⁴

CHIPPING WARDON CHURCH (St. Peter and St. Paul) is a large and fine Church, mostly of the 14th century, and of the usual plan, with a Tower at the west end which is of somewhat later character and a good specimen of early Perpendicular work. The Church is a good deal choked up in the inside with brick walls and partitions which ought to be removed. The Nave has four fine lofty Decorated arches on each side, with clustered pillars having octagon capitals and bases with good mouldings, the labels and the small heads which terminate them are also of good Decorated character: the Clerestory is of the 15th century, with wide Perpendicular windows; the roof is of the same age, plain open timber work. The North Aisle is early Decorated work, the windows having good Geometrical tracery; one of the heads terminating a label in this aisle is crowned and appears to be intended for Edward the First. The South Aisle is somewhat later than the north, the windows having flowing tracery; at the east end of the aisle are three very fine

(34) Mr. J. H. Parker.

Early English Sedilia with the Piscina, these have the tooth ornament remarkably bold and prominent; they have evidently belonged to an earlier building and the present wall was built over them, as they interfere a little with a window which is made to accommodate them: there is a good Decorated door to this aisle. The seats are all open, plain but good, and appear to be of the early part of the 17th century. The Chancel is Decorated, but retains only one window of the original character; the east window is good, but in the early Perpendicular style: there is a small Decorated Piscina, and a seat made in the sill of a window near it: the upper part of the Reredoscreen of the Altar remains, with a sort of billet battlement and hollow cornice moulding with flowers at long intervals; this is Decorated work. In the north wall, but at some distance from the altar, is a square opening (now plastered up) with a similar cornice over it, and under it a bracket consisting of a king's head with a long beard (probably Edward III.) supporting a square shelf. On the north side of the altar is a Locker, with double oak doors, the outer handsomely panelled, with this inscription carved on it:—"John Ward gave this 1627:" immediately under this is a semicircular Credence table (or Prothesis) of similar work, and evidently of the same date. In the pavement is the brass of a priest with the date 1468. On the north side of the chancel is a small Chapel or vestry with a Decorated window and Piscina; this is now divided by a brick wall probably to make the vestry more "comfortable." This Church is in many respects well worthy the attention of an Antiquary, and much credit is due to the good taste which has preserved the open seats and other ancient furniture.³⁵

The steps and base of the Market Cross of Chipping Wardon remain, near the church-yard wall.

THORP MANDEVILLE CHURCH (St. John the Baptist) is a neat little Church consisting of a nave, a north aisle divided from the nave by two lofty pillars, a chancel, and a tower at the west end. Excepting one lancet window in the south wall of the chancel, the whole Church is of the 14th century: the south door is surmounted by a handsome ogee dripstone crocketed; over the north door is a square window containing a multifoil

(35) Mr. J. H. Parker. This Church is engraved in Baker's Northamptonshire.

circle. The Tower has a plain parapet and four crocketed pinnacles, a gargoyle at each angle, and a gable roof rising from within the parapet. The Font is octagon, inelegant, and apparently of the 15th century. The ancient iron frame which belonged to the pulpit hourglass is yet preserved.³⁶

MARSTON CHURCH (St. Lawrence) is a fine Church of the 14th century, with the usual ground plan. The Chancel is of the latter part of that century, and in style approaching nearly to that of the 15th; the east window is of four lights and a good specimen of transition from the Decorated to the Perpendicular style; the side windows are of two lights, long and narrow, with transoms, the heads foliated; on the south side are very good Sedilia and a Piscina; and on the north side the remains of a fine Holy Sepulchre.³⁷ The Nave has on the north side four large arches obtusely pointed, recessed, with the edges chamfered off, and hollow mouldings continued to the ground, without any capitals; these arches have Decorated labels terminated by corbel heads: on the south side are also four arches of similar dimensions, but these have plain round pillars with Decorated capitals: the Clerestory and roof (which latter is open timber work, but plain and bad) are of later character. The North Aisle is Decorated, and has some fine windows of that style, particularly the west window; at the east end of this aisle is a Chantry chapel separated by good screen-work; the north door is good plain work of the 14th century. The South Aisle is bad, with square windows. The Altar-screen is a good specimen of the style of James the First, with the date of 1610 upon it. The Font is tall octagonal cup-shaped, with panelling of about the end of the 14th century. The

(36) Rev J. C. Stafford.

(37) "In many Churches we find a large flat arch in the north wall of the chancel near the altar, which was called the Holy Sepulchre, and was used at Easter for the performance of solemn rites commemorative of the Resurrection of our Lord: on this occasion there was usually a temporary wooden erection over the arch." (Glossary of Architecture.) The custom exists in Italy to this day.

"In Florence an image representing our Saviour lately taken down from the Cross is exposed on a platform erected for the purpose near some principal altar of the church, and it is considered a duty to visit a certain number of churches to view the body. This is done by all ranks of persons, from the grand duke to the lowest on foot; the more devout extend their visits to many churches. The state of the town during this time appears most melancholy, not a bell rings, the military band ceases, the arms of the soldier are reversed, and the population are seen walking about in mournful guise from church to church. This continues till twelve o'clock at noon on Saturday, and then ceases that there may be time to prepare for the joyful festival of the Resurrection. When the Cathedral clock strikes twelve every bell begins to ring, and there is a sudden and most extraordinary change from deathlike stillness to an indescribable confusion of sounds, such as none can imagine but those who witness it."—*Note by the Rev. J. C. Stafford.*

Tower is of the 15th century, square in form and tall in its proportions, plain with a battlement; a fair specimen of the usual character of towers in this district. The pews are modern and bad, belonging to the order of "sleeping-boxes." The Church-yard has only an invisible fence, so that it appears to form part of the pleasure grounds of J. J. Blencowe Esq.; in it there is a very fine old yew tree.³⁸

GRETWORTH CHURCH (St. Peter) is a small single Church consisting of a nave and chancel, with a tower at the west end. The nave is newly built; the Chancel is of the 13th century, with an east window of rude work but in character resembling that at Warmington in Northamptonshire, having a roll-moulding label: the Tower is apparently of the 14th century.³⁹

THENFORD CHURCH (St. Mary) is a small Church, mostly of the 14th century and very good work, with some portions of an earlier date, and a Tower of the 15th century at the west end. The Nave has on the north side two plain obtusely-pointed arches, on massive octagon pillars with plain capitals, probably Semi-Norman; on the south side two obtusely-pointed arches, also plain, with octagon pillars the capitals of which have the Norman abacus and stiff leaf foliage; the windows of the Clerestory are of the 14th and the roof of the 15th century. Both the Aisles are of the 14th, with Decorated windows; two of these on the north side have very good corbels to the inner arches of the window, with beautiful Decorated foliage. The Chancel is of the early part of the 14th century, with a fine east window of three lights foliated. The south door is plain late Norman work. There is a good Screen of open wood-work, which appears to be mostly of the 15th century, but has an open parapet of Decorated flowing tracery nailed on as a moulding or string for ornament. There is some stained glass in the windows, and a good monument of the time of James the First.⁴⁰

PURSTON CHAPEL, destroyed, was a chapel under Newbottle.

FARTHINGHO CHURCH (All Saints) is a small Church of the 14th century, with a tower of the 15th. The plan is as usual,

(38) Mr. J. H. Parker. Mr. George Baker measured the yew tree and found its girth to be 17 ft. 10 in. at the base and 21 ft. 9 in. at six feet from the ground. Its branches spread 62 feet from north to south and 57 feet from east to west.

(39) Rev. J. C. Stafford. The east window at Warmington here alluded to is engraved in the Glossary of Architecture, edit. 1840, Plate 96.

(40) Mr. J. H. Parker.

nave, aisles, and chancel, with tower at the west end. The Nave has three Decorated arches on each side on plain round pillars with good Decorated capitals, some plain, others ornamented with foliage: the windows of the Clerestory are also Decorated, but the roof is modern and very bad. The Aisles are both of the 14th century, with Decorated windows: the Chancel, of the same age and style, has a good east window with flowing tracery. The Porch is also very good Decorated work, with open stone-work at the sides now plastered up: the Tower is in the Perpendicular style.⁴¹

STEANE CHURCH (St. Peter) has been described as "a beautiful little structure, though a modern antique of incongruous design."⁴² Perhaps Sir Thomas Crewe, when he erected this Church in 1620, preserved a window of the original church. There are several monuments of the Crewe family.

NEWBOTTLE CHURCH (St. Mary Magdalene) consists of a nave, a north and a south aisle divided from the nave by three octagon pillars on each side, a chancel, and a tower at the west end. The windows are generally square-headed, and, excepting one good one of the 14th century, in the south wall, to the east of the porch, are of an inferior character: in the chancel is a rude and rather curious Piscina, apparently Semi-Norman. The Tower is of the 15th century; the Screen curious and of the same date; the Porch is apparently modern. There are two or three good monuments.⁴³

CHARLTON CHAPEL, destroyed, was a chapel under Newbottle.

AYNHO CHURCH (St. Michael) has a fine tower of the 14th century; the body of the Church was taken down in 1723 and rebuilt, and is one of the tasteless compositions of the period; it has been often likened to a gentleman's stables. The Tower has a fine 14th-century doorway with a crocketed canopy, the jambs are moulded in a bold manner; over this door is a window with flowing tracery of good workmanship; the buttresses are placed angularly and are ornamented with niches; this tower must cause regret in the mind of every lover of art who sees it attached to the present nave.⁴⁴

Aynho Cross was taken down long before the time of Bridges.

(41) Mr. J. H. Parker. (42) Baker's Northamp., p. 687. (43) Rev. J. C. Stafford.
(44) Mr. Derick. There is an engraving of this Church in Baker's Northamptonshire.

CLIFTON CHAPEL. Clifton is a hamlet and was formerly a chapelry to Deddington; the Chapel stood near the road leading to Deddington.

DEDDINGTON CHURCH (St. Peter and St. Paul) is a large Church of the usual plan, nave, aisles, and chancel, with tower at the west end; it is mostly of the 14th century, but of rather plain character, the work being more substantial than fine. The Chancel is rather earlier than the rest; the east window has three lights with three foliated circles in the head, approaching the Early English style; the side windows are of two lights with open heads, not foliated, a form often imitated in later times, and possibly these may not be original, or may be mutilated, but the mouldings appear good and perfect: the three Sedilia and the Piscina are plain work of the 14th century: the roof has lately been rebuilt in good taste and in a creditable manner. The Nave has four plain pointed arches on each side, the pillars some round and some octagon, quite plain, but with cap mouldings of the Decorated style: the Clerestory is later, having six windows on each side, which, with a good plain roof, are of the 15th century. The Aisles are chiefly of the 14th century, with doorways and one lancet window of the 13th (the latter now blocked up); the west windows were originally Decorated, but rebuilt and the dripstones altered about the time of Charles the First. The Tower was also rebuilt soon after that date, the original one of the 14th century having fallen in 1634; but the old materials were made use of, and the effect is better than usual for that period though the proportions are clumsy. The Font is small and plain, with panels of Decorated work, or imitation.⁴⁵

GREAT BARFORD CHURCH (St. Michael) is rather peculiar in its character and striking in appearance; it stands on a high bank. The Nave is lofty, of the 14th century, entered on the north side by a lofty Norman doorway with arch supported by two receding columns ornamented with beak heads from the ground to the summit of the arch: there is only one Aisle, namely, on the south, separated from the nave by two pillars, against one of which the pulpit is placed: the Tower

(45) Mr. J. H. Parker. There is a vignette of Deddington Church in Skelton's Oxfordshire. A new organ has lately been erected in this Church by subscription, chiefly owing to the exertions of the Vicar, the Rev. W. C. Risley, to whom the Church is also indebted for the new roof of the chancel, and other repairs.

stands at the east end of this aisle. The west end of the Church has a very singular appearance, being a large wall embracing the nave and aisle, with one long lancet window in it. The Pulpit is of carved wood set on a hexagonal stone base mounted by two stone steps; the windows are of the Decorated style, mostly cinquefoiled; the east window has a depressed arch. The Piscina has apparently a Locker behind it; the Porch appears to be of the 15th century; the Font is large, round, and plain, and probably early Norman.⁴⁶

LITTLE BARFORD CHURCH, or rather Chapel, (St. John,) is a chapel under Adderbury. This is a small single Church, with a tower within the square of the nave, at the southwest corner, open to the Church. The windows of the nave are Decorated, the east window is square-headed, the west window has a debased arch; in the south side of the chancel there is a window presenting the appearance of a double lancet window, labelled, with the partition wall taken out. The Church is entered by a plain Norman doorway with four rows of zigzags. The Font is rude and large, and probably early Norman.⁴⁷

SOUTH NEWINGTON CHURCH (St. Peter) contains features of the Norman, the Early English, the Decorated, and the early Perpendicular periods; it consists of a nave, chancel, and aisles, and a tower at the western end of the nave, terminated by a good machicolated parapet and crocketed pinnacles. The Chancel has a Decorated Piscina with an ogee crocketed and cusped canopy; the side windows are of two lights with flowing tracery of the 14th century; the ceiling is modern and is not a bad specimen of carpenters' Gothic. The Nave has a Clerestory of Perpendicular work, it had formerly an open-timbered roof of the 15th century, the corbels of which remain; the arch between the nave and chancel is plain Early English; those which separate the nave and aisles are of Transition Norman character, with some Early English work; those which divide it from the north aisle are of Norman character with plain square labels terminating flush with the abaci; the capitals are alternately reeded and foliated, the shafts are cylindric and have bold moulded bases which are nearly hidden by the modern floor.

(46) Rev. J. C. Stafford. Foundations of massy walls have been discovered close to the Church, the remains of a small Norman castle which stood there (see p. 69). It is imagined that the body of the Church was attached to the tower of the Castle.

(47) Rev. J. C. Stafford.

The North Aisle is of Decorated work, the windows have good flowing tracery. The South Aisle is of earlier character, perhaps by thirty years; it has two Early English windows, of the later period of that style; two of Decorated work of three lights each, and one of early Perpendicular work: the Piscina here is of the Decorated period, the head is triangular and formerly contained tracery which has been wantonly chopped away: the roofs of the aisles are open-timbered and of the 15th century, the spandrel brackets spring from corbels of an earlier date. The nave and chancel lost their open-timbered roofs in 1825, and the lead was sold to purchase slate. The south aisle has a Porch of remarkably elegant proportions and design, it is of the 15th century: the Font is Norman, cylindric in form and quite plain, having merely a simple zigzag surrounding its lip cut in intaglio: the south aisle has a plain Early English doorway.

The Church-yard had formerly a stone Cross of Early English character, a fragment of which only remains.⁴⁸

MILCOMBE CHURCH, or rather Chapel, (St. Lawrence,) is a chapel under Bloxham. It is a small Church mostly of the 13th century, and consists of a chancel, nave, and north aisle, with a Tower at the western end of the nave; this tower has a plain Decorated doorway. The aisle was taken down and rebuilt in the last century, in true "churchwarden" character; the Chancel seems to have been roofed at the same period; the Piscina is of plain character, having merely a pointed head with four cusps. The aisle is separated from the Nave by an Early English arcade of plain character, the pillars are cylindric, and have plain moulded capitals; the lower portion of the Roodloft-screen is tolerably perfect, it is an exquisite specimen of the design and carving of the 15th century, and was formerly painted and gilt; the nave retains most of its open sittings, the ends of which are charged with beautiful tracery of varied design and fine execution, they are of the same date as the roodloft. The nave has a roof of the 15th century; the windows throughout the Church, with the exception of those of the aisle, are of the 13th and 14th centuries; the Font is Perpendicular work.⁴⁹

WIGGINTON CHURCH (St. Giles) is a small Church mostly of the Early English period, consisting of a nave and aisles,

(48) Mr. Derick.

(49) Mr. Derick.

with a Chancel of Decorated work the windows of which are of very beautiful design and execution: the Piscina is large and formed a part of the design for the Sedilia; the latter have been destroyed, and one of the seats is fixed into the back of the chancel arch; the piscina and sedilia were united by an embattled cornice having the ball-flower, the whole of good Decorated work. There are two sepulchral recesses in the chancel: that on the south side has bold Decorated mouldings and a label terminated by human heads, it contains a sarcophagus having the recumbent figure of a knight cross-legged upon its lid, but it is much mutilated; the figure appears to be in the act of sheathing or drawing a short sword, the head rests upon a cushion and shield of the pointed shape: the recess on the north side is of plain character and is not so deeply sunk in the wall as that just described, it retains a stone sarcophagus corresponding in size with a figure which is built into the exterior of the South Aisle; the date of this exterior figure is shewn by the slab on which it rests having on one of its edges the ball-flower ornament of the Decorated or 14th-century period; and this leads to the belief that the figure has been removed from the recess in the chancel, the ball-flower being on that edge of the slab which would be visible if it were laid in the situation referred to, but omitted on the other edges; the head of the figure rests upon a lozenge-shaped cushion which lies upon another cushion, the feet rest against the figure of a lion; on each side of this knight is the figure of a child in the attitude of prayer; the large figure has a short sword of the Roman shape, having a ring hilt; it is clothed in a sort of surcoat and cape, but without armour or headdress. The chancel roof is open-timbered, of the 15th century; the roofs of the nave and aisles are of the 14th, and have spandrel brackets resting on corbels of the Norman or Transition Norman period; at the intersections of the principal timbers of the nave are bosses representing emblems of the Passion, beautifully carved; the whole was formerly painted and gilt. The side windows of the Aisles are triple lancet of good yet simple character; the western end of each aisle has a Decorated window of two lights, that in the north aisle is now walled up. The Nave has a Clerestory of two-light windows of the 14th century, it rests on arches of Early English character, having pillars alternately round and octagonal, the bases and

capitals are plain and bold. The Tower is of the 15th century, it is of three stages and is terminated by an embattled parapet: the Porch, on the north, stands obliquely to the wall, but is otherwise unworthy of notice: the Font is of the true churchwarden style, and is painted to resemble a marble of which this globe affords no specimen.⁵⁰

TADMARTON CHURCH (St. Nicolas) consists of a chancel, nave, north aisle, and a battlemented tower at the end of the nave. The Tower is of three stages; the two lower stages are of the period of transition from Early English to Decorated, the upper stage is of the 15th century. The Nave and Aisle are separated by three Norman arches of very simple character, the capitals are reeded, the abaci are quite plain, the shafts are cylindric and have bold moulded bases; these arches appear to be the remains of a Church of the 11th century: the nave was rebuilt in the 13th century, but the windows of that period were removed in the 15th century, when Perpendicular tracery was inserted in the Early English openings: the Clerestory is of the 15th century. This Church contains some fine specimens of wood carving of the end of the 14th century, in the open sittings of the nave. The Chancel is Early English, with some features of late Norman character; the east window is an insertion of early Perpendicular work; there is no Piscina; the eastern gable of the nave is surmounted by a sancte-bell turret of the 15th century. The Aisle is tolerably perfect; it has a fine 13th-century doorway having attached shafts with foliated capitals, the arch is recessed and charged with fine bold mouldings, the label has the tooth ornament at the springing of the arch on each side, but it is omitted upwards: the entrance to the Roodloft stairs was in this aisle. The Font is of very early Decorated character, and of remarkably vigorous design and execution; the shaft is octagonal, the vase part is square without and circular within, the cornice is enriched with human heads alternate with the ball-flower. The roofs throughout the Church are of the 15th century, open-timbered, and leaded.⁵¹

SWALCLIFFE CHURCH (St. Peter and St. Paul) is a fine Church of the usual plan, partly of the 14th century, with

(50) Mr. Derick. The group of figures on the exterior of the south aisle is indifferently represented in Skelton's Oxfordshire.

(51) Mr. Derick.

a tower of the 15th at the west end, and some parts of earlier date. The Nave has on the north side four Norman arches of the 12th century, round-headed and square-edged, not recessed, usually marks of rather early date; on the south side the arches are of later character, pointed Transition work, with Norman capitals and plain octagon pillars: the Clerestory and roof are of the 15th century. The North Aisle is of the 14th century, with good Decorated windows having flowing tracery, probably of the date of about 1320. The South Aisle is rather earlier, probably about 1280, with windows of three lancet lights united under one arch within; the east window of this aisle is of three lights with three foliated circles in the head; the south door is of the Early English style, with good mouldings and shafts, having capitals with the stiff leaf foliage: this aisle is altogether of transition character from the Early English to the Decorated style. The Chancel is also of the same age and style; some of the windows have foliated circles and trefoils in the head, others have the mullions simply crossing, and one is of two lights with a lozenge in the head; the Sedilia and Piscina are very good early Decorated or transition, with the shafts detached, but the mouldings not very early; the roof is open timber work of the 15th century; there is a very good Screen of the same age, with remains of the old painting and gilding, and some running scroll work of the time of Charles the First added to it.⁵²

SHUTFORD CHURCH, or rather Chapel, (St. Martin,) is a chapel under Swalcliffe. This is a small Church, principally of Early English character, and very unpretending; it consists of a nave, chancel, north aisle and transept or lady-chapel, and tower. The Tower, which is small and of two stages only, starts from the end of the aisle; the lower stage is of Early English work and has some good buttresses of that period, the upper stage is of the 15th century. The Nave is separated from the Aisle by Transition Norman arches, which are pointed and without mouldings; they have plain Norman labels on one face, which stop on, and are flush with, the abaci; two of the capitals are reeded, the remaining one has some flat foliage of late Norman character; the shafts are cylindric, the bases are bold and stand

(52) Mr. J. H. Parker. One of the windows of this Church is engraved in the Glossary of Architecture, edit. 1840, p. 235.

upon circular plinths. The Chancel is of plain Early English work; a part of the Roodloft-screen remains and is a good specimen of the carving of the 14th century, it was painted in party colours and richly gilt. The Transept or Lady-Chapel, which is entered from the eastern end of the aisle, is of Early English plain work; the roof of this chapel is of the Decorated period, the principal timbers are hollowed out in the manner which in Heraldry would be called engrailed. This Church has no Piscina visible, but it has a Locker in the transept; the roofs not already described are of the 15th century and are leaded; the Porch is of very plain Early English work; the Font is octagonal, of plain Transition Norman character. This Church has extensive remains of early paintings on the walls.¹

EPWELL CHURCH, or rather Chapel, (St. Anne,) is a chapel under Swalecliffe. It is a small Church, consisting of a chancel, nave, tower placed on the south side of the nave, and a small south aisle adjoining the tower and on the east of it, but opening only into the nave. The Church is entered from the south by a Decorated doorway in the Tower: the Nave has been stripped of its original roof, and a modern slated one has been supplied; the window at the west end is of three lights without cusps, the Font is destitute of character. The Chancel retains the ancient timbered and leaded roof; the eastern window is of three lights, of the period of transition from the Decorated to the Perpendicular style; on the north side there is a Decorated window of two lights, on the south side one apparently of the period of transition to the Decorated style, of a single light; the Piscina is of plain Decorated work. The South Aisle is divided from the nave by two arches of 13th-century character; the Tower is of the 14th century and battlemented at the top.

SHENINGTON CHURCH (Holy Trinity) consists of a nave, chancel, south aisle, and a tower at the western end of the nave: the north walls of the nave and chancel, and the east end of the chancel, were rebuilt in the last century in the bald and tasteless style of the period. The Chancel has three very fine Decorated windows of two lights on the south side, with flowing tracery and label mouldings on both faces; the Piscina and one stone seat for the priest are in this wall, both have canopies

(1) Mr. Derick.

of an ogee shape, cusped, and the mouldings are particularly bold and free, they are fine specimens of the period; the Locker remains, it is above the usual size, and contained two shelves; the Font is placed here, it is of small dimensions and not a discreditable specimen of modern Gothic. There is a very fine Norman arch connecting the Nave and chancel; the face towards the nave is highly enriched with the zigzag and cable mouldings, the soffit is at right angles to the face and is quite plain, the impost moulding is very bold, it is enriched with the sunk star ornament and zigzag, the jambs are square and quite plain. The Roodloft stairs lead out of the South Aisle and are yet entire. The arches which divide the aisle from the nave are Early English, having octagonal shafts and capitals of the most exquisite workmanship; the foliage of the capitals is undercut so as to admit light behind the leaves, they are similar in design and equal in execution to those of the organ-screen at Salisbury Cathedral; the bases are plain: the windows of this aisle are very good specimens of the art of the 14th century, and are of the same date as the chancel. Some remains of the Roodloft-screen (Mr. Derick continues) "are attached to one of those comfortable pews which can only be met with in this country, nailed against the pew in the fashion in which dead birds are fastened to gables in a farm-yard;" these ornaments give the age of the roodloft as being early in the 14th century, the execution of the carving is particularly good. The Clerestory windows remain on the south side, they are of the 14th century and are of two lights. In the exterior of the south wall of the aisle is the figure of an ecclesiastic, inserted in a small Decorated niche, the hands are elevated as if giving the benediction; there is the figure of a bull in alto-relievo on its right hand side, forming part of the slab in which the niche is cut. The sancte-bell turret remains over the chancel arch; the Porch is on the south side and is plain Perpendicular work. The Tower is of two stages, of early Perpendicular work and not remarkably elegant; the roofs throughout the Church are void of character.²

ALKERTON CHURCH (St. Michael) consists of a nave, south aisle, and chancel; the tower rises from between the nave and

(2) Mr. Derick. The attention paid to cleanliness in every part of this Church is highly creditable to the parties to whom the edifice is entrusted.

the chancel, and its area forms a sort of loggia to the latter ; this feature is similar to that at Horley Church and is rather unusual. The Church is in great part of Early English character, but some portions are of the 14th century, and it was altered late in the 16th century when the chancel was partly rebuilt. The old Locker remains. The Tower is of three stages, the lower stage is Early English, the two upper are of the style of the 14th century. The Nave is separated from the Aisle by an arcade of Early English work so early as to retain some features of its Norman parentage ; the Clerestory was added in the 14th century, when some windows of that period were inserted in the side of the nave and aisle. The entrance to this Church is in the south aisle, and is of plain Early English or 13th-century work ; the Porch is of the same date, and retains the Stoup, which is unusually large, in the north-east angle. The interior of this Church is now being cleaned and the whitewash of centuries' accumulation being removed, and the beautiful details which were before choked up are brought into view.³ On the exterior, the cornice and the parapet of the Nave are remarkably rich ; the pedimented portion of the parapet is panelled in quatrefoils with the square leaf ornament of the 14th century in their centre ; the coping is enriched with crockets ; the cornice is beautifully sculptured, enriched with figures of animals, man, the rabbit or hare, the lamb, the ass, and the type of the Evil One in the figure of the lioness or tiger. All these figures are of excellent workmanship and are beautifully undercut : "this cornice was evidently intended as a sort of language to the initiated, and I think," continues Mr. Derick, "it could be well made out with a little attention and study. The dusk of evening was coming on, but I could plainly see figures with musical instruments, with the figure of a man being as it were lulled into listlessness by their music ; the type of the Evil One close at hand, but in the attitude of moving as if by stealth towards his victim ; then the figures of two men in mortal strife, with this same evil spirit waiting for its prey ; the ass too, emblematic of patience, close to the figure of the lamb bearing a flag ; the hare or rabbit emblematic of timidity and innocence ; the whole is evidently a work of design and not a freak of fancy:" the cornice of the Church at Hanwell is pre-

(3) This is being done with praiseworthy feeling by the Rev. R. E. Hughes, rector.

cisely of the same date as this, similar in design and most likely executed by the same hands. Alkerton Church and its neighbour at Sherington are beautifully situated, being built upon ground much above the level of the road.⁴ Thomas Lydyat was born at Alkerton, and was rector of this Church during the period of the Civil Wars; an inscription on the walls formerly marked nearly the place of his interment in the Church, but the frail memorial has long been obliterated.

RATLEY CHURCH (St Peter) is a beautiful village Church, consisting of a nave, chancel, south aisle, chapel, tower at the west end, and north porch. The Nave is divided from the Aisle by two lofty and elegant pillars without capitals, the span of the arches is wide; the Chapel, which is situated at the east end of the aisle, is open to it and to the chancel by two spacious and elegant arches; it contains a Piscina apparently unfinished. The Chancel is spacious, the beautiful east window of early Perpendicular work is sadly mutilated; it contains a Piscina, not in the usual place, but in the side of a window. All the windows are good work, mostly Decorated, some of them large, which makes the Church very light and cheerful.

In the church-yard stands a Cross, or rather a pillar surmounted by a crucifix, unusually perfect.⁵

WARMINGTON CHURCH (St. Nicolas) is most beautifully situated on the edge of a hill commanding one of the richest prospects in England; it is a very interesting Church, chiefly of the 14th century and Decorated style, with a Tower at the west end. The west door is good Decorated work, and has a window over it of the same style, but the upper windows appear somewhat later, belonging rather to the Perpendicular style. The Nave has four arches on each side, three of which are of the Transition Norman period; the remaining arch on either side is of the 14th century and Decorated style: there is no Clere-story, and the roof is original plain timber work. The North Aisle is early Decorated work, in the style prevalent about the end of the 13th century; it has some good windows, particularly the east window; in this aisle one of the original Norman pillars has been partly cut away and a Decorated one formed out of it. The South Aisle is also Decorated work, but

(4) Mr. Derick.

(5) Rev. J. C. Stafford.

plainer than the north aisle, and somewhat later; on this side there is a stone Porch of the 14th century. The Chancel is also of the 14th century, and has a Decorated east window of four lights, not foliated, but with good mullions; on the south side are remains of two large square-headed Decorated windows: the Sedilia and Piscina are Decorated, of a very elegant and beautiful design; the work has lately been renewed, but it has been carefully done, and the restoration appears to be perfect. Attached to the north side of the Chancel is a small building consisting of two small square rooms one over the other, with square windows of the 14th century, and a good small ogee-headed door of the same age; the floor is gone, but evident marks of it remain; in both rooms there are original fireplaces, quite plain, and square, the chimney is not carried up to the top of the wall, but the smoke escaped from a sort of eyelet hole; in the lower room, under the window which faces the east, there is a stone Altar, consisting of a slab resting on brackets, with a good Decorated Piscina by the side of it; in the upper room there is an opening through the wall into the Chancel, where it has the appearance of a niche: it is supposed that this building was the Vestry and temporary habitation of the Priest. The Pulpit is good carved oak of the time of Charles the First; the Font is Norman, plain, round. This is altogether a very interesting Church, and well worth a visit from any lover of Gothic Architecture.⁶

FARNBOROUGH CHURCH (St. Botolph) is a small single Church, consisting of a nave, chancel, north transept newly built, a low tower at the west end, and a south porch. It contains specimens of Norman or Semi-Norman, Early English, Decorated, and Perpendicular work.⁷

CLAYDON CHURCH, or rather Chapel, (St. James,) is a

(6) Mr. J. H. Parker. At Warmington there is a fine old Manor-house, the property of the Earl of Jersey, but now used only as a farm-house, and (in 1840) much in want of internal repairs and the re-opening of the windows. It is of the 16th century: the plan is the usual one at that period, two gables projecting and a recess in the centre. The windows are all square-headed, but have good dripstones and mouldings, the quarter-round prevailing. There are good stone finials on the points of the gables, such as are commonly called hip-knobs. Several good chimnies and fireplaces remain perfect. The timbers are all sound, but the planks of the flooring require to be renewed.

This may be a proper place to mention, concerning domestic architecture, that there is at Middleton Cheney, in a lane a little way south of the Church, a timber doorway apparently of the 13th century, having the toothed ornament carved in the head, which is a low segmental arch.

(7) Rev. J. C. Stafford.

chapel under Cropredy. It is a small Church, consisting of a nave and chancel without any division and under the same roof, and a north aisle divided from the nave by four arches, three Norman, and one, to the east, Semi-Norman. The Tower (a gable-roofed one) and the eastern end of the side aisle (which may rather perhaps be called a chapel) are of the 15th century: the south doorway has a round-headed arch: porch, date doubtful: font modern and of wood.⁸

ASTON-LE-WALLS CHURCH (St. Leonard) is situated a little beyond the limit round Banbury prescribed in this section, but merits notice as being a very interesting Church. It consists of a nave, north and south aisles divided from the nave by round and octagon pillars, a chancel, a tower at the west end, and two porches, one to the south aisle, the other before the west door of the tower. It contains work of four dates, Semi-Norman, Early English, Decorated, and Perpendicular: the Tower is of the first period, with parapet probably original; the Nave of the first; the Clerestory apparently of the third; the two Aisles partly of the first, second, and third; the Chancel of the third; and the Porches and east window of the fourth. In the Chancel, to the south of the altar, is a double Piscina divided by a small pillar resembling the mullion of a Decorated window with a cinquefoil above; near it are two Sedilia of different grades, the lower one apparently intended to hold two persons; to the north is a curious Locker resembling the head of the doorway in St. Thomas's Church, Oxford, (see the Glossary of Architecture, edit. 1840, Plate 37,) the original doors and shelf remain. In the same wall is a monumental niche of the 14th century containing the figure of an ecclesiastic canopied;⁹ there is also an ogee-arched monumental niche in the outer wall of the west end of the south aisle. Many of the seats in the nave are low and open, ornamented with good Decorated tracery; those in the chancel have tracery of the 15th century. The large square Norman Font is ascended by three steps.¹⁰

HELMDON CHURCH (St. Nicolas) is also beyond the limit, but merits notice. This Church consists of a nave with two side aisles, a tower at the west end newly built, a chancel, and two

(8) Rev. J. C. Stafford.

(9) There is an etching of this sepulchral erection and the locker near it in Baker's Northamp., p. 473.

(10) Rev. J. C. Stafford.

porches apparently of late date. The Nave, Chancel, and Aisles are of the 14th century, but the nave has a Clerestory of the 15th century. The Chancel is a good specimen of the Decorated style, the side windows are elegant, with ogee dripstones; there are three Sedilia of three grades divided by clustered pillars with ogee canopies crocketed; a Piscina, and Locker with a wooden shelf, of the same character; and two plain brackets for candelabra high placed on either side the altar. The pillars dividing the nave from the aisles are octagon, but low and inelegant. The Font is modern, like a baluster.¹¹

SOULDERN CHURCH (St. Mary) is also beyond the limit, but is interesting in itself; and is a fit subject wherewith to conclude this article on the Churches in the neighbourhood of Banbury, from the circumstance of its church-yard and parsonage being the theme of one of Wordsworth's Sonnets. It is beautifully situated in a valley. The early Norman Tower remains, having walls of great thickness, but it inclines far from the perpendicular: the Nave has a Clerestory, and is parted from the South Aisle by three pointed arches resting on round columns; the nave and aisle retain some ancient carved seats. Some of the windows of the aisle are elaborate and curious specimens of early Decorated work. The Porch, and the aisle to which it opens, have each a pointed arched doorway, without capitals to the jambs, the labels terminate in heads. The Chancel is modern and bad. On the exterior, the garden of the parsonage-house comes up to the north side of the Church, and joins the church-yard, being parted from it only by an invisible fence: this was the scene¹² that gave rise to Wordsworth's beautiful sonnet entitled "A Parsonage in Oxfordshire."

"Where holy ground begins, unhallowed ends,
Is marked by no distinguishable line;
The turf unites, the pathways intertwine;
And, wheresoe'er the stealing footstep tends,
Garden, and that Domain where Kindred, Friends,
And Neighbours rest together, here confound
Their several features, mingled like the sound
Of many waters, or as evening blends
With shady night. Soft airs, from shrub and flower,
Waft fragrant greetings to each silent grave;
And while those lofty Poplars gently wave

(11) Rev. J. C. Stafford.

(12) Information from the Poet himself.

Their tops, between them comes and goes a sky
 Bright as the glimpses of Eternity,
 To Saints accorded in their mortal hour."

The PRIORIES of Wroxton, Chacombe, and Clattercot, have been already noticed (pp. 79—87). At WARMINGTON there was an alien Benedictine PRIORY, which stood, according to tradition, near the centre of the village: this was founded by Henry de Newburgh Earl of Warwick (who died in 1123), who gave this lordship of Warmington to the monks of the Abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul de Pratellis, or Preaux, in Normandy, and built them a cell here to which they sent over some of their convent. The monks of Warmington were subsequently removed to Monks' Toft in Norfolk.¹³ In the reign of Henry the Fifth all the alien Priories were given to the King.

BANBURY OLD CHURCH: BANBURY CROSS: &c.

The old CHURCH of BANBURY (St. Mary) was according to every account a truly magnificent structure, "worthy to have been a Cathedral," and justly the pride of the town and country round. The descriptions which have come down to us, with the help of some drawings and engravings and a few fragments which remain to bear witness to its former magnificence, shew that it belonged chiefly to the best period of Gothic Architecture; and that it was as far superior to the Churches of Bloxham, Adderbury, and King's Sutton, as these are to the generality of village Churches. It was such a building as, if it were standing at the present day, when Gothic Architecture is receiving the attention of nearly all persons of education and taste, would make Banbury as celebrated for its fine Church as it once was for its beautiful Cross. Never perhaps was a more wanton and barbarous act perpetrated than the destruction of the old Church of Banbury, nor one more entirely without excuse. The Cross was destroyed by ignorant fanatics who were, to say the least, honest and disinterested; but for the destruction of the Church there is no excuse: those who ought to have known better, suffered themselves to be blinded by men who were guided only by their self-interest; and, in 1790, under the notoriously false pretext

(13) *Magna Brit.*, v. 5, p. 780.

that it was in a dilapidated state, this splendid structure was pulled down, or rather blown to atoms, for these "dilapidated" walls could only be destroyed by means of gunpowder!¹⁴ Mr. Grose, one of the most eminent antiquaries of the last century, who had seen this Church in its glory and was able to appreciate it, has left a short description. "Banbury Church is an handsome stone edifice having a lofty square Tower crowned with eight pinnacles and containing six well-tuned bells. This building has something elegant and picturesque in its construction, appearing rather like a Cathedral than a common parochial Church; its style bespeaks it of no modern date, but neither the time of its erection nor the name of its founder have been preserved by history or tradition."¹⁵ Mr. Philip Rusher thus describes the Church in 1789 (the year before its unhallowed destruction), in his metrical description of the Churches seen from Crouch Hill:—

"But see where o'er the rest, with nobler blaze,
Its eight crown'd turrets BANBURY displays
Upon its hallow'd walls, and wide around
Thick rising structures occupy the ground.
Behold how Phœbus with his early lights
Shines on the battlements, and builded heights."¹⁶

The Cathedral-like appearance of this venerable pile is well shewn in a pen-and-ink sketch of the town made in 1730, of which a reduced copy is given on the next page. The dimensions of the building, imperfectly stated by some writers, have been given with accuracy—"On a Scrap of Paper in Mr. Browne Willis's Hand," which paper is preserved, with the above title, in the British Museum, and contains as follows:—

"BANBURY CHURCH. ST. MARY'S."

	Yards	Feet	Inches.
"Length of the Body from West to East . . .	31	1	9
Bredth of the Cross Isle from East to West . .	10	2	6
Length of the Chancel from West to East . . .	21	1	9
Bredth of the Body from South to North . . .	27	1	6
Length of the Cross Isle	34	0	0
Bredth of the Chancel	8	1	1

The whole length of the Church & Chancel from East to West 64 Yards or 192 Feet."¹⁷

(14) See an account of the destruction of the Church (communicated to the author by eye-witnesses,) when we come to the events of 1790.

(15) Grose's Antiquities, vol. 4, p. 170.

(16) Crouch Hill, a Poem. The author of this little Poem was a resident in Banbury; he died in 1832.

(17) Cole's MSS., vol. 31.



THE NORTHEAST VIEW OF BANBURY IN 1790.

Reduced from an original unfinished sketch preserved among Mr. Gough's collections vol. 21) in the Bodleian Library

The foregoing appear to have been the internal dimensions. The exterior length of the building is pointed out by known marks at the present day, which shew that it extended 212 feet (including probably the clumsy western buttresses), the eastern end being where the east wall of the present chancel stands. The Church is described by Browne Willis as being the largest in Oxfordshire.

The following architectural description has been furnished for this work by Mr. O. Jewitt of Headington.¹⁸ "The Old Church of Banbury was built in the form of a cross, with a tower at the intersection and a chapel attached to each of the transepts. The Nave, which had a north and a south aisle and a porch on the south side, appears to have been the earliest part of the building; the arches, as well as those supporting the tower, (from the testimony of persons who remember the old church,) being semicircular and *plain*, and therefore marking its style as early Norman, and its date as the early part of the 12th century, the time of the episcopate of Bishop Alexander. The piers of the nave were circular, those of the tower square, and both plain. The Aisles of the nave appear however to have been a mixture of Early English and early Decorated. The west window of the nave (see the west view, Plate 14) appears to have had its tracery destroyed and its place supplied by the plain upright mullions or stone bars which we so frequently see disfiguring otherwise beautiful Churches, particularly in this neighbourhood: over the window was a parapet of a double row of pierced quatrefoils, and in the centre a niche, the whole supported by two strong and clumsy flying buttresses, probably the additions of a late date, about 1700. The North Aisle was double, and had two western windows with intersecting tracery, and a buttress between them with a niche: the parapet was of the open flowing trefoil form so frequent in work of the 14th century. The South Aisle had one window to the west with Geometrical (early Decorated) tracery, having the double triangle and two quatrefoils in the head: there was an octagon stair-turret at the angle which had an arcade above the stringcourse; the parapet was a single row of large quatrefoils pierced. The south windows of this aisle seem to have been of the same Geometrical character as the one at the west end. The South

(18) Engraver on wood to the Oxford Society for promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture; also Engraver of the Plates contained in the Glossary of Architecture, and in this volume.

Transept was Decorated; and the Chapel attached to it had Decorated windows with quatrefoil tracery and the jambs ornamented with the ball-flower. (See the southeast view, Plate 13.) The buttresses of this Chapel were enriched with niches and terminated in pinnacles; the buttress which stood at the angle had a pinnacle of extraordinary height and lightness: the parapet was the flowing trefoil pierced: this Chapel seems to have been a very beautiful specimen of its style. The Clerestory of the South Transept was late Perpendicular work, with a panelled parapet. The North Transept with its Clerestory appears to have been Decorated. The Chapel on the east side of the north transept is only seen in the northwest view (Plate 14), and in the pen-and-ink sketch on page 150. The windows of the Chancel were of early Perpendicular character, the east window of nine lights, the others of five, the dripstones terminated in heads: the doorway of the Chancel has been preserved, the head of it is engraved in Plate 16 (fig. 1): the parapet of the Chancel was plain. The Porch, entering the south aisle, was Decorated, with buttresses at the angles, and a panelled parapet of which the specimen in the plates of remains (Plate 16, fig. 4) appears to have been a portion; the arch had continuous mouldings without shafts or imposts. The North Aisle appears to have been work of the middle and end of the 13th century, a transition from Early English to Decorated, the window at the west end (before described) having intersecting tracery, and those on the north side being three-light lancet; above these was another tier of windows evidently of later insertion: there was a north door entering this aisle. The Clerestory was Perpendicular, a head of one of the windows will be found in the plate of remains (Plate 17, fig. 3). The Tower was plain Perpendicular with eight panelled pinnacles, and a Clerestory projecting partially over the Chancel (Plate 13).

“The dates of the parts of the Church were probably nearly as follows:—

	A. D.
Arches and piers of the Nave . . .	about 1140
North Aisle of the Nave	— 1250
Windows in the west end of the North } Aisle }	— 1300
South Aisle of the Nave	— 1280 or 1300

Porch	about 1350
North Transept	— 1350
Chapel adjoining the North Transept	— 1350
Chapel adjoining the South Transept	— 1350
Chancel	— 1420
Tower	— 1450
Clerestory of the Nave	— 1450
Clerestory and Parapet of the South Transept	} — 1480 or 1500
Clerestory of the Chancel	
	— 1500 or later

“Of the fragments given in the Plates of Remains, the corbel head of the 12th century (Plate 15, fig. 1)¹⁹ and perhaps the grotesque figure (Plate 15, fig. 6)²⁰ seem to have belonged to the Norman part of the nave, but the grotesque figure may be work of a later period;—the Early English or 13th-century capital and base (Plate 15, fig. 4)²⁰ to the north aisle of the nave;—the king’s head (Plate 15, fig. 2, probably Edward III ?),²¹ the bishop’s head with the conical head-dress of the 14th century (Plate 15, fig. 3),²¹ and the gargoyle (Plate 15, fig. 5),²⁰ to the Decorated or 14th-century part of the building;—the niche and canopy (Plate 17, fig. 1)²¹ to the chapel or transept;—the portion of Decorated tracery (Plate 17, fig. 2)²⁰ to the north window of the clerestory of the north transept (see the northwest view, Plate 14);—the window head of the 15th century (Plate 17, fig. 3)²⁰ to the clerestory of the nave;—the pinnacle of the 15th century (Plate 16, fig. 2)²¹ to some part of the chancel, probably interior;—the arch and spandrels (Plate 16, fig. 3)²¹ to the chancel;—the door-head (Plate 16, fig. 1)²⁰ to the chancel (it is seen in the southeast view, Plate 13);—the panelling with shields (Plate 16, fig. 5)²¹ to the chancel; and the panelling with quatrefoils (Plate 16, fig. 4)²⁰ to the porch. The effigy of an ecclesiastic (Plate 17, fig. 4,) is much mutilated, but it appears to be of the 14th century.”²²

We have no view of the interior of the Church remaining; but the Norman arches of the nave and those which supported

(19) In my own possession.

(20) In the possession of John Munton Esq.

(21) In the possession of Mr. John Gazey.

(22) The vestments of this ecclesiastic are the alb and chesible. The effigy is now lying in the church-yard, on the north side of the Church, but is remembered as having been in the Old Church and traditionally reported to be the monument of one of the Bishops of Lincoln.

There are or lately were other fragments of the Church remaining, namely, a small capital and base of the 13th or 14th century, four corbels of the 14th century, and some

the tower remained until the destruction of the entire building in 1790. Dr. Stukeley, writing in 1712, says—"The tower of the church, they say, was much higher than at present: the church is of great compass: three rows of pillars, but of too slender a manner, which makes them all lean awry, and different ways: many additions have been made to it: a touch-stone monument of the family of Cope: other old monuments ruined."²³ Mr. Bray, writing in 1777, says the church was built by bishop Alexander, "who is supposed to have been buried in the chancel, under a tomb on which is a mutilated figure, recumbent. The remains of two other figures in the chancel, said to be those of Judge Chamberlain and his wife, shew the folly of fanaticism in the last century."²⁴ Mr. Grose says—"it has two aisles extending to the chancel, and over the west end an handsome organ set up anno 1769 by a voluntary subscription. Over the east end is a gallery and over the west aisle another. Over the first is painted on the wall the arms of the town, Az. the Sun, Or. Motto 'Deus est nobis Sol et Scutum;' and above this the king's arms."²⁵ Between the tower and the chancel there formerly stood (according to one authority) a brazen altar.²⁶ There was a Chancel-screen of carved wood. The Font was octagon, flanked by buttresses, with panels to each face; it was of early Decorated character, about the date 1320.²⁷

Lee, in 1574, copied the arms in Banbury Church; his MS. is preserved among the collections of Anthony à Wood in the Ashmolean Library.²⁸ Sir Wm. Dugdale also copied them in 1640; his collection likewise is preserved in the Ashmolean Library.²⁹ In one of Wood's own MSS. is the following list of sixty coats of arms:—³⁰

other relics, in the possession of John Munton Esq.; a window in the possession of T. R. Cobb Esq.; and a few others.

There have been published the following views of Banbury Church. 1st, a mezzotint engraving, 24½ by 18½ inches, executed by J. Wells, representing the southeast view: 2nd, a similar southeast view, engraved in Skelton's Antiquities, taken from a drawing in the possession of R. Bignell, Esq.; 3rd, a W.S.W. view, 7 by 5 inches, in Boswell's Views of Antiquities: 4th, a northwest view engraved on a small scale in Skelton's Antiquities, from an original then in the possession of Thomas Cobb Esq.

(23) Itin. Curios., p. 48.

(24) Bray's Tour, p. 31. Bishop Alexander, however, was interred in his own Cathedral.

(25) Grose's Antiquities, v. 4, p. 170.

(26) Rawlinson's MSS., "Topog. Com. Oxon.," in Bodl. Lib.

(27) It is preserved by T. Draper Esq.

(28) Wood's MSS. D. 14, No. 8548. These arms noticed by Lee are the same as the first 26 of Wood's list, with the arms and crest of Cope: and another (which appears to have been the arms of Chamberlain), "On a fess betw. 3 birds 3 mullets, quart. a chev. betw. 3 birds. Supp. a cock and a porcupine. Crest, a demi-peacock displayed."

(29) Dugdale's MSS. F. 1, No. 6501, fol. 152, a.

(30) Wood's MSS. E. 1, No. 8505, fol. 167, a.

“ ARMS IN BANBURY CHURCH WINDOWES.


- 1 O. fretty of 3 & on a chief sab. 3 besants
- 2 G. a fess betw. 6 cross crosslets or. Beaucha'pe
- 3 Ar. a cross molin sab.
- 4 Az. 3. 5 foyles or, seeded arg.
- 5 G. a fl. de liz betw. 3. 5 foyles arg.
- 6 Arg. a lyon ra'p. g.
- 7 O. fretty of 3. as before
- 8 G. a cross botony or
- 9 O. a fess imbattled s.
- 10 Az. a spread eagle arg. ung'd [clawed] & beekt or
- 11 G. 3 lyons pass. arg. on the should' of the upp'most an annulet sab.
- 12 Arg. a Trivet s.
- 13 Az. a chev. arg. betw. 3 pheons or
- 14 Az. o' a chev. arg. betw. 3 pheons or a mullet s.
- 15 Erm. a fess checquy o. & bl. Arden
- 16 Arg. 3 cross fitch & 3 de liz sab.
- 17 Erm. o' a cheif bl. 3 roses or (allii 3 5 foyles)
- 18 Or a chev. v^t
- 19 Barr. nebule of 4 or g (or thus O. 2 barrs neb. g) quartering bl.
fleury or a lyon ra'p arg. Lovell a priest.
- 20 S. a lyon ra'p arg. crowned or
- 21 Arg. 2 barrs wavee s.
- 22 Arg. a salt. ingr. s.
- 23 Quarterly o. & g. within a bord. arg.
- 24 Quart. o. & g. a bendlet s.
- 25 O. a cross ingr. s.
- 26 Arg. a chev. g.
- 27 Arg. 2 barrs g. 3 torteux in cheif
- 28 Or lyon ra'p g.
- 29 Checquy o. & s. a fess of the 2^d
- 30 Verry arg. & g. impaling chec. o. & s. a fess of ye 2^d ut sup.
- 31 France & Engl. quart.
- 32 Fr. & Eng. quart. with a file of 3 lab. Erm.
- 33 Fr. & Eng. quart. with a file of 3 lab. Erm.
- 34 Or 2 barrs g.
- 35 G. semè de bezants a cant. erm. [dext.]
- 36 S. a lyon ra'p arg. crowned o. impaling - - - a bend g.
- 37 Quarterly or & v^t. in the 1 & last quarter a cross vert
- 38 Bl. a fess betw. 3 leopards faces or—quartering arg. on bend g. 3
martlets (or)
- 39 The ar'es of Cope as before — in the S. isle joyning to the body [Ar.
on a fess az. betw. 3 roses g. slipt & leaved v^t. as many fleur de
lize or].
- 40 G. 3 lyons pass. or a file of three bl.
- 41 The same with a file of three arg.
- 42 Or a chevron vert.
- 43 Arg. 2 chevronells s. betw. 3 roses gules Wykam impaling arg. on a
chief g. 2 mullets or.
- 44 Beauchamp ut supra, quartering g. 2 bends arg.
- 45 Beauchamp quartering checquy o. & bl. a chev. erm.
- 46 G. a saltier or impaling or a chev. g.
- 47 Barr nebule of 6 (or & g.) impaling arg. a lyon ra'p g. within a bord
s. charged with besants
- 48 Erm. o' a bend g. 3 birds (martlets) v^t quartering erm. on a bend g.
3 chev. o.
- 49 Arg. on a cross sab. 5 lyoncells pass. or
- 50 Quarterlie o. & g.
- 51 Quarterlie o. & g. a bendlet sab.
- 52 Or a cross lozengie g.

- 53 Arg. chev. g.
 54 Arg. 2 barrs g. 3 torteux in cheif ut supra
 55 Or lyon ra'p g.
 56 Or a spread eagle with 2 heads sab.
 57 G. a castle or, quartering arg. a lyon ra'p s.
 58 Or a saltier lozengie g. a crescent in the upp' part g.
 59 Arg. lyon ra'p s.
 60 O. on a bend ingr. s. betw. 2 mullets vert, one - - in y^e upp' p't.''³¹

The two Chapels appear to have been dedicated, the one to the Virgin, and the other in honour of the Resurrection of our Lord. The Chapel of the Blessed Mary in the Church of Banbury is mentioned in 1413; that in honour of the Resurrection is named in 1470.³² William Cope, cofferer of the household to King Henry the Seventh, who is recorded to have decorated the windows of the beautiful southeast Chapel of Banbury Church,³³ was interred therein in 1513 beneath a tomb of the black kind of marble called touch-stone.³⁴ From this tomb, the door of the chapel, seen in the southeast view (Plate 13), received the name of the Black-stone door.³⁵

That some injury had been done by time and violence to the Church as early as the reign of Elizabeth, is probable: and, during the reign of James the First, we have clear testimony from Bishop Corbet, in his *Iter Boreale* written previously to the year 1621, concerning the injuries done to many of the ornamental parts, through the Puritanic feeling which prevailed in the town. After mentioning the antiquities at the Altar-stone inn, he says:—

“ Now you believe the Church hath good varietie
 Of Monuments, when Innes have such satiety;
 But nothing lesse: ther's no inscription there,
 But the Churchwardens names of the last yeare :

(31) Twelve of the coats are described by Dugdale as being in the south windows; and seven are drawn by him in this form  as being in the upper part of the great western window. They are 1. G. 3 lions pass. gard. in pale, O.—2. O. an eagle displayed, S.—3. G. a tower, O; quartering A. a lion ramp. S.; 4th as 1st, 3rd as 2nd.—4. An eagle displayed.—5. O. a saltire engrailed, S.—6. O. a lion ramp. S.—7. S. a lion ramp. Ar.

(32) A practice prevailed from the 12th century amongst wealthy individuals of bequeathing their bodies to some particular church for interment; these bequests, accompanied with donations of money, caused the foundation of many altars in churches at which masses might be sung for the repose of the dead; and the portion thus set apart, which was generally the east end of one of the aisles, was denominated a chantry, and was separated from the rest of the church by a screen of open tracery: the practice greatly increased in the 14th century, and small additional side-aisles or transepts, denominated chapels, were annexed to churches; these were endowed as chantries, and also contained the tombs of the founder and others of his family.—*Glossary of Architecture*.

(33) Wood's MSS. 8505.

(34) Dugdale's MSS. 6501, fol. 152, a; Wood's MSS. 8505, fol. 165, a.

(35) The monuments in Banbury Church, being mostly of later date, will be mentioned hereafter.

In stead of Saints in windowes and on wals,
Here bucketts hang, and there a cobweb fals :

* * * * *

And say, Beloved, what unchristian charme
Is this, you have not left a leg or arme
Of an Apostle : thinke you, were they whole,
That they would rise, at least assume a soule ?
If not, 'tis plaine all the Idolatry
Lyes in your folly, not th' imagery.
'Tis well the pinnacles are falne in twaine ;
For now the devill, should he tempt againe,
Hath no advantage of a place so high :'' &c.

In a scarce pamphlet printed in the early part of the reign of Charles the Second, there is a curious record relating to the pulling down of the images in Banbury Church. "Sometimes living at Banbury in Oxfordshire," says the writer, "I grew acquainted with one Mr. Sharp a bookseller, who with a companion of his, an old Puritan as wel as himself, got into the Church in the night (Sharp being Churchwarden) and threw down the Images, receiving some encouragement from a Doctor, who held a Visitation in Banbury, being a Peculiar within the jurisdiction of Lincolne, who delivered this observation in his Sermon, 'That it is the duty of every Christian to put to his hand to the pulling down of Idolatry.' Mr. Sharp is had up into the High-Commission court, where this Doctor was become one of his Judges, and to the clink he must go. When he came into prison, certain Papists being likewise prisoners there, one of them demanded of Mr. Sharp for what fact he was brought prisoner ? who answered, 'for throwing down of Images in Banbury Church.' 'O,' says the Papist, 'what a hodg-podg is your Religion ! we are put in for setting of them up, and you are put in for pulling of them down.'"³⁶

But if the building had been stripped of its ornaments as early as when Corbet wrote, much more was it injured during the Civil Wars ; at which period it was at different times occupied by troops, and, on at least one occasion, in August 1644, was used as a vantage post whence to fire upon the Castle, and received the fire of the Castle in return.³⁷ During the war some part

(36) More News from Rome, or Magna Charta discoursed of between a Poor Man and his Wife. Lond. 1666 4to. page 1. In the possession of the Rev. Dr. Bliss.

(37) A Letter, being a full Relation of the Siege of Banbury Castle, &c. &c., 4to. 1644. In the British Museum.

of the church and tower were pulled down.³⁸ Anthony à Wood, who visited Banbury again in 1659, speaks of the woful havock which the war had made in the antiquities of the place: out of 60 coats of arms that were in the windows of the church before the wars began, only 12 or 13 were then to be seen, and the monuments were greatly defaced.³⁹

The Parliament, in 1648, gave the materials of the Castle, then about to be demolished, towards the repairs of the Church and ruined buildings in Banbury;⁴⁰ a grant of timber which had been confiscated as belonging to a Mr. Powell, a "malignant near Oxford," being "not above the value of three hundred pounds," having been previously made towards the said repairs.⁴¹ In 1686, Dr. Fell, bishop of Oxford, gave £400 or £500 to repair the Church of Banbury, which, it is said, being much out of repair, "would otherwise have fallen down."⁴² An inscription which is preserved, says that the sum was £400, and that it was expended about the year 1700. All the drawings and prints of the Church which remain were executed subsequently to the expenditure of Dr. Fell's benefaction.

HOUSES FOR CHANTRY PRIESTS. Leland, writing of Banbury in the reign of Henry the Eighth, says—"In the Church-yard be houses for Chauntery Preistes."⁴³ I should conceive that these stood on the north or northeast side of the church-yard.

TRINITY CHAPEL in Banbury. Leland further says of Banbury—"There is a Chappel of the Trinity in the middle of the towne."⁴⁴ I cannot find any other allusion to this edifice,⁴⁵ nor obtain any evidence of its site, unless conjecture may refer us for the latter to the spot now occupied by the White Horse Inn, on the north side of Sheep Street or High Street, with back

(38) Lords' Journals, July 15th 1646.

(39) Life of Wood. In Wood's MSS., B. 15, No. 8586, under the date April 6th 1659, is another entry of the "Armes in Banbury Church." These are such as Wood elsewhere says (as above) had survived the Civil Wars, and appear to be Nos. 12, 13, 14, in the list, page 155, described as being in the chancel, and Nos. 9, 17, 18, 23, 24, 25, 53, 54, 57, and one of England, mentioned as being on the south side of the church.

(40) Copy made from the original record, communicated by Wm. Reader Esq. and inserted hereafter.

(41) Lords' Journals, July 15th, 1646; Commons' Journals, same date.

(42) Willis's Cathedrals.

(43) Leland's Itin., v. 4, pt. 2, fol. 163, a.

(44) Ibid.

(45) The Corporation records, 3rd Jan., 1677, state that Thomas Robins shall pay "for the wast ground wch was the alley that leads from Edward Vivers his howse downe towards the Chappell being three foot & a halfe broade & fower score and twelve foot long," for the time he had made use thereof. But it is possible that this relates to the meeting-house of the Quakers, then lately caused to be erected and a burial ground enclosed by the said Edward Vivers.

premises formerly opening to the church-yard. Within these few years the ancient doorway of these premises, opening from the High Street, remained. This was a very fine doorway of the early part of the 14th century, certainly never designed as the entrance to an inn: fortunately, before its destruction, a drawing of it was made by the masterly pencil of Mr. Buckler. (Plate 19.) Near the close of the reign of Henry the Eighth an act was passed for the dissolution of all Chantries, Free Chapels, &c.; the endowments of which were placed at the King's disposal.

BANBURY CROSS. "The fayrest street of the towne," says Leland, "lyeth by west and east downe to the river of Charwell. In the west part of this street is a large area invironed with meetly good buildinges, haveinge a goodly Crosse with many degrees [steps] abovt it. In this area is kept every Thursday a very celebrate marktett. There runneth through this area a purle of fresh water."⁴⁶

The situation of the principal Cross at Banbury (for there appear to have been several Crosses) is thus clearly identified as being in the part now called the Horse Fair.⁴⁷ We may safely say that this celebrated Cross will never be consigned to oblivion while the English language exists; it having been made famous by the nursery rhymes which have been taught to every English child perhaps from Leland's days to the present.

" Ride a-cockhorse
To BANBURY CROSS,
To see a fine Lady
Ride on a white Horse.
Rings on her fingers,
Bells on her toes;
She shall have music
Wherever she goes."

These rhymes would lead us to believe that some piece of

(46) Leland, v. 4, pt. 2, fol. 162, b.

(47) Leland mentions the market as being held in this part. The general market has been held as long as memory reaches in the part of the town called the Market Place; the writings of Mr. Payne's house, of the date of 1665, also describe that part as the Market Place, and there is no reason to suppose that it was not so in Leland's time. The by-laws of the Corporation however, of the 6th of Elizabeth, in providing that no hogs shall "goe abrode wythin the *market place*," add, "*nor in any strette wherein market ys kept*;" which, with several other items, shews that the market was not confined to one part of the town. The celebrated horse fairs of Banbury might have been sufficient to attract Leland's notice, when speaking of the market, to the open part of the town where those fairs were held rather than to any other locality. In Edward the Sixth's reign that part is called "The Horsemarket."

pageantry was periodically used at Banbury, similar to those of Coventry and some other places.⁴⁸ It is not to be wondered at that the same Puritanic feeling at Banbury which led to the demolition of the images &c. in the Church, should have caused also the destruction of the "goodly Cross." At a trial in 1632 respecting the breaking of a painted window at Salisbury, the attorney-general Noy stated that "in the Queen's time many went abroad, of their own heads, to break down Crosses, Images, and Pictures of all sorts, in the 44th of Elizabeth [1602]. At Banbury they pulled down the Cross there."⁴⁹ Some legal proceedings appear to have taken place respecting this outrage at Banbury, as some "charges about the Suyt of the Crosse" are mentioned in the Corporation accounts in 1612. This work of mad destruction appears to have extended to every Cross in Banbury. Corbet writes of Banbury, before 1621 :—

" The Crosses also, like old stumps of trees,
Or stooles for horsemen that have feeble knees,
Carry no heads above ground : They which tell
That Christ hath nere descended into hell,
But to the grave, his picture buried have
In a farre deeper dungeon then a grave."⁵⁰

A document of the reign of Edward the Sixth mentions the "Highe Crosse;" and there are also at an early date the names of the "Market Cross," the "Bread Cross" (repaired in 1563),⁵¹ and "the White Cross without Sugarford Bar" (West Bar), besides Weeping Cross beyond the boundary of the parish and in the way to Adderbury.

WICKHAM CHAPEL. At the mansion at Wickham there was

(48) In one copy of the verses, "fine lady" is printed "old lady." In 1833 appeared at Astley's Royal Amphitheatre a pantomime by Duerow, called "The Witch and the White Horse, or the Old Woman of Banbury Cross;" in which were promised in the bills a representation of the Witch's rustic abode, and sports of the olden time at Banbury Cross, &c.

(49) State Trials, v. 1, p. 386, on proceedings taken in the Star Chamber against Henry Sherfield.

(50) Corbet's *Iter Boreale*.

(51) Among the leases of property left for the repair of the Bridge and highways, enumerated in or about the year 1616, and before alluded to (p. 99, *note*), is mentioned "a tenem't in Bredcrosse Streete or Bowling Streete;" and this answers to a tenement mentioned in the decree of the Commissioners of Charities made at Banbury in 1603 said to be situated "on the north side of Sheep Street or Bolting Street." Sheep Street (the western part of the present High Street) being therefore identified as the ancient Bredcrosse Street, it may be inferred that the Bread Cross stood in or near the area at the western end. There is an ancient gift of one Hall of Bodicot, of three shillings yearly to be distributed in bread to the poor of Banbury; the Commissioners on charities in 1824 state that it has been usual to distribute this bread in Oxford Bar Street on Good Friday: the vicinity of the Cross thereto seems to give us the origin of the name of Bread Cross. It is quite possible that this was the same with the "Banbury Cross" first mentioned.

a Chapel, the painted glass of which represented the shields of arms of the possessors. The glass was removed many years ago by the Dashwood family, owners of Wickham, to their seat at Kirtlington, and put up in the chancel, where it remains.⁵²

CHANTRY IN GRIMSBURY. The commissioners, prior to the suppression of chantries, in the second year of Edward VI. (1548), returned a Chantry in Grimsbury, parcel of Our Lady's Guild of Banbury, endowed with lands worth £3. 6s. 8d. yearly ; but by whom given, or to what intent or purpose, was not known.⁵³

HERMITAGE in GRIMSBURY or NETHERCOT. A Hermitage stood near the Hospital of St. Leonard, at the eastern end of Banbury bridge. In the 23rd year of Henry VIII. (1531-2), Nicholas Wodhull of Thenford (styled Baron Wodhull) died, seised of the manor of Warkworth, which he held of the bishop of Lincoln as of his manor of Banbury ; and also *inter alia* of a manor at Croughton, held of the bishop of Lincoln as of his manor of Banbury. By his will dated 29th March 1531, this Nicholas Wodhull directed his executors sufficiently to repair the "Hermitage at the Brigg foot at Banbury," and, when repaired, to place "an honest man therein to pray for him and his friends." The Hermitage close contained about two acres.⁵⁴

The HOSPITALS of St. John and St. Leonard at Banbury have been recorded (pp. 76—79).

(52) Records of marriages formerly celebrated at Wickham Chapel are entered in the parish register of Banbury. One of the coats preserved at Kirtlington is Sa. a lion passant gardant between 3 helmets Or. Beneath is inscribed—"These were somtymes owners of Wicham."

(53) Baker's Northamp., p. 749.

(54) Esc. 23 Henr. VIII. n. 119; Bridges' Northamp., p. 217; Baker's Northamp., pp. 712, 749, 750.

EDWARD III. TO HENRY VIII.

REIGN OF EDWARD THE THIRD.

Several records occur at this period relating to the MARKET and FAIRS of Banbury, the improvement of the TOWN, &c., as follows :—

Petitions, 1st Edw. III. No. 78.—“Henry B'p of Lincolne prayeth a longer time for the continuance of his Faire of Banbury and Newark &c.—Answer. Let him have a Writt of the King's grace. Rot. 10.”¹

2nd Edw. III. (1328).) “The King to the good men of the Town
“Of Pavage granted in } of Bannebury greeting. Know ye that we
the town of Bannebury.) have granted unto you in aid of paving the
Town aforesaid that, from the day of the making
of these presents until the end of seven years next following complete,
of the things for sale coming to the said Town you shall take in the said
Town, by those whom you shall think fit to depute for the purpose and
for whom you shall be willing to be answerable, the customs underwritten,
to wit; for every quarter of corn for sale, 1 farthing; for every horse
and mare ox and cow for sale, 1 halfpenny; for every hide of horse
and mare ox and cow fresh salted or tanned for sale, 1 farthing; for a
cart carrying meat salted or fresh for sale, 3 halfpence; for every five ba-
con-hogs for sale, 1 halfpenny; for a salmon fresh or salt for sale, 1 farthing;
for every hundred of mackerel for sale, 1 halfpenny; for a lamprey for
sale, 1 halfpenny; for every 10 sheep goats or swine for sale, 1 penny;
for every ten fleeces for sale, 1 halfpenny; for every hundred woollfells
of sheep goat-skins stag-skins hind-skins buck-skins and doe-skins for
sale, 1 penny; for every hundred skins of lambs kids hares rabbits
foxes cats and squirrels, 1 halfpenny; for a cart of sea fish for sale,
2 pence; for a horse-load of sea fish for sale, 1 halfpenny; for a bale
of cloths conveyed by cart, 3 pence; for a horse-load of cloth for sale
or of other sundry and small things for sale coming to the said town,
1 halfpenny; for a cart of iron for sale, 1 penny; for a hundred *aceri*
[query—some articles of steel?] for sale, 1 farthing; for a cart-load
of oak bark for sale, 1 halfpenny; for a quarter of woad, 2 pence;
for a cask of wine for sale, 2 pence; for a bag of wool for sale, 2 pence;
for a horse-load of wool, 1 penny; for a horse-load of apples pears or
nuts for sale, 1 farthing; for every hundred of linen-web and canvas
for sale, 1 halfpenny; for every hundred of flax for sale, 1 farthing;
for a new cart for sale, 1 farthing; for a cart laden with building ma-
terials for sale, 1 halfpenny; for each thousand of laths, 3 halfpence;
for every hundred of Stok-fish and of Aberden [fish], 1 halfpenny;
for a cart laden with hay or grass for sale, 1 farthing; for a cart carrying
rushes for sale, 1 penny; for a cart of heath for sale, 1 halfpenny; for
a bundle of *chalonum* [query—calonum, wooden shoes, clogs, or pat-
tens?] for sale, 1 halfpenny; for a horse-load of *verro* [?], 1 halfpenny;
for a horse-load of *alei* [?] for sale, 1 halfpenny; for every thousand
of herrings for sale, 1 farthing; for every hundred boards for sale, 1

(1) Rotul. Parliament.

penny; for a cart of faggots for sale, 1 farthing; for a quarter of salt for sale, 1 farthing; for every 12 horse-loads of coals for sale, 1 halfpenny; for a cart-load of coals for sale, 1 halfpenny; for a cart-load of brushwood for sale, 1 halfpenny; for a horse-load of brushwood for sale, by the week 1 farthing; for every thousand nails proper for house building for sale, 1 farthing; for every hundred horseshoes and clouts for carts, 1 halfpenny; for every two thousand nails for sale of all sorts except nails for carts and for house building, 1 farthing; for every bundle of any kind of merchandise whatsoever for sale coming to the said town and exceeding the value of two shillings, 1 farthing;² And therefore we command you that until the end of the said seven years you take the customs aforesaid in the form aforesaid: But the term of the said seven years being completed the said customs shall entirely cease and be abolished.—In [witness] whereof &c. . . . to continue for the aforesaid seven years.—Witness the King at Marlebergh the 13th day of October.—By Writ of Privy Seal.”³

3rd Edw. III (1329). } “The King to the Archbishops &c. greeting.
 “In behalf of the } Know ye that whereas the venerable father
 Bishop of Lincoln. } Henry Bishop of Lincoln hath two fairs at his
 manor of Bannebury in the county of Oxford
 every year, to wit, one on the vigil and on the day of Our Lord’s Ascension, and another on the Thursday and Friday in Whitsun-week, We, willing to do special favour to the said Bishop in this behalf, have granted and by this our charter confirmed to the said Bishop that he and his successors for ever shall have at their aforesaid manor of Bannebury every year the aforesaid fair on the vigil and on the day of Our Lord’s Ascension and in addition for eight days next following, and the said other fair at the same place on the Thursday and Friday in Whitsun-week and in addition for other eight days next following, unless the said additions be to the nuisance of neighbouring fairs. Wherefore we will and firmly command for us and our heirs that the aforesaid Bishop and his successors for ever have the fairs and additions aforesaid with all liberties and free customs unto fairs of this kind pertaining, unless the

(2) The enumeration of the Tolls in the original document is as follows:—“Videlicet, de quolibet quarterio bladi venalis unum quadrantem, de quolibet equo & equa, bove & vacca venali j. obolum: de quolibet corio equi & equæ, bovis & vaccæ frisco salito & tannato venali j. q: de carecta ferente carnes salitas vel friscas venales ij. ob: de v. baconibus venalibus j. ob: de salmone frisco vel salso venali j. q: de centena makerellorum venalium j. ob: de lampreda venali j. ob: de x. ovis capris vel porcis venalibus j. d: de x. velleribus venalibus j. ob: de centena pellium ovium lanutarum caprarum cervorum bissarum damorum & damarum venalium j. d: de centena pellium agnorum capriolorum leporum cuniculorum vulpium catorum & squirellorum j. ob: de carecta piscis marini venalis ij. d: de summagio piscis marini venalis j. ob: de trussello pannorum ducto per carectam ij. d: de summagio panni venalis vel aliarum rerum diversarum & minutarum venalium venientium ad eandem villam j. ob: de carecta ferri venalis j. d: de centena aceri venalis j. q: de carectata tanni venalis j. ob: de quarterio waidæ ij. d: de dolio vini venalis ij. d: de sacco lanæ venalis ij. d: de summagio lanæ j. d: de summagio pomorum pirorum vel nucium venalium j. q: de centena linæ telæ & canevecii venalium j. ob: de centena lini venalis j. q: de carecta nova venali j. q: de carecta carcata maheremio venali j. ob: de miliari latharum ij. ob: de centena de Stok-fish & de Aberden j. ob: de carecta carcata feno vel herba venali j. q: de carecta ferente cirpos venales j. d: de carecta brueriæ venalis j. ob: de trussello chalounum venalium j. ob: de summagio de verro j. ob: de summagio alei venalis j. ob: de miliari allecis venalis j. q: de centena bordi venalis j. d: de carecta fagettorum venalium j. q: de quarterio salis venalis j. q: de duodena summagiorum carbonum venalium j. ob: de carectata carbonum venalium j. ob: de carectata buscæ venalis j. ob: de summagio buscæ venalis per ebdomodam j. q: de miliari clavorum ad cumulum domus venalium j. q: de centena ferrorum ad equos et clutorum ad carectas j. ob: de duobus miliaribus omnimodorum clavorum venalium exceptis clavis ad carectas & ad cumulum domus j. q: de quolibet trussello cujuscumque mercimonii venalis veniente ad eandem villam & excedente valorem duorum solidorum j. q.” Rot. Patent, 2nd Edw. III. n. 2, m. 20, in the Tower of London.

(3) Rot. Patent., as note above.

said additions shall be to the nuisance of neighbouring fairs as is aforesaid.—These witnesses, John de Eltham earl of Cornwall our brother, Roger de Mortemare earl of March, and others. Given by our hand at Kenilworth the 17th day of September.—By Writ of Privy Seal.”⁴

3rd Edw. III. “In } “The King to the Archbishops &c. greeting.
behalf of Henry Bishop } Know ye that we of our special favour have
of Lincoln. } granted and by this our charter have confirmed
to the venerable father Henry Bishop of Lincoln that he and his successors the Bishops of that place for ever shall have free warren in all their demesne lands of Bannebury, Cropperye, Dorcestre, Drayton, Stodham, Chiselhampton, Baldon, Bridecote, Clifton, and Thame in the county of Oxford Provided that the said lands be not within the bounds of our forest So that no one may enter the said lands to chase in them or to take any thing which unto the warren pertaineth without the licence and will of the said Bishop or his successors upon forfeiture to us of ten pounds. Wherefore we will &c. So &c. as is aforesaid. Witnesses the venerable fathers J. Bishop of Ely, Thomas Bishop of Hereford our Treasurer, and others. Given by our hand at Walyngford the 12th day of April.—By the King himself.”⁵

4th Edw. III. “Of } [This recites the Patent Roll of the 13th Oc-
Pavage granted to the } tober, 2nd Edw. III., for the taking of Tolls
good men of Banne- } for seven years; and the King grants to his
bury.” } beloved the good men of the town of Banne-
bury, that from the end of the seven years
aforesaid until the end of three years complete then next following they should take tolls as aforesaid on things for sale coming to the town in aid of Paving the same. At the expiration of which time the said customs should entirely cease. Witnessed by the King at Daventre the 29th of October. By the King himself.]⁶

4th Edw. III.—“The King to all &c. Know ye that of our special favour we have granted and licence given for us and our heirs so far as in us lieth to the venerable father Henry Bishop of Lincoln that he * * * his wood of Cruche [Crouch] at Bannebury and 300 acres of land unto the said wood adjoining * * *⁷ may enclose and make parks of the said woods and lands, and the woods and lands aforesaid so enclosed and the parks thereof made may hold for himself and his successors the Bishops of the place aforesaid for ever. Witness the King at Daventre the 29th day of October,”⁸

Between England and the Papal See differences of important character were now arising. By no weak hands, but by those of the illustrious King who in 1346 was the victor of Crecy, was the cause of England defended against the aggressions of the Papal Chair, whilst occupied by the successive pontiffs Benedict XI. and Clement VI. Two principal evils complained of in this country were, first, the power arrogated by the Roman Pontiff of occasional presentation to spiritual preferments in England, the exercise of which caused the kingdom to be overrun with foreign ecclesiastics; and, secondly, that of judging, in ultimate resort, all cases of patronage in England.

(4) Rot. Chart. 3rd Edw. III. No. 12.

(5) Rot. Chart. 3rd Edw. III. No. 46.

(6) Rot. Patent. 4th Edw. III. p. 2, m. 29.

(7) Other lands named.

(8) Rot. Patent. 4th Edw. III. p. 2, m. 30.

There is a record that, on the 11th April 1332, Ralph de Stratford was presented to the Prebend of Banbury,⁹ "though," adds Willis, "I also find that Hugoline Filius Pauli, a foreigner, held it 1333, and that Paul de Monte Florum [Monte-fiore], precentor of this Church, was possessed of it about the same time." The name of Paul de Monte Florum occurs as prebendary of Banbury August 24th 1336.¹⁰ It appears from the following document that he had been appointed to the Prebend by Edward the Third; but, another prebendary having been named by Pope Benedict XI., even this strong-minded monarch, resolute as he on other occasions shewed himself in resisting Papal aggression, consented to his own nominee's vacating the Prebend, and addressed the Roman Pontiff in the following terms:—

"A. D. 1337. An. 11) "To the POPE: The King devoutly kisses your
Edw. III. } blessed feet. The maturity of the Apostolic

See, firmly fixed upon the foundation of a rock, is not wont to be shaken or moved at the suggestions of detractors until it have been fully informed of the truth of the things suggested. May it therefore please your merciful Holiness to give heed, that we some time ago bestowed, as did for that turn by our royal right pertain unto us, the vacant Prebend of Banbury in the Church of Lincoln upon our beloved clerk Master Paul de Monte Florum, who, by virtue of a judgment hereupon given in our court, duly obtained possession of the same. But afterwards, having understood that your Holiness had thereof made provision for another person, he by reason of his reverence for the Apostolic See did with our licence humbly resign the same, to the great detriment of his estate, notwithstanding that according to the laws of our realm he might lawfully have held it. May it therefore please your Blessedness to hold the aforesaid Paul excused for his occupation of the said Prebend, and mercifully to accept the promptitude of his devotion. But whereas certain persons, enemies of truth, envying the praiseworthy deeds of the said Paul, have (as is reported) suggested in the court of your Holiness, that the aforesaid Paul had received of us a large sum of money to be paid to your Chamber, on account of tax unto you and the Holy Roman Church by us due, and also to the Lords Cardinals, his receipt of which he, to the deceiving of the court, whilst he was there, concealed,—may your Benignity deign to know for certain that he was not charged with the making of the said payment by us or on our behalf, nor received any money for the same: wherefore with regard to the matters so laid upon him, we beg, if it please you, that you will hold his innocence excused. Moreover we humbly implore your Apostolic Munificence, that in consideration of our prayers you will deign to have the aforesaid Paul (the increase of whose honour and emoluments we heartily desire on account of his eminent merits and effectual services towards us) most sincerely commended, mercifully showing towards him, if it please you, as opportunities occur, the bosom of your fruitful favour and grace. May [God] preserve &c.—Given at Westminster, on the first day of September."¹¹

Hugolin de Adigheriis, an alien, the Pope's nominee, and the same with Hugoline Filius Pauli mentioned by Willis, is subse-

(9) Willis's Cathedrals.

(10) Harl. MS., 6954, fol. 111.

(11) Rymer's Fœdera.

quently recorded as prebendary of Bannebur, namely on the 26th March 1338;¹² and there is no mention of any further struggle respecting this Prebend until 1346-7.

In the 11th of Edward III. (1337), Banbury, as a place of trade, received a precept for making return to a Council held at Westminster, to which no knights of shires were summoned. The precept and return were as follows:—

“Edward by the grace of God King of England Lord of Ireland and Duke of Aquitaine to the Bailiffs of the town of Bannebury greeting. Whereas by reason of certain matters touching us and the urgent affairs of us and our kingdom and you also and the town aforesaid and the safe keeping of the same we you command and firmly enjoin to cause three or four men of the said town of the more honest and discreet men of the said town to come to Westminster so that they be there personally on the Friday next before the Feast of St. Michael next to come at the furthest to treat with us and others of our Council concerning the premises and matters touching the same and to do further that which therein by the advice of our Council we shall see fit to ordain and which shall be by us more fully enjoined them And this, by reason of the importance of the matters aforesaid and as ye would yourselves towards us save harmless by all means do Knowing that if the said men shall not appear at the day and place abovementioned we will punish both them and you in the severest manner we with justice can for your and their disobedience and the contempt to us in this behalf done; Certifying us of the names of the persons so coming to us at the said place at the said day, and returning to us this writ. Witness myself at Westminster the second day of September in the eleventh year of our reign.—By the King himself and Council.

“On the back] Names of the men of the town of Bannebury

Robert Basset.	Pledges of the same	{ John Lyndraper
		{ Osbert Watervill
John de Astrhopp.	Pledges of the same	{ Hugh Prest
		{ Philip Fabian
Richard Mey.	Pledges of the same	{ Thomas Scot
		{ John de Norton.” ¹³

14th Edw. III. The Parliament in 1340, having regard to the great travails the King had made and sustained in his wars of Scotland, France, &c., and to maintain his wars, granted to him “the Ninth lamb, the Ninth fleece, and the Ninth sheep, to be taken by two years then next to come: and of cities and boroughs the very Ninth part of all their goods and chattels.”¹⁴ From the Inquisitions of Ninths in the Court of Exchequer, (date of commission 20th April in the said 14th year,) is the following:—

“Bannebury.—The Church of the said Parish with all its portions is taxed at £34, the Ninths whereof the aforesaid assess at £34; and I have [or understand] by the aforesaid assessors that by reason that the

(12) Harl. MS., 6954, fol. 112.

(13) Brevia Parliamentaria, 11. Edw. III., in the Tower of London.

(14) Descript. Public Records.

parishioners of the same, in contempt of our lord the King, neglected to make discovery before the assessors to certify the same respecting the true value of the aforesaid parish, they know not whether it be worth more: the chattels of the town of Bannebi', concerning which, as concerning the rest of the parish, they would not make discovery, are assessed by the aforesaid assessors at £10."¹⁵

In 1342, Thomas le Beck was consecrated Bishop of Lincoln.¹⁶ In the same year, on the 12th February, Richard de Murimouth was collated to the Prebend of Banbury.¹⁷ Clement VI. was at this time Pope; and the King was now beginning to pursue vigorous measures for preventing the further growth of the Romish power. It is recorded that Michael de Northburgh succeeded Richard de Murimouth in the Prebend of Banbury.¹⁸ This new prebendary was an Englishman. In 1344 the Prebend became vacant by the resignation of Master Michael de Northburgh on the ground of making an exchange of it for the hospital of St. John the Baptist at Wycombe (co. Bucks), which sir Hugh de Newton before held as Master: the Bishop therefore conferred the said Prebend of Bannebur upon the said Hugh, in the [p'sone] of Richard de Blithefeld rector of the church of Ayno, 29th April 1344; and Master Michael de Northburgh clerk was presented by the mayor and burgesses of Wycombe to the cure and government of the said hospital at Wycombe, vacant by the resignation of sir Hugh de Newton.¹⁹ Northburgh was afterwards, in 1346, a personal attendant on the Monarch during the French campaign,²⁰ and, in 1355, he became bishop of London. From some cause the fruits and proceeds of the Prebend of Banbury were held by John de Stretele from 1345 to 1346.²¹

In the 20th of Edw. III. (1346), writs were directed to the mayors, bailiffs, and commonalties of certain cities and towns, concerning the number of armed men to be chosen in form given; amongst others there were writs

"To the Mayor, Bailiffs, &c. of the town of Oxon' for XXX armed men

To the Bailiffs &c of Witteneye for IV armed men

To the Bailiffs &c of Bannebury for VI armed men

To the Bailiffs &c of Thame for III armed men

To the Bailiffs &c of Chepyng Norton for III armed men

To the Bailiffs &c of Burghford for IV armed men."²²

(15) Non. Inquis. in Cur. Scac.

(17) Willis's Cathedrals.

(19) Harl. MS., 6951, fols. 214, 222.

(21) See p. 169.

(16) Whitworth's Nobil.

(18) Willis's Cathedrals.

(20) Robert of Avesbury.

(22) *Fœdera, Litteræ, &c.*; Rymer's *Fœdera*.

The army assembled on this occasion was greater than on that of any former expedition to France, and its operations were crowned by the battle of Crecy. Upon levying the aid, in the same year, for making the Black Prince (then aged fifteen years) a knight, Sir John de Lyons accounted for a fourth part of one knight's fee in Warkworth, as held of the Bishop of Lincoln, lord of the manor of Banbury: and John le Boteler accounted for half a knight's fee in Grimesbury, as held of the fee of Cioches.²³

Bishop Burgherst, or another Henry, bishop of Lincoln, confirmed the gift of Robert Bloet made in the time of William Rufus or Henry I. of the tithes of Banneburi to the abbot of Egnesham.²⁴ In 1347, John Gynwell succeeded to the bishoprick of Lincoln²⁵ and lordship of Banbury.

Against the "army of Provisors" (as Edward the Third termed the foreign ecclesiastics who had overrun the land) the Monarch, in 1343, as already stated, had made a vigorous stand. He forbade his subjects to yield to their exactions; and threatened the Provisors with severe punishment if they set their foot on English ground. Notwithstanding these signs of resistance, various procurators from the Church of Rome came to England in the same year, and proceeded to levy the dues claimed by the various dependants on the Holy See.²⁶ The first renewed steps regarding the Prebend of Banbury occurred when Hugolin the son of Paul de Adigheriis of Parma, before named as the Pope's nominee to the Prebend in 1333, and who continued in 1338, sent his procurator in 1346 to resume the said Prebend. William de Killesby whose name occurs in the following records relating to the present proceedings, was prebendary of King's Sutton, where, and at Hornle (Horley), he had charter of free warren in the 16th of Edward the Third.²⁷

21st Edw. III. (1347).—"It is commanded William de Killeseye that he cause all the corn and chattels of the Prebend of Bannebury in the church of St. Mary Lincoln which Hugolin son of Paul de Adigheriis of Parma an alien possesseses &c. to be sold, and account to be rendered to the King of the monies proceeding therefrom &c.—Roll. 13."²⁸

21st Edw. III.—"The King has committed to John de Pulteneye and to John vicar of the Church of Bannebury the custody and administration of the fruits rents and other emoluments [pertaining] to the

(23) Bridges' Northamp., pp. 216, 219.

(24) Cartul. Egnesham, fol. 76; Kennet, v. 1, p. 162.

(25) Whitworth's Nobil.

(26) James's Life of the Black Prince; Rymer.

(27) Baker's Northamp., p. 697; Cal. Rot. Chart.

(28) Rot. Orig. in Cur. Scac. Abbrev.

Prebend of Bannebury in the Church of St. Mary of Lincoln which Hugolin son of Paul de Adigheriis of Parma an alien possesses, &c. to have the same so long as &c. by paying therefrom annually fifty pounds, to which, &c.—Ro. 20."²⁹

21st Edw. III.—“Inquisition taken at Bannebury on the Sabbath-day next after the Feast of St. James the Apostle in the twenty-first year of the reign of King Edward the Third before William de Kelleseye clerk, John de Oxenford, and John Bassett, by virtue of a certain commission of our Lord the King to them directed, on the oath of Richard Mey, Robert de Chesterton, John Lyndraper, Alexander de Bloxham, Humphrey de Silveston, John Benet, Thomas Scot, Robert de Thame, Thomas Deystere, Walter de Bloxham, John Person, and Robert Standelf of Bannebury; Who say on their oath that Master John de Stretele occupied the fruits and proceeds of the Prebend of Bannebury from the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula in the 19th year of our said Lord the King of England until the eleventh day of May in the 20th year of the same, on which day Master Bernard de Sartoriis of Parma procurator of sir Hugolin the son of Paul de Adigheriis of Parma prebendary of the Prebend aforesaid with the assent and will of the aforesaid Master John re-entered upon and resumed possession of the said Prebend in the name of the said sir Hugolin, and the said procurator by Richard de Donewale and his son Hugh de Donewale his substitutes in this behalf peaceably held and continued such possession, and the said Richard and Hugh in the name of the aforesaid sir Hugolin and Master Bernard the fruits and proceeds of the aforesaid Prebend received occupied and administered from the said eleventh day of May until the seventeenth day of November next following on which day the aforesaid William de Kelleseye and his associates by virtue of a certain commission of our Lord the King took the fruits proceeds and emoluments of the said Prebend into the hand of the same [i. e. the King]. They say also that on the twentieth day of December in the said 20th year Nicholas de Stretele and the aforesaid Hugh de Donewale by order of the aforesaid Master John entered the manse of the Prebend aforesaid so being in the hand of the King and the goods and chattels found in the said manse took removed and carried away; namely, four cart-horses of the value of 40 shillings and one cart-horse of the value of 6 shillings which five horses indeed in a certain inquisition elsewhere taken before the Sheriff of Oxfordshire respecting such goods and chattels were valued at 40 shillings only, and one cart bound with iron with its gear of the value of 10 shillings so valued in the said inquisition taken before the aforesaid Sheriff, 12 quarters *sixtilionis* [?], namely of corn and fine wheat, the value of a quarter 3s. 4d., and the sum thereof 40 shillings, and 46 quarters of drag,³⁰ the value of a quarter 2s. 6d., whereof 42 quarters were contained in the said inquisition. They say moreover that the Prebend aforesaid, besides the vicar's portion which is of the value of £20 per annum, is worth by the year in all issues according to the true value of the same over and above reprises clear fifty pounds and there are certain yearly reprises due from the said Prebend in the church of Lincoln which of this long time were not paid and if these be not paid in the time of our Lord the King the said Prebend is worth eight marks and a half per annum more than the said fifty pounds. In witness whereof the jurors aforesaid have to this inquisition put their seals. Given at Bannebury the day and year abovenamed.”³¹

John de Stretele is subsequently recorded as dean of Lincoln in 1361.³² In the Register of Bishop Gynwell there is a record

(29) Rot. Orig. in Cur. Scac. Abbrev.

(30) Drag. A coarser sort of bread corn.

(31) Inq. ad quod damn., 21st Edw. III. No. 16.

(32) Willis's Cathedrals.

that "Master Stephen de Bavenser was admitted to the Prebend of Bannebur in 1348, on the removal of Master John de Strateley the unlawful holder."³³ Sir Peter de Wotton, priest, was collated to the said Prebend May 5th 1349, and continued prebendary May 29th 1351.³¹

24th Edw. III. (1350). Writs for finding armed men were issued, and directed (amongst others) to the following persons, requiring them to furnish the number of men stated, who were to be at the town of Sandwic on a day appointed. The men were to be of the best and bravest of the inhabitants, and to be well and decently furnished with proper arms:—

"To the Mayor and Bailiffs of Oxon' for ten armed men
To the Bailiffs of Witteneye for one armed man
To the Bailiffs of Bannebury for three armed men
To the Bailiffs of Thame for two armed men
To the Bailiffs of Chepyng Norton for one armed man
To the Bailiffs of Burghford for four armed men."³⁵

In the 37th Edw. III. (1363), John Gynwell was succeeded in the see of Lincoln³⁶ and lordship of Banbury by John Buckingham. In 1367 the bishop, after a visitation of these parts, resided for some time at his castle of Bannebury, where, on the 18th of August, by virtue of a privilege granted by Pope Urban V., he gave his benediction to John de Ombresleye, abbot elect of Evesham.³⁷

In the 43rd Edward III., by inquisitions taken 22nd and 24th of March at Chaucoumbe and at Bannebury, John de Moubray of Axiholme (baron Mowbray) was found, at his death, to have held in his demesne as of fee the manor of Chaucoumbe of John bishop of Lincoln as of his Castle of Banbiry by military service; and one annual rent 6s. 8d. of the bishop in soccage proceeding annually from one messuage in Bannebury, which John Typet held for his life.³⁸ Edmund Bardolph was presented to the Prebend of Banbury Oct. 3rd, 1369.³⁹

RICHARD II. TO EDWARD IV.

In the 2nd year of Richard the Second (1378), several charters relating to Banbury were renewed and confirmed:—

(33) Harl. MS. 6951, fol. 233.

(35) Rymer's *Fœdera*.

(38) *Inq. Post. Mort.*, 43rd Edw. III. p. 2, No. 7.

(34) Harl. MS., 6951, fols. 229, 246.

(37) *Dugdale's Monast.*, v. 1, p. 152.

(39) *Willis's Cathedrals*.

2nd Ric. II. "The King to the Archbishops Bishops &c. greeting. We have inspected a charter of Lord Henry of famous memory formerly King of England our ancestor in these words. [Here is recited the charter of Henry the Second to Robert Chesny bishop of Lincoln, for holding a fair at Bannebiri in Whitsun week. See page 70.] We have also inspected a certain other charter of our ancestor in these words. [Here is recited the charter of the same monarch to the same Bishop of free warren at Bannebury. See page 70.] We have moreover inspected a certain other charter of the same our ancestor in these words. [Here is recited the charter of the same monarch to the same Bishop for the market at Banneberi on Thursday. See page 70.] We have also inspected a charter of Lord John of famous memory formerly King of England in these words. [Here is recited the charter of John to the then Bishop of Lincoln for imparking the spinney of Cruch (Crouch) near Banneberi. See page 87.]

"Now we, ratifying and approving the donations grants and confirmations aforesaid and also all things in the charters abovementioned contained, do for us and our heirs grant and confirm the same.—Witnesses &c. Given by our hand at Westminster the 12th day of July.—By petition of the great council and in consideration of ten pounds paid in the Hanaper."⁴⁰

In 1380, John Packington, dean of Lichfield, succeeded Edmund Bardolph in the Prebend of Banbury. He quitted it in 1389 for Leighton Bosard, and John Stacey was installed in his place on the 25th October in that year.⁴¹

In 1388 (12th Rich. II.), Sir Thomas Latimer, named Bouchard, brought an action against William Sleugh, the vicar of Blakesley, for disturbing the market which he held at Chipping Wardon. The vicar defended himself on the ground that he acted only as dean of Brackley to serve the summons of John bishop of Lincoln upon John Wodarde of Knebbeworth, who it seems was a capellan residing at Chipping Wardon, and stood charged with "maintaining and spreading abroad divers heresies and errors, and publicly preaching against the belief of the Catholic Church in sundry parts of the diocese of Lincoln."⁴² Some further evidence of opposition at this time to the ruling faith exists in the fact that some Lollards were cited to the Christian court at Oxford in 1392 (15th 16th Rich. II.), and there made to renounce and abjure their opinions, and to do public penance.⁴³

One of the family of Brancestre has been already mentioned (p. 99) as vicar of Banbury in the reign of Edward the First. The following document relates to a religious service appointed for the souls of John Brancestre, elsewhere styled of Cothorp, and Margery his wife. The daughter and heiress of John Brancestre

(40) Rot. Chart. 2nd Ric. II. No. 5.

(41) Willis's Cathedrals.

(42) Baker's Northamp., p. 528. No further notice of the market of Chipping Wardon occurs, and it probably soon after fell into disuse.

(43) Kennet, v. 2, p. 174.

married Richard Danvers, and Calthorp thereby became for some generations the possession of the Danvers family.⁴¹

16th Ric. II. "Of } The King unto all to whom &c. greeting.
Licence to give to } Although &c. nevertheless of our special favour
Mortmain. } and in consideration of forty shillings which
John Atneston' vicar of the church of Banne-
bury hath unto us paid in our hanaper we have granted and licence given
for us and our heirs so far as in us lieth unto John Scotte that he one
messuage and one garden with the appurtenances in Bannebury which
are not of us holden may give and assign unto the aforesaid vicar to
have and to hold unto himself and his successors for ever to hold and
keep up for ever a certain anniversary every year on the feast of Saint
George for the souls of John Brauncestre knight and Margery his wife
And unto the said vicar by the tenor of these presents we have in like
manner given special licence that he the messuage and garden aforesaid
of the aforesaid John Scotte may receive and hold for himself and his
successors aforesaid for ever as is aforesaid the statute aforesaid not-
withstanding And we will not that the aforesaid John Scotte or his
heirs or the aforesaid vicar or his successors by reason of the statute
aforesaid be by us or our heirs occasioned in any thing or grieved.
Saving nevertheless unto the capital lords of the said fee the services
therefrom due and accustomed. In [witness] whereof &c. Witness the
King at Oxford the 27th day of September.⁴⁵

John Stacey, prebendary of Banbury, died on the 18th Oct. 1394 "in the parts of Ireland in the town of Watterford ;"⁴⁶ and was succeeded in the Prebend of Banbury by Richard Courtney, clerk, collated Nov. 18th, and installed Nov. 25th, 1394.⁴⁷ In 1398, Henry Beaufort, who had been prebendary of King's Sutton in 1389,⁴⁸ succeeded John Buckingham in the bishoprick of Lincoln and lordship of Banbury.⁴⁹ Beaufort was the son of John of Gaunt, and became lord chancellor in 1404, bishop of Winchester in 1405, and a cardinal in 1426. In 1401 this Bishop collated sir John Forest to the Prebend of Bannebury, because Master Richard Courtney had quitted it for that of Thame.⁵⁰ Courtney became bishop of Norwich in 1413. John Forest, who succeeded him in the Prebend of Banbury, is mentioned as Bishop Bokingham's clerk in 1394,⁵¹ and appears frequently in the records as prebendary of Banbury until 1433.

In the 3rd-4th Henry IV. (1402), Thomas Wickham had a charter of free warren at his manors of BROUGHTON and North Newinton, Oxon.⁵² I am not aware how the WYKEHAM family became possessed of Broughton; but one of them, Sir Robert de Wykham knight, has been mentioned, previously to 1317, as

(44) See hereafter.

(45) Rot. Patent. 16th Ric. II. p. 2, m. 28.

(46) Harl. MS., 6952, fol. 58.

(47) Willis's Cathedrals.

(48) Baker's Northamp., p. 697.

(49) Whitworth.

(50) Harl. MS., 6952, fol. 66.

(51) Harl. MS., 6952, fol. 57.

(52) Cal. Rot. Chart.

one of the guardians of the lands and inheritance of the son and heir of John de Broughton (pp. 101, 102, in note 11). In 1369 the estates appear to have been in the hands of Sir Thomas de Broughton (p. 102, note 11). In 1398 John Wykeham priest was presented by William [of Wykeham] bishop of Winchester to the church of Broughton.¹ In 1403 (the year after the charter to Thomas Wickham of free warren at his manor of Broughton) it is recorded that Thomas Wykham Esq., lord of Wylvescote, presented sir William Broughton priest to the church of Wylvescote.² In 1415 John Hazulford chaplain was presented by Sir Thomas Wykham knight to the church of Broghton on the death of Master John Wykham.³ In 1436, sir Thomas Broke rector of the church of Broghton, and Master John Esteby vicar of the church of Banneburi, are mentioned as executors of the will of Sir Thomas Wykham of Broghton, knight, deceased.⁴

Philip de Repingdon, cardinal, was consecrated bishop of Lincoln in 1405, on the removal of Bishop Beaufort to Winchester. In 1420 (8th Henry V.), Richard Fleming became bishop of Lincoln⁵ and lord of Banbury. In the 3rd of Henry VI. (1424), the prior and bursar of the convent of Burcester acknowledged the receipt of thirty-seven pounds eight shillings for rent in Dadington, Clyfton, and Hampton, and thirteen pounds six shillings and eight pence for the yearly farm of Grymmsbury.⁶ In the 8th of Henry VI. are letters patent for the repayment of loans which many cities and towns had made to the King; among them for the repayment of a loan of one hundred shillings which had been made by the men of the town of Banbury.⁷

Bishop Fleming died in 1431; and William Grey succeeded to the bishoprick of Lincoln⁸ and lordship of Banbury in that year. William Alnewick succeeded to the bishoprick of Lincoln in 1436, being translated from Norwich.⁹

Margaret, only daughter of Sir Giles Arden knight,¹⁰ grandson of that Sir Robert de Arden who was governor of Banbury Castle

(1) Harl. MS., 6952, fol. 80. William of Wykeham, in 1363, was prebendary of King's Sutton. (Baker's Northamp., p. 697.) In 1367 he was promoted to the bishoprick of Winchester.

(2) Harl. MS., 6952, fol. 82.

(3) Harl. MS., 6952, fol. 115.

(4) Harl. MS., 6952, fol. 172. John Estby is mentioned as having resigned the church of Turesmere (Tusmore) in 1434.—*Harl. MS.* 6952, fol. 148.

(5) Whitworth.

(6) Kennet's Paroch. Antiq., v. 2, pp. 248, 9. In 1407, in the accounts of Burcestre Priory, are entered two Turkies bought at Banbury with their expenses 15s. 11d.—*Kennet*.

(7) Rot. Patent.

(8) Whitworth.

(9) Whitworth.

(10) "The wife of the which Syr Giles," says Leland, "was namid Philip, and she likewise was a woman borne to faire landes."—*Itin.*, v. 4, p. 1, fol. 16.

in the reign of Edward the Second, carried the Drayton estate by marriage to Ludovick Grevile, Esq.;¹¹ which Grevile is recorded as patron of the church of Drayton in 1398.¹² A Latin inscription cut in the surface of an alabaster tomb in Drayton church (see p. 117) informs us that the monument was erected to the memory of the above Ludovick Grevile, who died in 1438, and Margaret his wife: another alabaster monument bears an inscription to the memory of William Grevile, son and heir of Ludovick, who died in 1440. The family long resided at Drayton. Leland, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, says, "Court rolles remayne yet at Draiton that the Grevilles [had] landes ons by yere 3300 markes."¹³ Their manor-house stood on the south-east side of the church: the remains of it were long ago converted into a poor-house, but are now entirely removed.

John Forest, prebendary of Banbury, died in 1446, and was buried at his deanery of Wells.¹⁴ Robert Appulby is next mentioned as prebendary, namely in 1448.¹⁵ Marmaduke Lumley, lord chancellor, and chancellor of Cambridge, translated from Carlisle, succeeded Alnwick as bishop of Lincoln in 1449.¹⁶

In 1437-8, William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk and baron of Hokenorton, had a charter to hold a market and two fairs at Hoggenorton. In 1447 he was created Duke of Suffolk. In 1448 (26th-27th Henry VI.) he had become odious to the people, and in 1449 the King banished him; but, the vessel being boarded by the enemies of the Duke, he was brought into Dover roads, and beheaded on the 21st of May.¹⁷ Another nobleman connected with these parts, and whose fatal history also belongs to this period, was James de Fenys, lord Saye and Sele (descended from Ingelram de Fien'es, who married the daughter of Faramus de Boloign, the nephew of Maud wife of King Stephen). This James de Fenys, in the 25th of Henry the Sixth, was summoned to Parliament by the title of Lord Saye and Sele, he being maternally descended from the former barons Saye: he was afterwards constable of Dover and warden of the Cinque Ports, lord chamberlain to the king, one of his council, and, finally, lord treasurer of England. The Commons having accused him, together with the Duke of Suffolk, of treason, he was sequestered from the office of treasurer, and afterwards com-

(11) Wood's MSS. F. 21.

(12) Harl. MS., 5952, fol. 79.

(13) Leland's Itin., v. 4, p. 1, fol. 16.

(14) Willis's Cathedrals.

(15) Rot. Patent. 26th Henr. VI., quoted in p. 176.

(16) Whitworth.

(17) Kennet.

mitted to the Tower. Upon the insurrection of the Kentish men under Jack Cade, these rebels, entering London and finding their strength increasing, fetched Lord Saye from the Tower to the Guildhall and there arraigned him; after which, having hurried him to the standard in Cheapside, they cut off his head and carried it on a pole, and caused his naked body to be drawn at a horse's tail into Southwark and there hanged and quartered, on the 4th July 1451. This Lord Saye's son William, who inherited the title, married Margaret daughter and heiress of William Wickeham the son and heir of Sir Thomas Wickeham knight (lately mentioned, p. 173), by which alliance William Lord Saye had the lordship of Broughton. He was slain at the battle of Barnet in 1471, and was the last of the Barons Saye for the time, having been obliged, in consequence of his being twice made prisoner, to mortgage the greater part of his lands for the payment of his ransoms.¹⁸

John Chedworth became bishop of Lincoln and lord of Banbury in 1452 (30th–31st Henry VI.) and continued till 1471 (11th Edward IV).¹⁹ John Norman, son of John Norman of Banbury, and member of the Drapers' Company in London, held the office of Lord Mayor of London in 1453.²⁰ Master William Wytham, LL.D., was collated to the Prebend of Bannebury on the 2nd April 1464.²¹

ST. MARY'S CHANTRY OR GUILD AT BANBURY.

In the 1st year of Henry the Fifth (1413), in the time of John Forest prebendary of Banbury, a CHANTRY (before alluded to, p. 156) was founded in the prebendal Church of Banbury.

1st Henry V. "Of } "The King unto all to whom &c. greeting.
 licence to give to mort- } Although &c. nevertheless of our special favour
 main. } and in consideration of twenty marks which
 our beloved John Forest prebendary of the
 Prebend of Banbery in the Cathedral Church of Lincoln hath unto us
 paid at the hanaper of our Chancery we have granted and licence given
 for us and our heirs as far as in us lieth unto Richard Eton' William
 Harreyes John Waure John Toucetre and John Danvers that they twelve
 messuages forty shillings of rent and a moiety of one virgate of land

(18) Saye and Sele Papers.

(19) Whitworth's Nobil.

(20) Fuller's Worthies.

(21) Harl. MS., 6952, fol. 180. Wytham had previously, in 1454, been collated to the archdeaconry of Stow, in exchange for the church of the Blessed Mary le Bow, London.—*Harl. MS.*, 6952, fol. 178.

with the appurtenances in Banbery Wykham and Nethrop' which are not of us holden as it is said may give and assign unto the aforesaid prebendary to have and to hold unto himself and his successors the prebendaries of the said Prebend for the use and in aid of sustaining two chaplains in the Chapel of the Blessed Mary situate in the body of the parish Church of the said prebendary of Banbery who shall for ever celebrate [masses or services] for the healthful state of us and of the venerable fathers Henry [Beaufort] bishop of Winchester and Philip [de Repingdon] bishop of Lincoln and of the said prebendary Richard William John Waure John Toucetre and John Danvers as long as we live and for our souls when we shall have departed out of this life and for the souls of all those for whom the said prebendary Richard William John Waure John Toucetre and John Danvers shall be pleased to assign or nominate and for the souls of all the faithful deceased according to an ordinance of the said prebendary Richard William John Waure John Toucetre and John Danvers in this behalf to be made And unto the said prebendary by the tenor of these presents we have in like manner given special licence that he the messuages land and rent aforesaid of the aforesaid Richard William John Waure John Toucetre and John Danvers may receive and hold unto himself and his successors aforesaid in the form aforesaid as is aforesaid for ever the statute aforesaid notwithstanding. And we will not that the aforesaid Richard &c. be therefore occasioned molested in any respect or grieved. Saving nevertheless &c. In [testimony] whereof &c. Witness the King at Westminster the 6th day of November."²²

Thirty-five years later the following occurs :—

26th Henry VI. } "The King unto all to whom &c. greeting.
(1448.) "Of licence to } "Know ye that of our special favour and on ac-
found a Chantry, Ban- } count of our reverence for Saint Mary the Virgin
nebury. } we have granted and licence given for us and
our heirs as far as in us lieth unto Robert Ap-
pulby prebendary of the parish Church of Bannebury John Estby vicar
of the same John Davers John Waget Thomas Mason John Waver
Thomas Herreys John Phippes Richard Eton Richard Harpom Henry
Edden Thomas Aysshewell William Saunders William Cappron John
Ayleseworth John Persons William Berston Thomas Hampton John
Rede John Kinge Nicholas Addyngton and Thomas Bloxam that they
to the praise and honour of Saint Mary the Virgin in the town of Ban-
nebury in the county of Oxford one fraternity or perpetual guild
[consisting] of one warden or master and brothers and sisters of the pa-
rishioners of the said parish and others who by reason of their devotion
shall desire to be of the said fraternity or guild may in the town afore-
said begin erect found unite create and establish to continue in all fu-
ture times for ever and that the warden or master and brothers and
sisters of the said fraternity or guild or at least the major part of the
same of the more notable number in the said town then present and
their successors may every year on the vigil or feast of the Conception
of the Blessed Mary the Virgin elect create and make from amongst
themselves one master or warden to support the burdens touching lying
upon and concerning the said fraternity or guild out of the profits and
revenues of the said fraternity or guild and also to rule and govern
the said fraternity or guild according to the best of his knowledge and
ability And moreover we have granted that the said warden or mas-
ter and brothers and sisters of the said fraternity or guild when it shall
have been so begun united created founded erected and established
shall be in reality and in name one body corporate and one perpetual
community and have perpetual succession and a common seal to serve

for the business of the said fraternity or guild and that they and their successors for ever shall be persons able and capable in law to acquire unto themselves and their successors in fee and perpetuity lands tenements rents and any other possessions whatsoever that are not held of us in capite within the realm of England of any of our lieges whomsoever And that the said warden or master and his successors for ever may plead and be impleaded by the name of The Warden or Master of the Fraternity or Guild of Saint Mary of Bannebury before any of the judges whatsoever of us our heirs and successors in any courts and actions whatsoever And that the said master brothers and sisters of the said fraternity or guild of Saint Mary when the said fraternity or guild shall have been so founded erected created united and established a certain perpetual Chantry of three Chaplains who at the altars of Saint Mary in the church of Bannebury aforesaid according to an ordinance as well of the aforesaid Master and Brothers as of the Prebendary and Vicar of the church aforesaid and their successors in this behalf to be made shall celebrate divine service for our healthful state whilst we live and for our soul when we shall have departed out of this life and for the souls of all our forefathers deceased and also for the healthful state of all the aforesaid and of the master or warden brothers and sisters of the said fraternity or guild whilst they live and for their souls when they shall have departed out of this life and for the souls of all the faithful departed may found and establish and lands tenements and rents to the value of one hundred marks per annum and more which are not held of us in capite may acquire from whatsoever persons they please to have and to hold unto the said warden or master and brothers and sisters of the fraternity or guild aforesaid and their successors in aid and support of the chaplains aforesaid and of eight poor persons dwelling in the Almshouse²³ in the same place and their successors in the same place for ever The statute passed respecting not putting lands and tenements to mortmain or any other statute ordinance or act to the contrary made ordained or provided notwithstanding. In [witness] whereof &c. Witness the King at Westminster the 8th day of May.—By writ of privy seal and of date aforesaid &c. and for twenty marks paid in the Hanaper.”²⁴

(23) The present Almshouse stands near the church-yard, where the old building is mentioned as having stood in the reign of Elizabeth (Decree of 1603); but, being in a ruinous state, the house was rebuilt in 1711 by Francis Lord North and Guilford, son of the Lord Keeper Guilford. It contains apartments for twelve persons. The commissioners on Charities, in 1824, stated that there was no endowment, but that some of the inmates received a portion of the charity called the “Widows’ Groats.”

But in fact the weekly Groats now called the Widows’ Groats formed the endowment for the aid and support of “eight poor persons dwelling in the Almshouse,” mentioned above as being paid by the guild of St. Mary; which sum, in the reigns of Henry the Fifth and Sixth, was ample. In the 26th of Henry VIII. there is mention of an annual payment by the above guild of £6. 18s. 8d. to eight poor men and women, or a groat a week to each. In the reign of Edward VI., on the dissolution of Chantries, this guild was found to have paid xli. viijs. yearly to twelve poor men and women, or a groat a week to each: the payment is mentioned as having been made from the time of Henry the Fifth, and it is ordered to be continued. The almspeople in the 2nd year of Edward VI. were five men and seven women. In the 4th of James I., by a decree of the court of Exchequer, the amount of £10. 8s. was ordered to be paid yearly for “xii pore men and weomen.” In 1649, provision is recorded “for payment of twelve poore people in Banbury every Lord’s Day at foure pence a peece.” (See the respective documents hereafter.) In 1773, record is made that a debenture for £10. 8s. is annually to be taken from the office of the deputy auditor of the Exchequer. (Corporation Records.) The commissioners in 1824 report concerning the Widows’ Groats, that the chamberlain of the corporation received £9. 12s. 10d. yearly on account of a payment of £10. 10s. [£10. 8s.] charged upon the land revenues of the Crown, and distributed to twelve poor widows 4d. per week each, the corporation making up the deficiency out of its funds. Of late, all the inmates of the Almshouse have been aged women: but in 1648 and 1663 funerals of men therefrom are recorded in the parish register.

(24) Rot. Patent., 26th Henr. VI. p. 2, m. 32.

A document of the reign of Edward VI. relating to Banbury states that King Henry the Fifth "gave certeyne Lands and Tent' [tenements] for the fyndyng of iij prests one clerke & a sexten to syng & praye for him his aunceto^s & all crysten soules for eu' [ever] & to gyve euer to Almes men & women the some of x^{li} viij^s as appereth by the foundacon here'f."²⁵

THE BATTLE OF DANESMOOR.

In the 9th year of Edward the Fourth (1469), a popular insurrection broke out in the north of England. This appears to have been fomented by the intrigues of the Earl of Warwick, who, indignant at the hasty marriage of the King with the Lady Elizabeth Gray, on account of the breach which it occasioned in a negociation towards marriage in which the Earl had been employed by the Monarch, was at this time endeavouring to undermine the throne which he had lately assisted to raise. The Lady Elizabeth, the youthful widow of Sir Thomas Gray, was the daughter of Sir Richard Wideville, baron Rivers, who was descended in the female line from Sir John Lyons of Warkworth,²⁶ and was, soon after the marriage of his daughter with the King, created earl Rivers. Sixty thousand men, who had been excited to rise at York, proceeded in arms towards London, under the nominal command of Robin of Redesdale (who appears to have been a moss trooper named Robert Hilliard). They were accompanied by Henry son and heir of Lord Fitzlugh, and by Sir Henry Neville son of Lord Latimer, the one the nephew and the other the cousin-german of the Earl of Warwick; and to these was joined Sir John Conyers, of Horuby in the county of York, an eminent officer, as the real guide and commander. Hall states that Conyers was "a man of suche courage & valiauntnes as fewe was in his daies in the northe partes." In their way towards London these insurgents dispersed papers specifying the causes of their appeal to arms; which were to the effect that the King had been too lavish of gifts to the Queen's relations; that through them he had spent the church monies; that the Queen's relations would not suffer the laws to be executed but through them; and that they had caused the King to estrange

(25) Certificate hereafter.

(26) Baker's Northamp.

from his council the true lords of his blood.²⁷ The Queen's father and brothers hereupon prudently withdrew to their castles for safety, while Edward resolved immediately to explore the danger in person. Meanwhile Herbert earl of Pembroke was hastening forward with the royal forces from Wales, and at Cottishold (Cotswold) he opportunely fell in with Lord Stafford of Southwick, who commanded a body of archers which had been raised in the counties of Somerset and Devon. The numbers of the forces under these two commanders are variously stated. Some of the chroniclers, among whom is Stow, say that the Earl of Pembroke commanded 18,000 Welshmen: the lowest statement is Hall's, who says that he was "accompaignied with his brother Sir Richard Harbert, a valiaunt knight, and aboue VI. or VII. thousande Welshemenne well furnished:" but this chronicler adds that 5,000 Welshmen were slain, and possibly he underrates the original number by an error in copying the numerals. The troops under Lord Stafford are described by Stow and others as 6,000 "good archers." At Cotswold the Earl of Pembroke received intelligence of the march of the rebels towards Northampton; upon the receipt of which news Lord Stafford and Sir Richard Herbert were sent forward with 2,000 well-mounted Welshmen. These, from the covert of a wood, espied the enemy passing on, and suddenly set upon their rear; whereupon, says Hall, "the Northren men with suche agilitie so quickly turned aboute, that in a moment of an houre, the Welshemen wer clene discomfited and scatered, and many taken, and the remnaunt returned to the armie with small gain."²⁸ The spot where this first conflict took place is not recorded, but the succeeding events shew that it was at no great distance from Banbury.

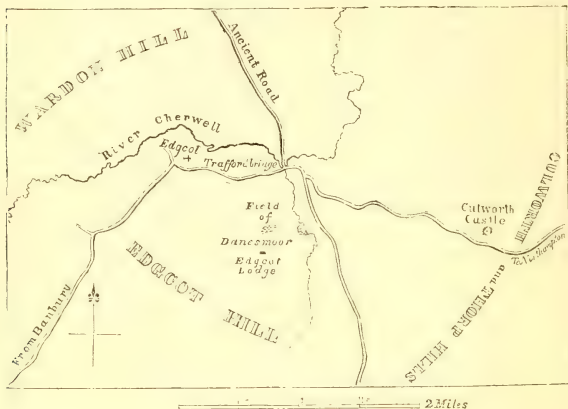
The insurgents are stated to have made no further advance southward after this conflict; but to have taken their way towards Warwick, hoping to obtain the support of the Earl, who had returned from Calais and was gathering his men together. But before the Northern men received any succour, the opposing armies met, says Hall, "by chaunce, in a faire plain, nere to a tounne called Hedgecot, three myle from Banbery, wherin be three hilles, not in equal distaunce, nor yet in equall quantitie, but lyng in maner although not fully triangle."²⁹ The particular spot men-

(27) Turner's Hist. Eng.

(29) Hall's Chron., p. 273.

(28) Hall's Chronicle, p. 273.

tioned is Danesmoor,³⁰ now called Dunsmoor, the recorded scene of a former battle (see p. 56) between the Saxons and the Danes. It is an extensive plain, lying on the south side of the Cherwell about Trafford bridge, one mile southeast from Edgecot church, and five miles northeast from Banbury.³¹ The three hills alluded to by Hall are plainly, 1st, Chipping Wardon hill, 2nd, Edgecot hill, 3rd, Culworth and Thorp hills, as marked in the



THE FIELD OF DANESMOOR.

plan. An ancient road leads from Danesmoor towards the north-western parts of the country, and must have been the meditated line of the Northmen's course towards Warwick. The old road from Banbury leading to Edgecot and Chipping Wardon appears to have been the line of march of the forces of Lords Pembroke and Stafford. "The Welshemen," continues Hall, "gat firste the West hill [Chipping Wardon], hopyng to haue recovered the East hil [Culworth and Thorp]: whiche if thei had obtained, the victory had been theirs, as their vnwise Prophesiers promised them before." This advantage was prevented by the prior movement of the insurgents, who had encamped on the South hill,³²

(30) Stow's Annales, p. 422.

(31) Hearne's fragment informs us that the land on which the battle was fought belonged to a person named Clarell. In Baker's Northamptonshire (p. 493) we find that Richard Clarell of Edgecot Esq. died in 1478 and was buried at Edgecot.

(32) Hall, pp. 273, 274. On the east side of Wardon hill, on the banks of the Cherwell,

or that of Edgecot. This occurred on St. James's day, the 25th of July. The Earl of Pembroke and Lord Stafford were at this time at Banbury; where, says Hall, "the erle of Pembroke putte the Lorde Stafforde out of an Inne, wherein he delighted muche to be, for the loue of a damosell that dwelled in the house: contrary to their mutuall agrement by them taken, whiche was, that whosoever obtained first a lodgyng, should not be deceiued nor remoued. After many great woordes and crakes, had betwene these twoo capitaines, the lorde Stafford of Southwyke, in greate dispite departed with his whole compaignie and band of Archers, leauyng the erle of Pembroke almoste desolate in the toune, whiche, with all diligence returned to his host, liyng in the feld vnpurueied [unpurveyed, unprovided] of Archers, abidyng suche fortune as God would sende and prouide.³³ Sir Henry Neuell sonne to the Lorde Latimer, tooke with hym certain light horssemen, and skirmished with the Welshemen in the euenyng, euen before their Campe, where he did diuerse valiaunt feates of armes, but a litle to hardy, he went so farre forward that he was taken and yelded, and yet cruelly slain: whiche vnmercifull acte, the Welshemen sore ruied the next daie or night." It is elsewhere said that the Northmen soon learned, by some deserters, of the quarrel that had occurred at Banbury, and of Lord Stafford's absence from the field; and the next morning they valiantly fell on the diminished forces of the Earl of Pembroke. Hall goes on—"For the Northren men beyng inflamed, & not a litle discontented, with the death of this noble man, in the mornyng valiauntly set on the Welshemenne, and by force of archers, caused them quickly to descende the [Wardon] hill into the

are two small earthworks, which were probably raised to defend two fords of the river. One of these is in the last pasture belonging to the Grange Farm, close to the principal road leading from Wardon to Eydon. The other is at the back of the farm house at Trafford, adjoining a modern bridge over which passes a bridle road commencing from the ancient road near Trafford bridge and running direct to Eydon. Following the course of the river, the fords are about a mile asunder.

(33) An anecdote is preserved in the family of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, of a conversation which took place between the Earl of Pembroke and his brother Sir Richard Herbert just before the battle. It is said that the Earl, in reviewing his army, came up to his brother, and found him, with a grave countenance, leaning upon his poleaxe. And he said to him, "What makes thee assume that position and that forlorn visage? Art thou fatigued? or art thou afraid?" Sir Richard replied, "I am not afraid, brother; and that you will see anon; but I cannot help thinking of the old woman in Anglesey, who, in counting her woollen beads, cursed you for every bead she counted, because you refused to spare the life of one of her seven sons condemned to the gibbet for being Lancastrians."—*Note in Gwaith Lewis Glyn Cothi*, p. 66.

With respect to the treachery of Lord Stafford it must be noted, that King Edward afterwards directed the sheriffs of Somersetshire and Devonshire to apprehend him: and he, being taken in a village within Brentmarsh, was brought to Bridgewater and there beheaded.

valey, where bothe the hostes fought. Th'erle of Penbroke behaved hymself like a hardy knight, and expert capitain, but his brother Sir Richarde Herbert so valiauntly acquitted hymself, that with his Polleaxe in his hand (as his enemies did afterward reporte) he twise by fine force passed through the battaill of his aduersaries, and without any mortall wounde returned. If euery one of his felowes and compaignions in armes had doen but halfe th'actes, whiche he that daie by his noble prowes achieved, the Northre'men had obtained neither sauetie nor victory.

"Beside this, beholde the mutabilitie of fortune, when the Welshe-men were at the very poynt to haue obteyned the victory (the Northernmen beyng in manner disco'fited) Iohn Clappam Esquier, sernaunte to the erle of Warwycke, mou'ted vp the syde of y^e east hyl [Culworth and Thorp], acco'panied onley with CCCCC. men gathered of all the Rascal of the towne of Northampton and other villages about, hauyng borne before them the standard of the Erle with the White Bere, cryenge a Warwycke a Warwycke. The Welshmen thinkyng that y^e Erle of Warwycke had come on them with all his puyssance, sodaynlye as men amased fledde: the Northernmen them pursued and slew without mercy, for y^e cruelty that they had shewed to the lord Latimers sonne. So that of the Welshmen there were slayn aboute v. M. [5,000] besyde them that were fled and taken."³⁴ Warkworth's briefer account is, that "Robyne of Riddesdale came uppone the Walschmenne in a playne byyonde Banbury tonne, and ther thei faughte strongly togedere, and ther was the Erle of Penbroke takene, and his brother withe hym, and two M. Walschmenne slayne, and so the Walschmen loste the felde the xxvj. day of Juylle the same yere."³⁵

"The erle of Pembroke," continues Hall, "syr Rychard Herbert his brother, and diuers gentelmen were taken, and brought to Bauberie to be behedded: much lamentacion and no lesse entreatie was made to saue the lyfe of Syr Rychard Herbert, both for hys goodely personage, whiche excelled all men there, and also for the noble Chivalry, that he had shewed in the felde the day of the battayll, in so muche that his brother the Erle, when he should laye doune his hed on the block to suffer, sayd to syr Ihon Conyers and Clappam, Masters let me dye for I am olde, but saue my brother, which is younge, lusty and hardy, mete and

(34) Hall's Chron., p. 271.

(35) Warkworth's Chronicle, p. 6.

apte to serue the greatest prince of Cristendom. But Syr Ihon Conyers and Clappam, remembryng the death of the yong knyght syr Henry Neucl, Cosyn to the erle of Warwycke, could not here on that side, but caused the erle & hys brother with diuers other gentleme', to the number of X. to be there behedded."³⁶ "Thys," adds Hall, "was the order, manner and ende of Hegecote felde, come'ly called Banberie felde, foughten the morow after saint Iames daye, in the viij. yere of kynge Edward the iiij. the whiche battaile euer synce hath bene, and yet is a co'tinuall grudge betwene the Northernmen and the Welshemen."

Hall, Grafton, and Holinshed, state that above five thousand of the Welshmen were slain in this battle. Warkworth and Stow add a list of some of the slain; Sir Roger Vaughan knight, Henry ap Morgan, Thomas ap Roger Vaughan Esq., William Harbarde of Brecknock Esq., Watkin Thomas son of Sir Roger Vaughan, Juan ap John of Merwyke, Davy ap Jankin of Lymmeryke, Harry Done ap Pikton, John Done of Kidwelly, Rice ap Morgan ap Ulston, Jankin Perot ap Scottesburgh, John Everad (or Eueand) of Pembrokeshire, and John Courtor (or Contour) of Hereford.³⁷ William of Worcester says that at least 168 of the nobility and gentry of Wales fell in this battle. Fifteen hundred of the Northernmen were slain on the same field;³⁸ the chief of whom were Sir Henry Latimer (Neville)³⁹ son and heir of Lord Latimer, Sir Roger Pigot knight, James Conyers son and heir of Sir John Conyers knight, Oliver Audley (Dudley) Esq., Thomas Wakes's son and heir, and William Mallory Esq.⁴⁰

The barbarous scene enacted at Banbury took place two days after the battle.⁴¹ Tradition speaks of the porch of the old Church as being the place of these executions; and Whitaker confirms this, stating that Clapham "is said to have beheaded with his own hands the Earl of Pembroke in the church porch

(36) Hall's Chron., p. 274.

(37) Warkworth's Chron., pp. 6, 7; Stow's Annales, p. 422.

(38) Itin. W. Wyr., pp. 120-122.

(39) Sir Henry Neville, and his brother-in-law John Dudley, slain in the same battle, were both buried in the Beauchamp chapel at Warwick.—*Warkworth's Chron.*, notes, p. 45.

(40) Warkworth's Chron.; Stow's Annales.

(41) This appears from a Welsh Poem by Gutto Glyn, who says—"Dyw Llun y bu waed a lladd," On the Monday there was blood and slaughter; and—"Marchog a las ddyw Merchur," On the Wednesday the Earl was executed. Before his execution the Earl made a codicil to his will. Sir Richard Herbert was, from his stature, known among the Welsh as Syr Risiart Harbart *hir*, or the tall. (Notes in Gwaith Lewis Glyn Cothi, pp. 59, 65.) His ashes and those of his wife repose beneath an alabaster monument in Abergavenny church. *Information from the Rev. J. Jones, precentor of Christ Church, Oxford.*

of Banbury."⁴² This decisive victory put nearly the whole kingdom for the time into the power of the revoltors and their secret advisers. The peasantry, joining with the Northmen, surprised Lord Rivers, the queen's father, and sir John Wideville, her brother, at Grafton (or, according to Stow, in the "forest of Deane," which must imply the forest of Whittlebury, between Edgeot and Grafton), and took them to Northampton, where, without judgment, they were beheaded. The revoltors went to Warwick, where the Earl had gathered a great multitude of people, and "whiche Erle gaue hygh comme'dacions to syr Ihon Conyers and other capitaynes of y^e North, much reioysing, that they had obteyned so glorious victory, requiring them to continew as they had begon." And hearing that the King with an army was coming thither, he, having used artful means to lull the King into security, in the dead of the night set upon his camp and took him prisoner in his bed. The King was conveyed to Middleham castle, in Yorkshire, to be in the custody of the archbishop of York.⁴³

In Plate 12 (fig. 3) is engraved a probable relic of the Battle of Danesmoor, being an arrow-head or bolt-head of iron, which was dug up on Chipping Wardon hill about five years ago: it mea-

(42) Hist. Deanery of Craven. Wordsworth, in his *White Doe of Rylstone*, has alluded to this when describing Bolton Priory Church:—

"Pass, pass who will, yon chantry door;
And, through the chink in the fractured floor
Look down, and see a griesly sight;
A vault where the bodies are buried upright!
There, face by face, and hand by hand,
The Claphams and Mauleverers stand;
And, in his place, among son and sire,
Is John de Clapham, that fierce Esquire,
A valiant man, and a name of dread,
In the ruthless wars of the White and Red;
Who dragged Earl Pembroke from Banbury Church,
And smote off his head on the stones of the porch!"

In a note it is said;—"At the east end of the north aisle of Bolton Priory church is a chantry belonging to Bethmesly hall, and a vault where, according to tradition, the Claphams (who inherited this estate by the female line from the Mauleverers) were interred upright. John de Clapham, of whom this ferocious act is recorded, was a name of great note in his time: he was a vehement partisan of the house of Lancaster, in whom the spirit of his chieftains, the Cliffords, seemed to survive."

(43) Hume throws doubts on the fact of Edward's being taken prisoner, but totally fails to produce evidence to meet the authorities on which it is asserted. Warkworth says, the Archbishop, by the advice of the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick, "rode with certeyne horsmenne harneysed withe hym, and toke Kynge Edward, and had hym unto Warwyke castelle a lytelle whyle, and afterwarde to Yorke cite." (P. 7). It appears that the King was soon at liberty. "Whether bribing his keepers," says Sir Richard Baker, "or otherwise winning them by fair promises, he got so much liberty sometimes for his recreation to go a hunting, that he caused Sir William Stanley, Sir Thomas of Burgh, and divers of his friends, at a certain time to meet him, who took him from his keepers and set him again at liberty; whilst the earl of Warwick, nothing doubting his brother the Archbishop's care in safe keeping him, and thinking the brunt of the wars to be now past, dismissed his army, and intended only to find out King Henry, who was kept a prisoner, but few men knew where."—*Baker's Chron.*

sure four inches and six-tenths in length, and weighs two ounces. The barbs of the arrow are so contrived as to fall back upon the shaft during its passage, but to spread out (as at A A) on any attempt to extract it.⁴⁴

Hall's statement of the feeling excited in Wales by the result of this battle is fully borne out by Welsh Poems which commemorate the fatal event. One of these poems is by Lewis Glyn Cothi, a celebrated Bard who flourished at this period: it is entitled the *Elegy of Thomas ap Roger* [Vaughan, son of Sir Roger Vaughan], the Lord of Herast. The following is a translation:—

THE ELEGY OF THOMAS AP ROGER, THE LORD OF HERAST.

The mightiest battle in Christiston
Was lost through treachery.
The victory took place in Banbury,
With great slaughter to fair Cambria.
There in the battle-field were heard
The cries of the mighty spearmen ;
Some, Herbert! Some, our Edward!
Earl Warwick! others, Harry!

Under the Lord of Herast's banner
Was the carnage, the gashes, and the wounds.
Thomas maintained the wrathful encounter
With his flaming spear. But Ap Roger,
Like Arthur when in his cuirass
Before the host at Camlan, was slain ;
And not slight the task. For he,
By his prowess, retaliated on them.
Thomas fell ; like Jesus he triumphed.
And, when the heads of his host had fallen,
Thomas in his bright cuirass
Requited his enemies.

Had he been fist to fist with three
Of the most noble rank in Banbury,
He would have effected the work of nine,
When the slaughtering hand was unembarrassed.⁴⁵

Where the other was slain, is not known ;
God, and the man, only know ;
And, if we are to discover where they met,
He who conquered must disclose it.

(44) This curious relic is in the possession of the Rev. E. G. Walford.

(45) In consequence of his extraordinary size and strength, he was called Thomas Vawr [the Great]. He was nearly sixty years of age at the date of this battle.—*Note in Gwaith Lewis Glyn Cothi.*

When we had battle with our enemy
 In cold Banbury, on the mount's top,
 Two chieftains went—not one returned ;—
 The Earl of Gwent, and another of Kingdon.
 The descendant of Moreddig possess'd
 Good qualities without bad ones :
 He would not in his manor
 Enforce any land-tax,
 But protected the commonalty ;
 And distributed his hospitality to all.
 Wonderful Book of Knowledge !
 That any should forget, who knew him.

Ellen Gethin⁴⁶ had been weeping
 Moist tears, like drops of rain :
 Although wailing the grief of dissolution,
 He recovered not, but died.
 On this she prepared her vigils
 And funeral obsequies in Herast.

After this shall arise
 Three of like valour to Saints George and Derval :
 These three are about to avenge him,
 And God shall give to me revenge !
 Master Watkin, a sweet scion,
 Master Richard, and Master Roger,
 The three sons of Custenin
 Who was a stern man to prepare them ;
 They shall avenge their father's death
 On England, ere the closing of an eye.

These, ere many summers,
 Shall come out among the mightiest !
 Length of days, and renewed strength,
 May Mary's Son give to them !
 In the place, and where he was slain,
 God shall care for Thomas !
 Mary's Image shall avenge him !
 And God likewise avenge him !⁴⁷

Another Ode by the same Bard is addressed to Sir Roger Vaughan of Tretower, in which that chieftain is urged to march and take vengeance on the English for the death of his relatives at Banbury. The Bard says :—

“ A Tower, a Warrior, a steel-clad Cambrian,
 A valorous Welshman ;—
 Sir Roger ! if they await,
 Do thou retaliate on them for Banbury ! ”⁴⁸

(46) The widow of Thomas ap Roger.

(47) Gwaith Lewis Glyn Cothi, pp. 16—19.

(48) Gwaith Lewis Glyn Cothi, p. 24.

EDWARD IV. TO HENRY VII.

A. D. 1470. "John Est'by, vicar of Bannebury, complained to the Bishop that the former endowment of the Vicarage, that is to say 'In Oblations, Tithes personal made at the High Altar, for Oblations forgotten, with the Trees growing in the church-yard,' was become too small; on which the Bishop, with the consent of the said vicar and William Witham LL.D. prebendary of Bannebury, allotted to the vicar and his successors, besides the former endowment, All Oblations to be made in the Chapel which is built on the foundation of the Rectory aforesaid in honour of the Resurrection of our Lord, which the said vicar and his successors shall take upon themselves to repair as often as there shall be occasion, and all Mortuaries, and all tithes of Milk, Calves, Pigs, Chickens, Geese, Pigeons, Honey, Eggs, Herbs, Apples, Pears, Saffron, and all kind of Fruits growing in Orchards and Gardens, and the pence of Gardens, commonly called Garden Pennys, and the tithes of Flax and Hemp, within the said parish without the foundation of the house of the Rectory aforesaid and ground belonging to the Rectory aforesaid growing; which shall remain to the vicar and his successors free from payment of all kind of tithable things. Moreover the vicar aforesaid and his successors shall submit to and acknowledge all burdens and impositions as well to the Pope as the Bishop of Lincoln and the Chapter of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln and to the King of England, to the said Vicarage howsoever belonging imposed or ordered; and all burdens used or accustomed to be paid by the former vicar or vicars in times past. And if any thing in the premises shall be doubtful and obscure the Bishop and his successors shall interpret it. Sealed and dated Oxon 1st April 1470, the 14th year of his [Bishop Chedworth's] consecration."¹

William Witham, LL.D., prebendary of Banbury and dean of Wells, died in 1472, and was buried in Wells cathedral:² his successor in the Prebend of Banbury was John Gunthorp, clerk, admitted by procuration 15th August 1472;³ he also was dean of Wells.⁴ In 1471, Thomas Scott, alias Rotherham, lord chancellor, and chancellor of Cambridge, was translated from Rochester to the see of Lincoln. In 1480, John Russel, lord chancellor, and chancellor of Oxford, succeeded to the bishoprick,⁵ and, consequently, to the lordship of Banbury.

Simon Stalworth was master of the Hospital of St. John at Bannebur before 1483, having previously been prebendary of Kyldesby and of St. Margaret's at Leycestr:⁶ he resigned the mastership of the Hospital of Banbury, and Ralph Hamsterley A.M. was collated thereto Feb. 8th 1483.⁷ Stalworth was afterwards subdean of Lincoln, and died before 12th Nov. 1511:⁸

(1) Book of Memorandums of John Chedworth, bishop. Extract attested by John Bradley, Dep. Reg., 1758, in the possession of J. W. Golby Esq.

(2) Willis's Cathedrals.

(3) Harl. MS. 6954, fol. 149.

(4) Willis's Cath.

(5) Whitworth's Nobil.

(6) Harl. MS., 6953, fols. 3, 13.

(7) Harl. MS., 6953, fol. 13.

(8) Harl. MS., 6953.

he was clerk of the Hanaper in the 20th of Henry VII.⁹ Bishop Russel died Dec. 30th 1494, and William Smyth, chancellor of Oxford and president of Wales, succeeded to the see of Lincoln Nov. 6th 1495 (11th Henry VII).¹⁰ The author of *Magna Britannia* states, that the manor of Banbury had been given by Henry the Seventh to Jasper duke of Bedford and earl of Pembroke, whom the King rewarded with many possessions:¹¹ however on the 6th Feb. 1495-6, the temporalities of the see of Lincoln were restored to the new bishop.¹² Bishop Smyth frequently visited his castle of Banbury. In 1498-9, Feb. 10th, he transmitted thence certain injunctions to the abbot, prior, and canons of Oseney Abbey; having previously found it necessary to suspend the abbot from his office.¹³ On the 5th Feb. 1500-1, and on the following 21st April, the Bishop was at Banbury; as he was subsequently in 1507.¹⁴

John Gunthorp, prebendary of Bannebury, died in 1498 at his deanery of Wells, and was buried in that cathedral. His successor in the Prebend of Bannebury was James Whytstons, D.D., who resigned the prebend of Gretton, and was collated to that of Banbury July 23rd 1498.¹⁵ Before this date, Bishop Smyth, having been personally engaged in the service of the King, had, in 1495, appointed Whytstons commissary-general during his absence.¹⁶ James Whitstouys, prebendary of Banbury, was subsequently returned among the persons holding dignities in the church of Lincoln and absent therefrom.¹⁷

For some generations CALTHORP was the residence of the family of DANVERS. Richard Danvers, styled of Cothorp, married the daughter and heiress of John Braucestre of Cothorp, and is said to have been descended from Roland D'Anvers of the time of William the Conqueror: he had a son John Danvers (who has been mentioned, p. 175, concerning the Chantry, 1st Henry V.),

(9) Patent in Rolls Chapel. (10) Churton's Founders of Brasenose. (11) Vol. 4, p. 384.

(12) Churton's Founders of Brasenose, p. 90.

(13) Churton's Founders, p. 106.

(14) On the 21st of April 1501, Thomas Fort, suffragan of this diocese, was commissioned by the Bishop, by an instrument dated in the Castle of Banbury, to consecrate altars and perform other subordinate offices of episcopacy within certain counties. From that year to 1511, Augustin Lidensis (of Lydda in Palestine), as suffragan of Lincoln, ordained at Banbury and other places in the diocese.

Bishop Smyth designed to give to Oriel College an estate in land; but, as that College had recently purchased Schynnyngdon (Shenington), he gave £300 on certain conditions; the ordinances relating to which, dated in the college chapel May 5, 1507, were confirmed by the Bishop under his episcopal seal in the castle of Banbury on the 7th of the same.—*Churton's Founders*, pp. 46, 184, 232, 233.

(15) Willis's Cath.; Harl. MS. 6954, fol. 155.

(16) Churton's Founders, p. 90.

(17) Harl. MS., 6953, fols. 70, 71.

styled of Banbury and Cothorp, who lived in the reigns of Henry the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth.¹⁸ The eldest son of this John Danvers was Sir William Danvers, of Calthorp, and of Upton in Warwickshire, lord chief justice of the Common Pleas in the 3rd of Henry VII., who died 19th Henry VII. Sir William had issue William Danvers, of Banbury, Calthrope, and Upton; whose son was George Danvers, of Banbury, Calthrope, and Upton, temp. Edw. VI. The son of this George was John Danvers, temp. Mary, styled of Banbury, Calthrope, and Upton. Subsequently the descendants of this John Danvers are styled merely of Upton.¹⁹

In the reign of Henry VII., Sir Richard Emson knight, and Thomas Emson Esq., held under the bishop the offices of constable and steward of the hundred of the castle and town of Banbury for their joint lives.²⁰ Robert Cutts was constituted bai-

(18) Baker's Northamp., p. 605; &c. The following entries respecting John Danvers and his descendants occur in the Heralds' Visitations for Oxfordshire. (Harl. MS., 5812, fol. 9.)

"John Danvers of Cothorpe in Com' Oxon' esquire married Jane daughter and heire of Will'm Brule of Cothorpe aforesaid esquire and by her had yssue Sr. William Danvers knight his eldest sonne, Henry second sonne, Sr. Thomas Danvers knight third sonne, Symond Danvers fourthe sonne, Elizabeth married to Thomas Poore of Blechington in Com' Oxon gent., Jane married to Richard Fowler of Rycott in Com' Oxon' gen' and chancellor of the Duchie of Lanc', Margaret married to John Langston of Caversfield in Com' Oxon' Ar'.

"Sr. William Danvers of Cothorpe aforesaid knight eldest sonne and heire to John aforesaid Lorde Cheefe Justice of the comon place married Anne daughter & heire of John Purie of Chamberhowse in Com' Barke esquire and by her hath yssue John Danvers his eldest sonne, Thomas second sonne, and William Danvers third sonne, Anne married to Sr.

Verney of Compton in Com' Warr' knight, Margaret married to Thomas Ramsey of Hedsore in Com' Buck esquire, Isabell married to Martyn Dockerie of in Com' Kendall gen', Alice married to John Raynsforde of Michell tewe in Com' Oxon esquire.

"William Danvers of Cothorpe aforesaid esquire sonne and heire to Sr. William aforesaid married Cescellye daughter of Sr. Raufe Done of in Com' Cheshire knight and by her hath yssue George Danvers his eldest sonne and heire, Richard Danvers second sonne, John Danvers third sonne, and Edmond Danvers fourthe sonne, Elizabeth married to Edmond Tyrryngham of Tyrryngham in Com. Buck esquire, Barbara unmarried.

"George Danvers of Cothorpe in Com' Oxon esquire eldest sonne and heir to Will'm aforesaid, married Margaret daughter of Thomas Doyle of Chesilhampton in Com' Oxon' Ar., and by her hath yssue, John Danvers his eldest sonne & heir apparent, Thomas Danvers second sonne.

"John Danvers of Stanton in Com' Leic' gen', eldest sonne & heir apparent to George Danvers aforesaid, married Dorothe daughter of Sr. Richard Verney of Compton in Com' Warr' Knight and by her hath yssue two daughters."

The arms entered are, quarterly, 1st and 4th, Arg. on a bend Gu. 3 martlets Or, winged Vert.—2nd, Erm. on a bend Gu. 2 chevronels Or.—3rd, Arg. a bar Sab. between 3 martlets of the same.

(19) Dugdale's Warwicksh., &c. In one of the windows of Calthorp House are the arms of Danvers, inscribed "Danvers lounge time owner of Cothropp." Another shield is—"Danvers mached with Doyley." Under a third shield is said—"Robert Doyley cam oute of Normandie with the Conqueror married Alghitha Dr of Wigotu lord of Wallingford." There is a vignette of Calthorp House in Skelton's Oxfordshire. The building is partially visible on the right hand side of the view of St. John's Gate (Plate 21).

(20) Act. Capit. Linc., fol. 145, b, 14 Mai. 23 Henr. VII.; confirmed by Chapter 28th May 1508. Churton supposes that the above-named Sir Richard Emson was the famous "Judex fiscalis," as P. Virgil styles him, who with his colleague Dudley was beleaded by Henry the Eighth. He was the son of a sieve-maker, and born at Towcester; and was a member of the House of Commons in 1495. The two sisters of Sir Richard Empson,

liff of the town and warder of the Castle:²¹ and William Cope Esq., in 1496, became lessee of the manor of Hardwick and the river.

"The Lord Bishop hath let to farm to William Cope Esq. all his manor of Hardewyk in the County of Oxford and all the rivulet and fishery of the said Bishop within the hundred of Banbury to have and to hold after the date of these presents until the end of a term of 99 years from that time next following, by paying annually to the Bishop and his successors for the farm of the manor £15. 4s. 1d. and for the farm of the said rivulet and fishery annually 6s. 8d. Dated 22nd June, 11th Henr. VII."²²

On the 5th Feb. 1500-1 (16th Henry VII.), a council of our lord the King was holden at the Castle of Banbury.²³ About April 1501 a commission was made out to try certain clerks convict, detained in the Castle of Banbury, who had robbed Paul Bombyn, a London merchant, of £200 in Bradston field near Enstone.²⁴

In 1504, Dec. 6th, T. Sidnall, chaplain of Wroxstan, by will, bequeathed to Prior Richard and his Convent certain legacies; and directed his body to be buried in the conventual church before the great cross, and one pound of wax to burn before the cross in the parochial church of Wroxstan.²⁵

WILLIAM COPE Esq. has been mentioned above as the lessee of Hardwick in 1496. His ancestor John Cope was a person of some note in the reign of Richard the Second, which monarch granted to his "trusty and well-beloved servant John Cope Esq." the manor of Denshanger in Northamptonshire, &c.²⁶ Henry the Fourth confirmed to his esquire and beloved servant,

styled of Eston Neston, were named Elizabeth and Anne; Elizabeth married William Spencer of Rodburn co. Warwick, and became the mother of that Sir John Spencer who purchased Wormleighton in 1506; Anne married William Spencer's next brother John Spencer of Hodnell co. Warwick; her only daughter (and heiress) was Jane the second wife of William Cope the Cofferer, of Banbury and Hanwell, presently mentioned.—*Pedigree in Baker's Northamp.*, p. 109.

(21) 10th Apr. 1509. Act. Capit. Linc. fol. 49, b.

(22) Harl. MS., 6954, fol. 155.

(23) Acts. &c. among Records in the Court of Requests, in Brit. Mus.

(24) Reg. Linc., fol. 70. In the description given by Leland of the Castle of Banbury, it is said that in the outer ward there was "a terrible prison for convict men;" and the Valor Ecclesiasticus mentions annual alms of £10, accustomed of old time, for victuals and necessities to convict clerks abiding in the prison of the lord Bishop at Banbury. Before the Pope's supremacy was abolished, ecclesiastics and their officers, and, in process of time, all who could read, were allowed, when convicted capitally in the civil courts, to claim benefit of Clergy in arrest of judgment; whereupon they were delivered to the ordinary to be dealt with according to the ecclesiastical canons. The bishop or his commissary received the clerk, with a copy of his conviction, and a new canonical trial was instituted, before the bishop or his deputy assisted by a jury of twelve clerks. Here the party was required to make oath of his innocence, and twelve compurgators were to swear they believed he spoke truth. Witnesses on behalf of the prisoner were examined; and then the jury brought in their verdict on oath, which usually acquitted the prisoner. Otherwise, if a clerk, he was degraded or put to penance. (Blackstone.) For this purpose the bishops had prisons in the nature of dungeons, of which in this diocese of Lincoln there were one at Newark and one at Banbury.

(25) Warton's Life of Sir T. Pope, p. 371.

(26) Collins's Baronetage.

John Cope, the said manor of Denshanger, in especial consideration of the good service he had rendered to the King in the preceding reign;²⁷ and also granted to him for faithful service the manor of Westbury, co. Bucks.²⁸ His descendant, the above-named William Cope, was cofferer of the household to Henry the Seventh, and purchased estates in and near Banbury:²⁹ he married, first, Agnes,³⁰ daughter and coheiress of Sir Robert Harcourt of Stanton Harcourt, knight banneret and knight of the bath, who was standardbearer to King Henry the Seventh at the battle of Bosworth;³¹ and, subsequently, Jane, daughter and coheiress of John Spencer of Hodnell, co. Warwick, Esq., and coheiress of her brother Thomas Spencer of Hodnell Esq.³² Leland, writing in the reign of Henry the Eighth, says—"Mr. Cope hath an ould mannour place, called Herdwike, a mile by north from Banbury. There was Herdwik of Herdwik. He hath another at Hanwell, a 2 miles from Banbury by northwest, and is in Oxfordshire. This is a very pleasant and gallant house."³³

The old manor-house of HARDWICK stood on the hill, a little to the north of the present farm-house. There are yet considerable remains of William Cope's castellated mansion at HANWELL. (Plate 20.) This was a fine specimen of the brick-work of the latter part of the reign of Henry the Seventh, with stone quoins; the whole being cemented in the most durable manner with a mixture of Southam lime and powdered granite. It was a quadrangular edifice, with a frontage of 109 feet; at each angle was a square tower flanked by octangular turrets; the whole edifice was embattled. The principal entrance was by a pointed doorway in the west front, surmounted by a bay window. The room in the southwestern tower, which still remains, measures 20 by 18 feet; above it are two rooms of similar dimensions, to which the ascent is by winding stairs which lead to the summit of the

(27) Rot. Pat. 1st Henr. IV. p. 2, m. 20.

(28) Collins's Baronetage.

(29) Wood's Athenæ.

(30) Inscription in the old Church at Banbury, quoted in p. 192, note 37.

(31) Harcourt pedigrees; and information from the Rev. W. H. Cope, of Easton, Hants, to whom I am indebted for much of the information relating to his ancestors which occurs in the following pages.

(32) Visit. Co. Warwick, 1619, in lib. Herald's Coll.

(33) Leland's Itin., v. 4, pt. 2, fol. 163, a. Perhaps William Cope came into possession of Hanwell through Jane his second wife; as his eldest son (by his first wife) and his descendants did not inherit the estate. Le Neve (MSS. Pedigrees of Baronets) says that William Cope had a grant of Hanwell; and gives a reference, "Pat. Henr. VII.;" but the Rev. W. H. Cope, who has taken great pains to trace the history of his family, suspects that this reference is to the licence to castellate and embattle Hanwell house, and not to any grant of the estate.

tower: in the lower room is a very fine chimney-piece of black and white marble, which was removed from one of the state rooms. The great kitchen in the south front (now used as a dairy), and the adjoining room, have two curious fireplaces situated back to back. In that part of the south front which looked into the quadrangle was a handsome oriel window now partly stopped up. The stone corbel which supported the bay window over the principal entrance is now in the adjoining garden of the rectory. The entire building remained until about the year 1777.³⁴

William Cope had a grant from the Crown, 7th May, 13th Henry VII. (1498), of the lordships of Wormleighton and Fenby Compton in Warwickshire, part of the inheritance of Sir Simon Montfort who was attainted in the 10th of Henry the Seventh.³⁵ In the 22nd of Henry VII. he sold Wormleighton to his wife's cousin, Sir John Spencer of Snitterfield, who erected the manor-house, and resided there with a family of sixty persons.³⁶

William Cope added some decorations to the ancient Church of Banbury. In one of Anthony à Wood's MSS., there is preserved a copy of a Latin inscription, which was placed beneath the arms of Cope in this Church, recording that "William Coope Esq., formerly cofferer of the household of the most illustrious King Henry VII, caused these four windows to be made."³⁷ A marginal note of Wood states that these windows, "without doubt," were those of the "chapel on the south side of the church." Probably he merely re-glazed the windows with coats of arms &c.; as it is hardly conceivable that, at this date, any one should possess the exquisite taste which could prompt to the

(34) An incorrect drawing of the original building has been preserved, and is engraved in Skelton's Oxfordshire. It is said there was a gallery from the central apartment in the tower which yet remains (and which is engraved in Plate 20), communicating with the chancel of the Church, which stands on an adjacent bank called the Gallery Hill. At this mansion there was once a water clock, which was worked by the ever-flowing spring that rises in the centre of the village, and which shewed the time by the rising of gilded balls, or suns, marked with the hours. The situation of the passing ball on the arch over which it moved shewed the divisions of the hour until the rising of the next ball.

(35) Collins's Baronetage. In the year after he obtained possession, Cope depopulated twelve messuages and three cottages at Wormleighton, and enclosed 240 acres of land.—*Mag. Britan.*

(36) Baker's Northamp., pp. 106, 109. Sir John Spencer added many other manors to his family patrimony. He is mentioned as a "noble housekeeper;" and so scrupulously just, that by his will he required his executors to recompense any one who could shew that he had wronged him in any way, although he knew of none such; and directed proclamation hereof to be made monthly, during the first year after his decease, at Warwick, Southam, Coventry, Banbury, Daventry, and Northampton. (Collins's Baronetage.) The present noble family of Spencer are his descendants, and retain the property purchased by him.

(37) Wood's MSS., 8505, fol. 165, a. "Will'us Coope arm. quondam Coffarius hospitii illustriss. Regis Hen. VII. istas quatuor fenestras fieri fecit. Agnes et Jana uxores."

restoration of these windows in the purest style of the 14th century. William Cope died on the 7th April 1513, and was interred in this beautiful Chapel, beneath a tomb of black marble. Dugdale describes this as a "faire monum^t of Tuch" [Touchstone].³⁸ It is remembered as a plain, raised, flat tomb, standing in that part of the Chapel which was entered from the church-yard by a door on the south side (seen in Plate 13), called, from its position near the tomb, the Black-stone door. Upon this tomb marks were remaining where the arms had been: the inscription was partly defaced when Dugdale saw the tomb in 1640;³⁹ and Wood, who was here in 1659, mentions the arms "on brasse plates," and the inscription, as having been "long since defaced and plucked off."⁴⁰ Wood however gives the following epitaphs, which he had found from "certain collections" to have been in Banbury Church:—

"Hic jacet Will'us Coope Armiger quondam Cofferarius hospitii famosissimi et excellentissimi Regis Henrici septimi, qui quidem Will'us obiit vii die mensis Aprilis an. Dom. MV^cXIII^c cujus a'i'e [propicietur Deus. Amen]."⁴¹

"Here lyeth Jane Coope wyddow late the wyfe of Will' Coope Esq. somtymes Cofferar to K. Hen. VII. whych Jane died on the xii. day of Febr. an. Dom. MV^cXXV on whose [soule Jh'u have mercy. Amen]."⁴²

When the Church of Banbury was taken down in 1790, the remains of William Cope, which had been interred 277 years, were exposed, and immediately crumbled to dust. Of his children, his son Stephen, by his first wife (Agnes), was serjeant of the Poultry to Henry VIII., and was the ancestor of the Copes of Bedenham, Hants.⁴³ William Cope's first son by his second

(38) Dugdale's MSS., No. 6501, fol. 152, a.

(39) Dugdale's MSS., *ibid*.

(40) Wood's MSS., No. 8505.

(41) "Here lieth William Coope Esquire, formerly Cofferer of the Household of the most famous and excellent King Henry the Seventh, which William died the 7th day of the month of April, in the year of our Lord 1513. On whose soul may God have mercy. Amen."

The present Sir John Cope Bart., of Bramshill, Hants, is in possession of a portrait of William Cope the Cofferer, said to be by Holbein.

(42) Wood's MSS., No. 8505, fol. 165, a. The arms were Ar. on a chevron Az. betw. 3 roses Gul. slipt and leaved Vt. as many fleurs de lis O. The crest, as drawn both by Lee and Wood, was On a wreath Ar. and Vt. [azure?] a fleur de lis Or, a dragon's head issuing from the top thereof Gules. These were in the windows before mentioned. William Cope's paternal coat was Gul. on a fess Arg. a boar passant Sab.: he also used, as allusive to his office of Cofferer, Arg. three coffers (2 & 1) Sab. garnished Or (Le Neve's MSS.); but subsequently he had a grant of the above-mentioned arms, in especial allusion to the Royal badges of the crown, viz. the red rose of Lancaster, the fleur de lis, and the red dragon. These arms and crest have continued the bearing of the family to the present time. They have also used as an ancient badge a fleur de lis per pale Arg. and Or.

Jane Cope, after the death of her first husband, the above William Cope, married William Saunders of Banbury Esq., whom also she seems to have survived. (Pedigrees of Cope and Spencer.) It appears however from the epitaph that she chose to designate herself by the name of her first husband, who was the highest of the two in rank.

(43) Qu. Bedhampton?

wife (Jane), was Anthony Cope, of Hanwell and Grymsbury: he was born at Banbury,⁴¹ was educated at Oriel College, Oxford, and afterwards travelled into France, Germany, Italy, and elsewhere, visiting the foreign universities, and associating with the most learned men. Sir Anthony possessed an estate at Grymsbury in 1534. In 1536, he had a grant from Henry VIII. of the Priory of Brook in Rutlandshire, and also of the manor of Brook with the appurtenances in that county, all which however he alienated before his death. He was also appointed vice-chamberlain to Queen Catherine Parr: and at the coronation of Edward VI. in February 1547 was created a knight of the carpet, and in the next year was selected by that King to serve the office of high sheriff of Oxfordshire and Berkshire, succeeding in that office Sir Francis Englefield, a zealous agent for the Pope in this county.⁴⁵ Sir Anthony died "in summer time in fifteen hundred fifty and one," according to Wood; or on the 6th January 1550-1, according to Baker;⁴⁶ and was buried in the chancel of the church at Hanwell.

BANBURY GRAMMAR SCHOOL: THOMAS STANBRIDGE AND JOHN STANBRIDGE.

John Stanbridge, and his brother, or near relative,⁴⁷ Thomas

(44) Probably at the manor-house of Hardwick.—*Tanner's Bibliotheca*, 199.

(45) Wood's *Athenæ*; Fuller's *Worthies*; Bakers' *Northamp.*, p. 748; Playfair's *Fam. Antiq.*; and information from the Rev. W. H. Cope. Sir Anthony Cope wrote several works, many of which are said to have been lost in consequence of the religious changes and troubles of the time. (*Pitsens*, 735, 6.) Two only are now extant, 1st, "The Historie of tyvo the moste noble captaines of the worlde, Anniball and Scipio, of theyr dyuers battailes and victories;" gathered and translated from Titus Livius and other authors: this he dedicated in 1544 to Henry VIII., and it acquired sufficient popularity to run through three editions before the end of that century. 2nd, "Godly Meditations on 20 Select Psalms, necessary for them that desire to have the dark words of the Prophet declared: Also for those that delight in the contemplation of the spiritual meaning of them;" which he published in 1547, with a dedication to his mistress and patroness Queen Catharine Parr. His writings shew him to have been favourable to the Reformation; and this opinion is confirmed by the fact of his holding a confidential situation near the person of Queen Catharine, and by the honours conferred upon him after the accession of Edward the Sixth.

(46) Wood's *Athenæ*; Baker's *Northamp.*, p. 748. Edward Cope, eldest son of Sir Anthony, died 3rd-4th Phil. & Mar., seized of the manor of Grimesbury, with 3 messuages, 300 acres of arable land, 60 acres of meadow, and 400 acres of pasture, lately belonging to the monastery of Burchester, and held of the Queen in capite, by the service of a twentieth part of one knight's fee; as also of other lands &c. in Grimesbury, Nethercote, Husecote, Overthorp, Warkworth, and Middleton, held of the Earl of Derby as of his hundred of Sutton; and further seized of the third part of one messuage, 60 acres of arable land, 40 acres of meadow, and 100 acres of pasture called The Spittle, held of George Calverley and Agnes his wife as of their manor of Warkworth, by fealty and a yearly payment of four shillings.—*Bridges' Northamp.*, p. 220.

(47) Wood's *Fasti Oxon.*

Stanbridge, were, the first of them, master of the Hospital of St. John at Banbury, and the second, the master of the Grammar School there. JOHN STANBRIDGE was born at Heyford in Northamptonshire, educated at Winchester school, and, in 1481, admitted, after two years' probation, fellow of New College, Oxford. He left his college five years after, and, "being naturally delighted in the faculty of grammar," though then B.A., was made first usher of the free school adjoining to Magdalen College (so he occurs in 1488), and, after the death of Anwykyll, chief master thereof.⁴⁸ On the 22nd April 1501, John Stanbrigge, being then M.A., and priest, was by Bishop Smyth, at Banbury, collated to the mastership of the Hospital of St. John there, which mastership was void by the death of Brother Thomas Banbury.⁴⁹ On the 8th February 1507, Master John Stanbrigge, M.A., was collated to the church of Wynwyk.⁵⁰ On the 30th August 1509, he was collated to the prebend of St. Botolph.⁵¹ He died in 1510, before the 8th September.⁵² The mastership of the Hospital of Banbury was recorded as being vacant, by his death, on the 20th September; and, on the following 7th January (1510-11), Master Thomas Brynknell, D.D., who held the prebend of Marston St. Lawrence, was collated thereto.⁵³ Wood describes John Stanbridge as a right worthy lover of his faculty, indefatigable in teaching and writing; and says he lived poor and bare to the last, with a juvenile and cheerful spirit. (See his portrait, Plate 21.)⁵⁴

THOMAS STANBRIDGE, master of Banbury Grammar School, and who is styled by Wood "an eminent grammarian," and a "noted schoolmaster of Banbury," took the degree of M.A. in July 1518, being then of Magdalen College, Oxford. Wood adds, that he "taught the grammar composed by John Stanbridge," and that the school at Banbury was "much frequented for his

(48) Wood's *Athenæ*.

(49) Harl. MS., 6953, fol. 42; Churton's *Founders of Brasenose*.

(50) Harl. MS., 6953, fol. 33.

(51) Harl. MS., 6953, fol. 24.

(52) Harl. MS., 6953, fols. 25, 34. Wood, who appears to be quite ignorant of the latter part of John Stanbridge's history, supposes him to have lived beyond the year 1522.

(53) Harl. MS. 6953, fols. 25, 53, 54.

(54) John Stanbridge's works, which are either in the Bodleian Library or enumerated by Anthony a Wood, are—*Vocabula Magistri Sta'brigi*, 4to, printed by R. Pynson in 1513, and again by Wynkyn de Worde in 1525;—*Gradus Comparationum*, 4to, by Wynkyn de Worde;—*Accidentia*, ex Stanbrigiana editione nuper recognita, 4to, by Wynkyn de Worde;—*Embryon relinatum*, sive *Vocabularium Metricum*, printed about 1522;—*Parvulorum Institutio ex Stanbrigiana collectione*, 4to, by Wynkyn de Worde, 1526;—*De ordine constructionum*;—*Vulgaria*.

sake." Thomas Stanbridge died in 1522, and left several books to his college, of which he was fellow.¹

This is the earliest date at which the GRAMMAR SCHOOL of Banbury is mentioned. Under the care of Thomas Stanbridge it acquired great reputation. The statutes of the grammar school at Manchester, of the date of 1524, ordain that the high master thereof shall be "able to teche Childeryn Gramyer after the Scole use, maner, and forme of the Scole of Banbury in Oxford-schyre, nowe there taught, wiche is called Stanbridge gramyer:"² and it is said that the statutes of St. Paul's school at London were drawn up on the model of those of Banbury.³

Sir Thomas Pope, the founder of Trinity College Oxford, who was born about the year 1508, received the rudiments of his education at Banbury Grammar School under Thomas Stanbridge.⁴ The Statutes of Trinity College, dated May 1st 1556, direct that, in default of candidates deemed eligible by the Electors from certain places therein named, regard be had to scholars from four or five other schools, of which number Banbury is one.⁵

It is deeply to be regretted that no subsequent information can be traced respecting Banbury School: its endowment, and even its site, are unknown, and all the advantages of this celebrated foundation have for ages been lost to the inhabitants. The school-house is imagined by some to have stood on the north side of the church-yard, where an old building, which at a later period was called the School-house, was standing until 1838; but was then taken down with the view of adding the site to the burial ground. This building had about 64 feet of frontage to the church-yard, and was 16 feet in breadth. At an early period it was called the Church House. In 1556 (the date of the statutes of Trinity College), mention is made in local records of the old wood of the Church House;⁶ and in 1603 this building on the north side of the church-yard is described as having been sometimes called the Church House, and then a school-house. It is stated as having been given for the repair of the Church.⁷

(1) Wood's *Athenæ*.

(2) *Carlisle's Endowed Grammar Schools*.

(3) *Carlisle*.

(4) *Warton's Life of Sir T. Pope*.

(5) Information from the Rev. T. Short, Fellow of Trinity College.

(6) Banbury Corporation accounts, 1556.

(7) Decree on Charities at Banbury in 1603. This building was used as a prison during the Civil Wars. (Rawlinson's MSS., Topog. Com. Oxon.) When the Act was passed in 1790 for taking down and rebuilding the Church of Banbury, the Corporation were empowered to sell such premises as they held for the repairs of the Church; and under these powers the whole of the said premises were sold, except the tenement described in

THE REIGN OF HENRY THE EIGHTH.

Dr. Thomas Brynknell, prebendary of Marston St. Lawrence, who was collated to the Mastership of St. John's Hospital in Banbury on the death of John Stanbridge, is described as "a person of great literature, and a most skilful interpreter of the sacred Writ." While a commoner of University College, he became so well known to, and respected by, Wolsey, that he was represented to the King as one of the most fit persons in the University to encounter Luther.⁸ On the 2nd Dec. 1512, Master Matthew Smyth, A.M., was collated to the Prebend of Banbury, void by the death of Master James Whitston.⁹ He is mentioned in 1510 as Principal of Brasenose College.¹⁰ William Smyth, bishop of Lincoln, died on the 2nd January, 1513-14: he bequeathed to the Hospital of Saint John at Banbury money (see pp. 77, 78) for erecting buildings in the Hospital, and repairing the old ones. Thomas Wolsey, afterwards the celebrated Cardinal, was consecrated bishop of this diocese, and became lord of Banbury: but in 1514 he was translated to York, and William Atwater succeeded him. In 1521, John Longland, chancellor of Oxford, became bishop of this see.¹¹

In the 26th Henry VIII. (1534), enquiry was directed to be made into the values of manors, lands, tithes, &c., appertaining to the Church. The return is contained in the "Valor Ecclesiasticus." The following is a translation in some parts, and a copy in others, of this record, so far as it relates to Banbury.

"DIOCESE OF LINCOLN AND DEANERY OF DADYNGTON.

"HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN IN BANEURY.

"Doctor Thomas Brynknell master of the Hos-	}	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
pital there and his Hospital there is worth in rents		xvj	xij	vij
of assise by the year one year with another				

the Decree of 1603 as situate on the north side of the church-yard and as being then used as a school-house. It appears the reservation was made, because it was not known upon what trust the Corporation held the premises, and it was supposed they had been given for the purposes of a school.—*Reports on Charities.*

Carlisle says there was an endowment of £5 per annum to the head master of the Grammar School of Banbury, upon condition of his assisting the vicar by reading prayers on Wednesdays and Fridays and at other times when the vicar might need his assistance. This is an error, and alludes to a gift by Mary Metcalfe, in 1723, to the schoolmaster of the then Church School, which appears to have been the new Blue-Coat Charity. Mr. Carlisle is incorrect in other particulars.

(8) Wood's *Athenæ*.

(10) Churton's *Founders*, p. 287.

(11) Whitworth's *Nobility*. On the 26th June in that year the temporalities of the see were restored to the Bishop.—*Harl. MS.*, 7408, fol. 501.

(9) *Harl. MS.*, 6953, fol. 26.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
"Sum	xvj	xiiij	vij
Therefrom			
" Payments.			
" Viz ^t . In Rent Resolute ¹² to the lord Bishop of Lincoln for certain tenements in Banbury as of quit rent as appears by his bill produced and in the keeping of the commissioners of our lord the King in this behalf remaining		<i>s.</i> xxxj	<i>d.</i> ix
"Sum allowed	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i> xxxj	<i>d.</i> ix
"And there remains clear	xv	—	xxij
	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
"Tenth part to our lord the King		xxx	ij q'
"Clear value of the said Hospital reformed by virtue of the warrant of our lord the King in his court of first fruits and tenths certified the 10th day of February in the 33rd year of our said lord the King.			

"PREBEND OF BANBURY.

"Doctor Mathew Smythe prebendary there and his prebend is worth by the year one year with another as demised to one William Bingham by indenture	<i>l.</i> lij	<i>s.</i> —	<i>d.</i> —
"Sum	<i>l.</i> lij	<i>s.</i> —	<i>d.</i> —
Therefrom			
" Payments.			
" Viz ^t . In quit rents by the year and for ever paid to the officer of Lincoln and his successors..	<i>l.</i> —	<i>s.</i> c	<i>d.</i> —
"And in synodals and procurations yearly paid to the archdeacon of Oxford by the year	—	xiiij	iiiij
"Sum allowed	<i>l.</i> —	<i>s.</i> cxiiij	<i>d.</i> iiiij
"And so there remains clear	xlviij	vj	viiij
	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
"Tenth part to our lord the King	iiiij	xij	viiij

"BANBURY.

"Doctor Dyngley perpetual vicar and his vicar- age is worth by the year in all revenues and profits by the year one year with another, by his own acknowledgment, so demised by indenture ..	<i>l.</i> xxij	<i>s.</i> vj	<i>d.</i> viiij
"Sum	<i>l.</i> xxij	<i>s.</i> vj	<i>d.</i> viiij
Therefrom			
" Payments.			
" Viz ^t . In quit rents yearly and for ever paid and by his heirs	<i>l.</i> —	<i>s.</i> —	<i>d.</i> xviiij
"And for services for the dead . . . yearly and for ever paid	—	v	—
"Sum allowed	<i>l.</i> —	<i>s.</i> vj	<i>d.</i> vj
"And so there remains clear	<i>l.</i> xxij	<i>s.</i> —	<i>d.</i> ij
	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
"Tenth part to our lord the King	—	xliiiij	— q'

(12) Rents Resolute were those payable to the Crown, the chief lord, &c., from the lands
&c. of religious houses.—*Description of Public Records.*

	*	*	*	*	*	*
"Values of the whole rent of all the lands and tenements of a certain Guild of the Blessed Mary the Virgin within the town of Banbury in the county of Oxford and within the deanery of Dadington and diocese of Lincoln yearly received..	l.	s.	d.			
Therefrom	lvij	—	—			
"In Rent Resolute to sir William Webbe chaplain of the aforesaid guild and master of the same yearly and for ever	l.	s.	d.			
"Paid to sir William Beassyngton sir John Myllett sir Alexander Chapleyn chaplains as is aforesaid.....	—	cxvj	vij			
"Item paid to two parish clerks there yearly ..	xvij	x	—			
"Paid to Robert Hardy orgyn player there yearly	—	liij	iiij			
"Item paid to eight poor men and women there yearly	vj	x	—			
"Item paid to eight poor men and women there yearly	vj	xvij	vij			
"Sum	l.	s.	d.			
"Item paid to the lord bishop of Lincoln for quit rent to him and his successors yearly and for ever paid	xxxix	vij	vij			
"Paid to Master Anthony Cope and his heirs yearly and for ever	l.	s.	d.			
"Paid to Master Odell yearly	iiij	v	iiij			
"Paid to Master Anthony Cope and his heirs yearly and for ever	—	xvij	iiij			
"Paid to Master Odell yearly	—	iiij	iiij			
"Paid to the reeve of Nethrop yearly	—	iiij	iiij			
"Paid to the prebendary of Banbury aforesaid yearly	—	vj	vij ob' q'			
"Item paid to the prebendary men there yearly	—	iiij	vij			
"Paid to the master of Colde Norton yearly ..	—	iiij	—			13
"Paid to the prior of Chacombe yearly.....	—	ij	—			
"Paid to the bailiff of Kyngeassotton	—	ij	iiij			
"Paid to sir Darbe yearly.....	—	iiij	—			
"Item paid to the house of Seynt John within Banbury aforesaid yearly and for ever	—	—	xvj			
"Paid to Master Coope for auditor's fee yearly	—	xxvj	vij			
"Paid to the master of the Guild aforesaid for his livery yearly and for ever according to the foundation of the said guild	—	xxvj	vij			So
"Paid to the clerk of the aforesaid guild yearly	—	xlvj	vij			
"Sum	l.	s.	d.			
"Sum	xj	xj	v ob' q'			
"Sum	vij	xvij	xj ob' q' ¹⁴			
"Sum	lj	—	ij ob' q' ¹⁵			
"Item paid for services for the dead for Robert Plommar yearly	l.	s.	d.			
"Paid for services for the dead for John Wylson yearly	—	vj	vij			
"Paid for services for the dead for John Wylson yearly	—	iiij	—			
"Paid for services for the dead for William Caprone yearly.....	—	vj	vij			
"Paid for services for the dead for Thomas Hampton yearly	—	iiij	iiij			
"Item paid for services for the dead for sir John Est'be yearly	—	iiij	iiij			

(13) Noted as "Quytte Re'tts."

(14) This is the amount deducting the two items in italics.

(15) This includes, with the above £11. 11s. 5½d, the preceding sum £39. 8s. 8d. There are slight errors in casting or copying.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
"Paid for services for the dead for Richard Aleyn	—	iiiij	—
"Paid for services for the dead at four times of the year	—	viiij	—
"Sum	—	xxxvj	—
	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
"Sum total of the deduction	liij	xvj	ij ob' q'
"And there remains clear.....	{ xlviiij	vij	ix ob' q' — q' ¹⁶
	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
"Tenth part	iiiij	xvj	vij q'
	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
"Sum total of this tenth	xxxiiiij	xj	— q'

"COUNTY OF LINCOLN.

"BOOK OF VALUES OF THE BISHOPRICK OF LINCOLN.

"BANNEBURY BURGH.

"Is worth in

"Rents of assise by the year	xj xix ij	} <i>l.</i> <i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>
"Farm of shops there by the year	— xiiij iiiij	
"Advance of rents there by the year....	— ij iiiij	
"New rent there by the year	— — xx	
"Common fine there by the year	— xliiij —	
"Perquisites of the court there one year with another	{ — xx —	xvj — vij

"Out of this in reprises.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
"The Fee of Thomas Rowland' bailiff there by the year	—	xxvj	viiij

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
"And the clear value is.....	xliij	xliij	x

"Thereof the Tenth part	—	xxix	iiiij ob' q'
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"BANNEBURY BAILIFF OF THE HUNDRED.

"It is worth in

"Common fine there by the year	iiiij xvij viij	} <i>l.</i> <i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>
"Perquisites of the court there one year with another with suit of the free tenants ..	{ — xiiij iiiij	

"Reprises.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
"Fee of Thomas Barons bailiff there by the year.....	—	xxvj	viiij

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
"And the clear value is.....	iiiij	iiiij	iiiij

"Thereof the Tenth part	—	viiij	v q'
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"BANNEBURY REEVE OF THE CASTLE.

"It is worth in

"Farm of the mills there one year with another	{ xij vj viij	} <i>l.</i> <i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>
"Farm of the tolls of markets and fairs one year with another.....	{ vj xiiij iiiij	
"Farm of the manor with demesne land of Hardewike by the year demised to Antony Coope by indenture	{ xv x ix	
"Farm of demesne land with houses at Essendon demised to William Pierson by the year by indenture	{ xx — —	
"Farm of certain demesne meadows and pastures there lately in the holding of William Pierson by the year	{ xiiij vj viij	
"Sale of works there by the year	— xxv iiiij ob'	lxix ij ix ob'

(16) This sum, from which the tenth is calculated, is the whole rent £58, less by the two last amounts of expenditure, £7. 17s. 11½d., and £1. 16s. 0d.

"Therefrom in reprises.

"Fee of Charles duke of Suffolck' chief seneschal of the domain there by the year by letters patent	vi — xx	}	l. s. d. xxvj viij j
"Fee of Thomas Rowland' bailiff or reeve of the Castle by the year	— lvj v		
"Alms granted yearly to the Monastery of Godstowe	— c —		
"Alms granted yearly to the Monastery of Clat'cott near Bannebury	— l —		
"Annual alms for victuals and all other things of convict clerks abiding in the prison of the lord Bishop there one year with another used and accustomed of old time ..	x — —		
"And the clear value is	lij	s. xiiij	d. viij ob' 17
"Thereof the Tenth part		cv	v ob' q'

"NETHROP' WITH COTHROP'

"It is worth in

"Rents of assise in Nethrop' with Cothrop' by the year	xlj	s. ij	d. viij
"Therefrom in reprises			
"Fee of William Broun bailiff or reeve of Ne- throp'	—	viij	iiij

The following extracts relating to Banbury are taken from the returns concerning various monasteries.

"PRIORY OF WROXTON IN THE COUNTY OF OXFORD.

"Teneme'ts and Cotag's yn Ba'bury yn the said Count' of Oxon' be-
longyng to the said Prio'r and Convent.

"BANBURY & NETHROP.

"It' the same prior' & convent dothe receive yerlye of Will ^m Flecher for a cotag yn the Schoppe'rowe yn Ba'bury	—	s. x	d. —
"It' of a teneme't yn Pepull Lane w ^t the said town for rent by yer	—	viij	—
"It' the same p'or' hathe oon yard land ther now in the holdyng of Elyn Taylo'r wydow	—	xiiij	iiij
"It' for iij cotag's yn the hands of John Herd John Dudeley & Will ^m Wright by yer	—	xij	—
"Sum	—	xlviij	iiij

"Deductions owt of the same.

"Payments

"It' paid to the bishop of Lincoln for chief rent	—	s. —	d. iiij
"It' to Anthonye Coop esquier for quyt rent ..	—	—	xx
"It' to the p'son of Ba'burye for chief rent....	—	iiij	—
"Sum	—	vj	—

"MONASTERY OF GODSTOWE.

"From the Bishop of Lincoln out of alms given at Banbury by the year	v	s. —	d. —
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(17) Appears £10. too much. Probably the last item of expenditure is omitted in the calculation.

"EYNESHAM MONASTERY.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
"From the Hundred of Banbury	—	xxx	—
"It'm for tythis in Cropredy and Banbury	x	vj	vij

"PRIORY OF BURCESTUR'

"Grymesbury near Banbury in the County of Northampton and within the Diocese of Lincoln & Deanery &c.

"From Anthony Cope Esquire farmer of the manor there with the farm of mills and other profits to the said manor pertaining, so demised to him for a term of years, by the year	<i>l.</i> xij	<i>s.</i> vj	<i>d.</i> vij
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"Sum received as appears.

"Nethrope in the County aforesaid and within the Diocese of Lincoln &c.

"From Henry Taye and William Smythe tenants of the same there by copy of court for 2 messuages payable at two periods of the year to canons serving God in distributions annually and for ever	<i>l.</i> —	<i>s.</i> xxxij	<i>d.</i> —
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"Sum received appears."¹⁸

THOMAS POPE was the son of William and Margaret Pope, and born at Deddington near the close of the reign of Henry VII., about the year 1508. His father seems to have been in a creditable condition of life: "My londe," he says in his will, "my wiffe to have the one halffe of the rent, and the rest to bee kept to the use of my sonne till hee bee of lawfull age. Item, I bequeathe to Thomas Pope an hundreth more; and to everie doughter fourtie pownde." After some other provisions, he says—"I bequeathe to the torchis, the bellis, our ladie beame, saint Thomas beame, to everyche one of theym, ijs. iiij*d.* Item, to Clifton chapel, vjs. viij*d.* Item, to everie godchilde a schepe." He directs his body to be interred in the "parishe chirche of Daddington," "and to have a preste synginge one yeare."¹⁹ The youth, Thomas Pope, received his education, first, at Banbury Grammar School, under Thomas Stanbridge;²⁰ and afterwards at Eton College. He rose high in the favour of Henry the Eighth, and was appointed treasurer of the "Court of Augmentations," which was established for the purpose of valuing and selling the possessions that fell to the Crown on the dissolution of the monastic houses; in which trust he had rank with the great officers of the Crown. At this period a part of the buildings of the PRIORY of WROXTON was ordered to be destroyed;²¹ and the property was leased by the Court of Augmentations to William Raynesford Esq. of Wroxton, but upon condition, as

(18) *Valor Ecclesiasticus.*

(20) *Warton's Life of Sir T. Pope.*

(19) *Warton's Life of Sir T. Pope.*

(21) *Caley and Ellis's Dugdale.*

far as regarded the rectories, that the said Raynesford should procure two chaplains to serve the churches during his term.²² In August 1537, Raynesford sold his interest to Thomas Pope Esq.²³ Afterwards, Sir Thomas Pope (for he was then knighted) obtained, by exchange from the Crown, the reversion of all the property which the Convent of Wroxton had formerly held in Wroxton and Balscot.²⁴ In 1555, he bestowed these estates on Trinity College, Oxford, of which college he was the Founder. An observant writer²⁵ well remarks that "he did not, in an age of debility and dotage, bequeath, but in the full vigour of his understanding, and in the prime of life, gave a great part of his ample fortune" for this sacred purpose. The rectories belonging to Wroxton were not included in the conveyance to Trinity College: it appears they were granted by Henry the Eighth to the dean and chapter of Christ Church, upon the same condition of their providing for the churches as had been made with Raynesford.²⁶

The site and demesne lands of CHACOMBE PRIORY, with the rectory or church of Chacombe, and all lands and tithes thereunto belonging, and the advowson of the vicarage, were granted in 1543 to Michael Fox of London, gentleman, by whose descendants they have been incorporated in the manor.²⁷

The possessions of CLATTERCOT PRIORY were granted by Henry the Eighth to Sir William Petre, secretary of state; but fell again into the hands of the King, who settled them upon Christ Church College. For some generations the property has belonged to the Cartwright family.²⁸

The account of Thomas Hall, receiver of the temporalities of the Bishop of Lincoln, from the feast of St. Michael 32nd Henry VIII. to the said feast in the following year, contains an item of £84. 12s. 2d. received of Thomas Rowland, reeve of the Castle of Bannebury, for the issue of the office for that year; namely, £20 by the hand of Laurence Person the farmer of Essendon; £15. 10s. 9d. by the hand of Anthony Cope the farmer of Hardwick; £14. 15s. 0d. by the hand of William Weston; £24 for the farm of mills and tolls; and £10. 6s. 5d. for the

(22) Skelton's Antiq. Oxf.

(23) Warton's Life of Sir T. Pope. An inventory of certain buildings and utensils included in this sale has been inserted in p. 84.

(24) Skelton's Antiq. Oxf.

(25) Granger.

(26) Skelton.

(27) Baker's Northamp., p. 594.

(28) Skelton's Oxf.

issue of the office of Reeve: Also an item of £8. 17s. 10d. received of Thomas Barons, bailiff of the hundred of Bannebury, for the issue of his office for that year: Another of £59. 19s. 9d. received of William Broune and Thomas Densey, reeves of Nethrop with Cothrop and Burton [Bourton] with its members, for the issue of the office for the year; namely, £41. 0s. 2d. of the reeve of Nethrop, and £18. 19s. 7d. of the reeve of Burton: Another item of £77. 12s. 3½d. received of Richard Robins and Thomas Barons, reeves of Cropredy, Wardyngton, and Cottes [Coton], for the issue of the office for the year; namely, £28. 17s. 8½d. of the reeve of Cropredy, and £48. 14s. 7d. of the reeve of Wardyngton.²⁹

John Longland continued bishop of Lincoln until 1547. Before that date, namely in 1542, Henry VIII. granted letters patent creating the bishoprick of Oxford, which was taken out of the see of Lincoln.

In 1541, Dr. Nicholas Cartwryght was presented to the mastership of the Hospital of St. John at Banbury. He had been admitted M.A. and B.D. at Oxford, and D.D. on the 5th July 1536. Subsequently, in the reign of Edward the Sixth, he was a great admirer of Peter Martyr and his doctrine, and was his only assistant in the disputation at Oxford against Tresham and Chedsey, 28th May 1549. In the reign of Mary (1554) he was commanded to dispute with Latimer in the divinity school, before the latter "was to sacrifice his life in the flames;" but "spoke as little as could be;" and, two years after, he was deprived of a benefice in the diocese of Lichfield and Coventry. Among the pensions assigned at the dissolution of religious houses, and registered to be due in the year 1555, there is a pension of "one hundred shillings to Nic. Cartwright, late master of St. Johns nigh Banbury." Cartwright died and was buried at Banbury about the year 1558.³⁰

In the 36th Henry VIII. (1544), Thomas Blank and others, had a grant of the manor of Grimsbury, parcel of the late monastery of Burchester, in security for money advanced to the King for his journey to Boulogne.³¹ By them Grimsbury was alienated to the before-mentioned Edward Cope Esq., son of Sir Anthony Cope.³²

(29) Harl.MS., 7505, fol. 15.

(30) Wood's Fasti Oxon.; Caley and Ellis's Dugdale.

(31) Baker's Northamp., pp. 747, 748. Dunkin says the grant was to Thomas Blencowe Esq. of Marston. (Hist. Bicester.) Thomas Blencowe Esq. of Marston St. Lawrence died in the 34th year of Henry VIII. (1542).—*Baker*, p. 640.

(32) Baker's Northamp., p. 748; and see p. 194 of this vol., note 46.

Henry the Eighth came into these parts, and paid a visit to Sir William Compton at COMPTON WYNYATE. Sir William, at the age of eleven years, had been placed as a page or companion to the young Prince. He erected his residence at Compton Vineyatys or Vineyard, (eight miles west from Banbury,) in the valley beneath the Edgehills; and, in 1519, obtained licence to make a park there, and for an addition to the same to enclose 2000 acres of land thereto adjoining.³³ The mansion is a splendid one of the period, built of brick in the very picturesque and ornamental style then just come into fashion. The plan is a quadrangle, and there are windows looking to the interior on all sides; but this for convenience only, as there are numerous windows in the outer walls also, and scarcely the pretence of fortification. The hall, with its fine timber roof and bay-windows, is in good preservation, the walls still ornamented with antlers &c. as in days of yore. There are several very beautiful stacks of chimneys formed of the moulded bricks so much in use in the time of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth. Part of the house was rebuilt, or considerably altered, in the time of Queen Anne.³⁴

There is a record of the Plague prevailing at Banbury late in the reign of Henry the Eighth. Thomas Brasbridge says—"The towne of Banburie (I being a childe) was very sore infected therewith: at what time it was in one of the next houses vnto my father."³⁵ Brasbridge was born about the 29th year of Henry the Eighth, and was elected demy of his college in 1553, the last year of Edward the Sixth.

THE TOWN: THE GATES OR BARS.

Leland gives the following account of the Town of BANBURY in the reign of Henry the Eighth.³⁶

"From Sutton to Banbury is 3 miles, all by champaine barren of wood. Scant a mile beneath Sutton I passed by a stone bridge of one arch over the river of Charwell.

(33) Dugdale's Warwickshire, &c. Compton Wynyate is provincially called Compton in the Hole, from its deep situation.

(34) Mr. J. H. Parker. The building was chiefly erected with materials brought from the destroyed castle of Fulbrook; and there is a tradition that the curious twisted chimnies were carried from that place to Compton entire. Compton has long been an almost deserted mansion.

(35) Brasbridge's Poore Mans Iewell.

(36) Itin. (commenced about 1538), v. 4, pt. 2; fols. 162, b; 163, a; 191, a.

"The most part of the whole Towne of Banbury standeth in a valley, and is enclosed by north and east with lowe groundes, partly medowes, partly marishes: by south and southwest the ground somewhat hilly in respect of the site of the towne.

"The fayrest street of the towne lyeth by west and east downe to the river of Charwell. In the west part of this street is a large area invironed with meetly good buildinges, havinge a goodly Crosse with many degrees [steps] about it. In this area is kept every Thursday a very celebrate markett. There runneth through this area a purle of fresh water.

"There is another fayre street from south to north; and at each end of this street is a stone gate. There be also in the towne other gates besides these. Yet is there neither any certaine token or likelihood, that ever the towne was diked or walled.

"There is a Castle on the north syde of this area having 2 wardes, and each warde a diche. In the utter [outer ward] is a terrible prison for convict men. In the north part of the inner ward is a fayre peice of new buildinge of stone.

"I cannot see or learne that there was ever any Castle or Fortresse at Banbury afore the Conquest. Alexander Bish. of Lincolne in H. I. dayes builded this Castle.

"There is but one Paroch Church in Banbury, dedicated to our Lady. It is a large thinge, especially in the breadth. I sawe but one notable tombe in the Church, and that is Blacke Marble; wherein William Cope, Coferer to K. H. 7. is buried.

"In the Church-yard be houses for Chauntry Preistes.

"The Personage of Banbury is a Prebend of Lincolne. There is a Vicar endowed. There is a Chappel of the Trinity in the middle of the towne. There is a bridge of 4 arches very fayre of stone at the east end of the towne where Cherwell runneth. This bridge parteth Oxfordshire from Northamptonshire.

"Oxfordshire goeth a 3 miles further by north then Banbury towne. The Bish. of Lincolne is lord of Banbury, and the whole hundred of Banbury hath beene of long tyme given out by Kinges in fee-farme to the Bishops of Lincolne. The Bish. hath 180*l*. of this lordshippe.

* * * * *

"I roade from Banbury to Warwik 12 miles by champaine groundes, fruitfull of corne and grasse, barren of wood, and 2 miles by some enclosed and woody groundes.

* * * * *

“From Southam to Banbury 10 miles all by champaine, noe wood, but exceedinge good pasture and corne.

“From Banbury to a small through-fare Towne a 3 or 4 miles by champaine ground. Thence by like groundes a 7 miles to Bercester.”

Leland's account must have been very accurate:³⁷ it is in great part strictly correct at the present time; although the Castle (see pp. 63—66), the Cross (pp. 159, 160), the ancient Church (pp. 148—158), the Chapel of the Trinity (p. 158), the houses for Chantry Priests (p. 158), and the Town Gates, are now no more.

The GATES, or BARS, were

St. John's Bar

Sugarford Bar

North Bar

Cole Bar

The Bridge Gate.

It is probable that these Bars were erected with a view to police regulations and for the collection of tolls, rather than for purposes of defence; since they are scarcely mentioned in the military annals of the place. ST. JOHN'S BAR stood near St. John's Hospital, at the southern entrance to the town, where the present obelisk stands. This Gate, as it existed within living memory, bore no appearance of earlier antiquity than the reign of James the First, and might have been the work of as late a period as the reign of Charles the Second. It is described as having an arch of about 12 feet span. A drawing of it, taken May 10th 1781, has been preserved in Mr. Gough's collection in the Bodleian Library.³⁸ (Plate 21.) This gate was sometimes called Oxford Bar, and South Bar.

At the western entrance to the town, where the street now called West Bar Street is crossed by the narrow lane called the Shades, stood SUGARFORD BAR or SUGAR BAR. The street was formerly called Sugarford-bar-street; but the name was changed, as early as 1653, to Bull-bar-street (from an inn there

(37) The Castle was nearer NE. than N. of the area (the south end of the present Horse Fair) alluded to. It was probably only the market for horses and sheep, and not the general market, that was held in that area. The Bridge had seven arches. These are the only inaccuracies, excepting some as to the distances of the neighbouring towns.

(38) Gough's Maps and Plans, vol. 21. The Corporation, about 55 years ago, empowered Mr. Judd to take down the Gate, on condition of his erecting the present obelisk to mark the site.

called the Bull); and, in 1835, the name of the street was again changed, by the paving commissioners, to West Bar Street. This Gate, subsequently to the great Fire of 1628, was a segmental arch erected over the carriage-way, with a small doorway for foot people on the north side. The Bar appears to have been rebuilt after the Fire; there being an inscription upon it, carved on a stone placed over the centre of the arch, as follows;—³⁹

EXCEPT · THE · LORD
 KEEPE · THE · CITY · THE
 WACHMAN · WACHE
 TH · BVT · IN · VAINE
 1631

It was standing in 1789, but the greater part of it was taken down soon after that date. The southern abutment of the arch however remained until about 1812; the stone-work being about four feet thick and nine or ten feet in height, and retaining one of the iron hooks upon which the gate had turned.⁴⁰

The NORTH BAR was standing in 1712, when Dr. Stukeley wrote. The Gate had then, perhaps, been lately re-erected; as the building of that date was probably the same which remained until about the year 1817. This was a plain circular arch, with a ball above, and spanned North Bar Street at the narrow part (formerly much narrower than it is at present), a few yards south of the part where the road turns off for Neithorp.

COLE BAR stood in the way leading from the Castle into the Oxford and London road at Easington. This way was through Colebar-street; which corresponded, as nearly as can be ascertained since the destructive fires of Charles the First's reign, with the present Broad Street. There is no evidence to decide the exact spot where this Gate stood: the boundary, in this direction, between Banbury and Calthorp, is marked by a stone which stands 210 paces southward from the part where Broad Street is crossed by Fish Street; but the place where those streets now intersect may be regarded as the more probable site of the Bar. Cole Bar was not standing in 1712.⁴¹

(39) The stone bearing the inscription has been preserved, it having been inserted in the wall of a house in Calthorp Lane.

(40) There appears to have been a building near this gate, called the Bar House; and mention is made in the Neithorp accounts of the Bar-house Leys, which name refers to the closes on the north side of the Bar, now partially built upon, but still called Bar-house or Burrows Leys.

(41) This may be judged from the circumstance of Dr. Stukeley's mentioning "three gates" as existing at that date, which must allude to the three which have been first mentioned.—*Stukeley's Itin.*

Of the BRIDGE GATE, which completed the bounds of the town on all the points where there were principal roads entering it, no account has been preserved.

The agreement of Leland's description of the Town (see p. 206) with the modern localities, shews that the direction of the principal streets has not been altered since the reign of Henry the Eighth, notwithstanding the many destructive fires which occurred during the reign of Charles the First. This fact is confirmed by the concurrence of many documents, which will be quoted hereafter, and will be more particularly alluded to in the section which precedes the account of the great Fire of 1628.

Scarcely a fragment of the buildings which existed in Banbury when Leland wrote can now be traced. The columns and capitals of the gateway of the Red Lion Inn, which are of the Perpendicular style of English Architecture, or that which prevailed during the 15th century, are perhaps the only remaining relic of a period so early as this, within the town. The old doorway of the White Horse Inn, which was of the style of the early part of the 14th century, and which is engraved in Plate 19, was removed ten years ago. There yet remains a fine window, of the style of the early part of the 15th century, in a house situated on the south side of the Boxhedge Lane at Neithorp.

The state of the streets must have been most deplorable, if we may judge only from their condition within living memory. Even then, in some of the principal streets, the carriage roads were deep hollow ways, which were many feet lower than the adjacent footpath; and stepping-stones had to be placed across them for the convenience of foot people. The traffic too was great; the soil was rich, deep, and miry; and little care was taken. At a period as early as the 6th of Elizabeth, in the "Orders and Paines" made in that year, the "bochers shampulls" were indeed directed to be cleaned weekly; but a quarterly cleansing appears to have sufficed for other parts of the town; and for the "Mylne Lane," and some other parts where "people com'olly travell," once a year was thought sufficient. Places were then particularly pointed out where dung might be laid; and the ricks of corn and of furze, and the stacks of timber, had their respective places assigned. Yet some cleanly precautions were taken. No "jakes" was to be emptied in the "Goose Leysew;" and all "swyne & other vndecent cattell" were forbidden the Church-

yard, and even precluded the use of the Market Place on market days.⁴² The "Cuttel brouke," which flowed through the Market Place, was to be so far kept sacred, that no man might "suffure any geyse or doukes to goo in the same brouke," nor "sett any honey barelles or other vessell in souke" therein.

The town appears to have been supplied with water from the Conduit without Cole Bar. A close of elevated ground, of a few acres' extent, and which is situated on the eastern side of the road leading from Broad Street towards Easington, still bears the name of the "Conduit," or the "Conduit Close."

POPULATION. In the first year of Edward VI. (1547), the number of "housling people" in Banbury was returned at 460.⁴³ The population of the town must therefore have been, at that period, about 1,000.

(42) In this and some other respects our ancestors of the days of Queen Elizabeth were more particular than those of the last age. In our own youth there was a saying, grounded on the dirt and the pigs to be found in Banbury streets, that a Banbury freeman's privilege was, if he found three swine lying any where in a row, to drive up the middle one and lie down in its place.

(43) Document in p. 211. Housling people were those of age to receive the "housel," that is, the Eucharist.

EDWARD VI. TO CHARLES I.

THE REIGN OF EDWARD THE SIXTH.

Near the close of the reign of Henry the Eighth (1546), an Act was passed for the dissolution of all Chantries, Free Chapels, Guilds, &c. ; the manors, lands, and hereditaments of which were placed at the King's disposal. The commissioners for carrying the Act into execution in these parts were appointed on the 6th Feb. 1547 (1st Edward VI.); and, under the various heads of inquiry, they certified as follows concerning the CHANTRY of the BLESSED MARY at Banbury :—

Names of the parishes, with "the nombre of Howselyng People." } "The P'isshe of o^r Lady in the towne of Banbury in the said Countie where ar howselyng people iiij^e lx.

Names of the Chantries, Guilds, &c. } "The Guild of o^r Ladye in the said P'ish Church.

The Foundations, Usage, &c. } "Founded by the late Kyng Henry the Fyfte of Englonde whiche gave certeyne Lands and Tent' for the fyndyng of iij Prests one Clerke & a Sexten to syng & praye for him his Aunceto^{rs} & all Crysten Soules for eu' & to gyve euer to Almes men & women the some of x^{li}. viij^s. as appereth by the foundacon here'f.

The Names of all the Incumbents &c. } "Sr Will'm Brasington Stipendary Prest of thage of L yeres And Sr Will^m Clerke an other Stipendary Prest of thage of LX yeres

And Richard Ott' an other Stipendary Prest of thage XL yeres men of good conuersacon & well learned meate to kepe a Cure had for th^r Salaries eu'y of them vi^{li}. xij^s. iiij^d. & havyng non other lyvngs Anthony Cok' Clerke for playng yerely at the Orgayns & singynge in the quyer had for his wag' yerely iiij^{li}. xij^s. iiij^d. & hath no other lyvyng John Wetherall Sexten there for keypyng of o^r Lady Chappell had for his salary or waygs xij^s. iiij^d. yerely & had no other lyvyng.

The yearly value of the Lands &c.; the reprises, and clear remain. } "The value of all the Lands & Tent' to the same belongynge lyng in the said county of Oxford as in other counties ys yerely lxij^{li}. xvij^s. iiij^d.

"Wherof in Reprises yerely vij^{li} xij^s vi^d ob'

"To the Pore x^{li} viij^s —

"And so Remayn Clere xliij^{li} xv^s ix^d ob'

The goods, chattels, and ornaments; "wyth the number of plate & jewells weyng in ounce by estimat' } "Plate & Jewell' weying l ounce di
"Ornament' to the same.... None."44

(44) Certificate, by the Commissioners, Sir John Williams knt., John D'Oyly, and Edward Chamberleyn, Esqrs., remaining in the Augmentation Office, Westminster. There

Several other documents of this reign relating to the Chantry of the Blessed Mary at Banbury are referred to in the note (44). In the 2nd Edward VI. the following occurs:—

“We Sir Walter Myldemay Knight and Robert Keylwey Esquier Comysioners appointed by the Kings Maiesties Comysion vnder the Greate Seale of Englonde beringe date the xxth daie of June last past touchinge order to be taken for the maynten'nce and contynuaunce of

are also preserved in the Augmentation Office, the Particulars for Sale of some of the late possessions “of the late Guild or Brotherhood of the Blessed Mary in Banbury;” which enumerate one tenement in the Beste M'ket with one shop in the Fisse Shambles with one garden, in the tenancy of William Pernande, yearly rent 46s. 8d.;—a tenement in the street called Flexchepinge with a garden, demised to William Plomer, yearly rent 33s. 4d.;—a shop in the Market Place in the tenancy of Henry Halhed at will, yearly rent 10s.;—another shop lying towards the Highe Crosse, with appurtenances, demised to John Hartelet, yearly rent 13s. 4d.;—a tenement in the tenancy of John Lutter, yearly rent 12s. (all these valued at 12 years' purchase are put down at £69. 4s.);—certain lands in Nethorpe in the tenancy of John Luter, yearly rent 4s.;—one garden in the Horsem'ket, demised to Anthony Cope, yearly rent 2s. (these are valued at 24 years' purchase, or £7. 4s. 0d.) The Reprises are, in rent resolute to the Lord Duke of Somerset lord of the manor of Banbury, from the tenement in the holding of Pernande 5s.; from the shop in the holding of Halhed 8d.; from the tenement in the holding of Plomer 4s.; from the shop in the holding of Hartelet 4d.; and from the tenement in the holding of Luter 20d.: total 11s. 8d., or, valued at 12 years' rate, £7. “And so there remains clear by the year 109s. 8d.” Estimated value, deducting the reprises, £69. 8s.

Further, the Ministers' Accounts in the Augmentation Office include the account of Symon Parratt, collector of all the possessions of the Chantries &c. within the county of Oxford. The account is rendered for one year, ending at the feast of St. Michael, 3rd Edward VI. (1549). The year's rent and farm unto the Guild of the Blessed Mary in Banbury belonging or appertaining, due to our lord the King, are stated at £56. 13s. 4d. The rents resolute were, to the Lady Elizabeth lady of Banbury £4. 8s. 8d., to James Edyall 3s. 4d., to the Bailiff of Brackelye 2s. 4d. to the Master of the Hospital of St. John, 20d., to Colnorton 3s., to Thomas Ryve of Nethrop 3s. 4d., to the Prebendary of Banber 3s., to the Prebendary 6s. 7½d., and (formerly) to our lord the King as to his manor of Chaucome 2s.; amounting in the whole to £5. 11s. 11½d., besides the 2s. paid to the late Priory of Chacombe, this year disallowed. The Vacations of Tenements pertaining to the Guild were, the tenement of Thomas Palmer 6s. 8d., and that of Richard Clarke 4s., in allowance of this sort during the whole time of this account, 10s. 8d.; and the tenement of Richard Clarke clerk 6s. 8d. per annum, and the tenement of John Whyttington 13s. 4d. per annum, in allowance for the last moiety of the year for the cause aforesaid, 10s. The Reparations done upon the tenement of John Slade of Banbury, pertaining to the Guild, amounted to 43s. 10d., and those upon the tenement of Thomas Payne at Banbury called the Crowne, to 57s. 3d. Doctor Owen was stated to claim, under letters patent of the King, several rents lately pertaining to the Guild, namely, for rent in the tenancy of Henry Hallehede 10s., of John Luter 16s., of William Baylbye otherwise Plumer 33s. 4d., of John Harter 13s. 4d., of William P'nand' 46s. 8d., of Anthony Cope 2s., due to our lord the King for the whole year, £6. 0s. 16d. Also John Perren Kut. and Thomas Reve, under letters patent, sundry rents, part of the Guild aforesaid, by them purchased, namely, for rent of Thomas Reede 8s., of William Davye 16s., of John Wallsole 8s., of Humfrey Walser 16s., of John Walser 34s. 4d., of the tenement called the Wolehowse 13s., of Agnes Rowland 16s., of James Idyall 16d., of Stephen Wykhet 4s., of William Barnsley 10s., of Edmund Glover 14s., of John Barnsley 15s., of John Whetherall 10s., of Bartholomew Heckelfeld 28s. 4d., of Henry Undertre 30s., of Barnard Hopkins 17s., and of Eustace Bosworth 15s.: total £12. 16s. Also ——— Weston, under letters patent of the King, for rent of one tenement of Richard Person, parcel of the Guild, 20s.;—also ——— Sturge, under letters patent, for rent of one cottage in the tenancy of Elizabeth Myller, parcel of the Guild, 4s.;—also Edward Pese and William Wynlow, under letters patent, for rent of John Luther 4s., of Robert Pynnes 6s. 8d., of John Wyse 6s. 8d., of John Hartlet 6s. 8d., and of Richard Symons 4s., parcel of the Guild; in the whole 28s.:—also John Maynard and Richard Venables, under letters patent, for rent of the shop of Robert Vyners 7s., and of Henry Undertrye 8s., parcel of the Guild; total 15s.;—also Thomas Reve, under letters patent, for the rent of Thomas Payne 66s. 8d., of Edward Bryghtwell 41s. 4d., of John Gyves 24s., of William Bosse 26s. 8d., of John Aberow 25s., of John Coventrye 36s. 8d., of James Edrall 20s. over and above 16d. parcel of his rent sold to Thomas Weston, of Robert Vyvers 38s. 4d., of William Dudley 13s. 4d., of Agnes Dudley 13s. 4d.; total for the first half of the year £7. 12s. 8d.;—also Thomas Weston, under letters patent, for rent of one close in the tenancy of James Idchall 16d. for the

Scoles and Preachers and of Priests and Curats of necessitie for s'vinge of Cures and mynystacon of Sacraments and for money and other things to be contynued and paide to the poore and for dyverse other things appointed to be done and executed by vertue of the same Comysion To the Auditour and Receyvor of the Revenues of the Courte of Thaugmentacons and revenues of the Kings Maiesties Crowne in the Countie of Oxforde and to either of them greatinge Forasmoch as it appeareth by the certyficate of the p'ticuler Surveio^r of landes of the saide Courte in the saide Countie that it is very nedefull and necessarie to have an assistaunte appointed to serve the Cure in the parishe of Banbury in the said Countie and that x^{li} viij^s yerely hathe been contynuallie paid to twelve poore Men and Women out of the Revenues of the late Guylde of our Lady in Banbury in the saide Countie and that John Browne Robert Dawkins William Daunt John Blythe Thomas Sprignell Kateryn Pope Letice Bowman Elizabeth the Brickwood Agnes Cotton Alyce Bratford Elizabeth Russell and Agnes Myles do nowe enjoye the same yerely that is to say every of them to have every Sondaye in the yere iiij^d Wee therefore the said Comysseyoners by vertue and aucto^ritie of the said Comysseyon have assigned and appointed that William Barington one of the Incumbents of the late Guylde of our Lady in Banbury aforesaide shalbe assistaunte to the Cure there and shall have for his stipende and wags yerely vj^{li} vj^s viij^d And that the saide x^{li} viij^s shalbe paide yerely to the saide xij poore men and women as it

year:—also Edward Chamberleyn Esq., under letters patent, for a moiety of the rent of Hugh Sley 4s., of Richard Pope 3s., of William Davy 3s., of Cristin Wilson 7s., of Hugh Davy 4s., of William Puddell 4s., of Walter Wever 6s., of Agnes Appowell 2s., of Roger Molsow 2s. 6d., of John Whyttington 6s. 8d., of Thomas Payne 33s. 4d., of Agnes Compton 5s., of William Bawdwyne 3s., of William Plancesto 4s., of John Slead 10s., of Thomas Hyggs 6s., of Robert Catterall 3s. 4d., of Richard Nayler 6s., of Thomas Byschopp 4s. 6d., of Edward Marche 6s. 8d., of Margaret Tanner 4s., of Roger Brinckenill 2s., of William Williamson 4s., of Thomas Vincent 5s., of Christopher Thornton 8s., of Margaret Wever 3s., of Richard Peke 3s. 4d., of Henry Wyltesshyer 2s., of Stephen Wyket 3s., of Alice Bradford 3s. 4d., of Henry Bradley 3s. 4d., of Richard Clerke 3s. 4d., of William Thorpe 20d., of Edward Brightwell 20s. 8d., of John Gyves 12s., of John Longe 3s. 4d., of William Warberton 6s. 8d., of William Bowes 13s. 4d., of John Aberowe 12s. 6d., of Richard Symons 11s. 8d., of John Coventrye 18s. 4d., of John Idiall 10s., of Robert Vyves 19s. 2d., of Ralph Banbridge 10s. 6d., of John Wylsher 10s., of Hugh Davy 6s., of William Dudley 6s. 8d., and of Agnes Dudley 6s. 8d.; amounting to £16. 17s. 6d. The account is signed as examined by Richard Godrick and John Arscot.

In another account in the Augmentation Office the Countess of Warwick is called the "Lady of Banbury."

In a succeeding account of the rents of the Guild of the Blessed Mary in Banburye, dated 5th Edw. VI., also in the Augmentation Office, among the property above mentioned, granted by letters patent to John Pergente knight and Thomas Reve (22nd Dec., 3rd. Edw. VI., as of the manor of Easte Grenwiche in the county of Kent in free soccage and not in capite), and therefore the rent not received by the Crown, the house and garden of William Davy are stated to be in the P'sons Lane; John Walsole's house is near the Bredecrosse; the Wolehouse is a vacant tenement in the Shepe Strete; Anne Rowland's house is in the Shepemarkett: Edyall's garden is without Schoccarfarbarre; William Barnsley's shop is in the Shambles; Edmund Glover's tenements are in Brygestret; John Barnsley's garden near Shoccarfarbar; John Wetherall's tenement in the Shepem'kett; Bartholomew Hecclesfeld's tenement in the Shepem'kett and his close and shop in the Shambles; and Barnard Hopkyns's tenement and shop, and Eustace Bosworth's tenement with two gardens, in the Shepem'kett. The rents mentioned under letters patent to Thomas Reve are stated as not being received, having been granted 15th May 4th Edw. VI. to Thomas Reve, John Johnson, and Henry Herdson. Neither was received £6. 5s. 4d. for rent of sundry tenements to the Guild appertaining, because they were granted 25th March 3rd Edw. VI. to George Owen and William Marten. Neither was received 20s. for the rent of the tenement of Richard Person because it was granted 10th April, 3rd Edw. VI., to Ralph Agard and Thomas Smythe. Neither was received 24s. for certain rents granted 24th Dec., 3rd Edw. VI., to William Pease and William Wynlowe, to be held as of the manor of Est Grenewich. Neither was received 15s., for rent of the shop in the Shambles near the tenement of Robert Wyvers, in the holding of Thomas Debett, and the shop in the Shambles in the holding of Henry Undertre, because they were granted 21st Dec. 3rd Edw. VI. to Richard Venables and John Maynard to hold as of the manor of Est Grene-wiche.

hath been heretofore accustomed And wee the saide Comissioners on the Kings Maiesties behalf by vertue of the saide Comysseyon do requier youe the saide Receyvor that of suche the Kings money and revenues as from tyme to tyme shall be and remaine in yor handes youe do contente and paie yerely from Ester last forthwarde the severall somes of money before mencioned to the p'sons before rehersed and to suche other p'sone and p'sons as shall have and enjoye the romes and places of the same p'sons to be paide wekely or quarterlye or otherwise as necessitie shall requier vntyll suche tyme as further or other order shall be taken for the same And this warraunte shalbe to youe the saide Receyvor and Auditor sufficient discharge for the payment and allowance of the same accordinglie Yoven the xxth daye of July in the seconde yere of the reigne of our Soueraigne Lorde Edwarde the Sixte by the grace of God Kinge of England Fraunce and Irelande Defendor of the faith and of the Church of England and also of Irelande in earthe the supreme hedd.

Wa. Mildmay
Robt. Keylwey."⁴⁵

In 1553, the record of Pensions paid to the incumbents of Chantries &c., includes Richard Clark and William Brasing, St. Mary's Guild, Banbury, £5 each: Anthony Cooke, ditto, £4: William Paine, ditto, £2.⁴⁶

One hundred years later, in March 1649-50, a memorandum, made under an act for selling all fee farm rents belonging to the Commonwealth of England formerly payable to the Crown, states that "There are seu'all cottages lands & tenem^{ts} in the towne of Banbury parcell of the late Guild of the Blessed Virgin Mary there of the yearly rent of xiii^{li} v^s iiij^d ob. which albeit I have certified the same to bee in fee farme yet vpon better ex'ⁱacon having sithence perused their charter I find the same not to bee therein contained but have beene out of lease these eightene years last or thereabouts; & so the fee of the said lands are now in the trustees by act of Parliam^t of the seaventeenth of July 1649 for sale of the honours manno^{rs} & lands of the late King Queene & Prince; & therefore ye same are to bee surveyed & disposed of by the s^d trustees to the best improovem^t and likewise that provision bee made for payment of twelve poore people in Banbury every Lords day at foure pence a peece which amounts to p' ann' x^{li} viij^s: as for the stipend of an Assistant to the Minister their bee p' ann' vj^{li} vj^s viij^d I suppose hee is to bee referred to the trustees for providing maintenance for preaching ministers and other pious vses."⁴⁷

In the 1st year of this reign, 1547, Henry Holbech was trans-

(15) Original record preserved in the Augmentation Office.

(46) Willis's Mitred Abbies.

(47) Rolls of Fee Farm rents in the Augmentation Office.

lated from the see of Rochester to that of Lincoln,⁴⁸ and became lord of Banbury. In September he conveyed Banbury and about thirty other manors⁴⁹ of the bishoprick to the King and his courtiers;⁵⁰ reserving however to himself judicial and visitatorial power over the Church of Banbury.⁵¹ Thus the Manor, Castle, &c. of Banbury finally passed from the hands of the Bishops of Lincoln. The parish remains under the Peculiar jurisdiction of the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral of Lincoln. The manor was, shortly after this date, held by the Lord Protector, the duke of Somerset.⁵² In some succeeding accounts, the "Lady Elizabeth," and the Countess of Warwick, are styled "Lady of Banbury."⁵³ The whole of the property here which had belonged to the Bishops of Lincoln was shortly afterwards in the hands of John Dudley, earl of Warwick, who was created duke of Northumberland in 1551, and held the offices of high marshall of England and great master of the King's household.

Dr. Matthew Smyth, prebendary of Banbury and principal of Brasenose College, died Feb. 6th 1547, and was buried in St. Mary's church Oxford, but without a memorial. He was succeeded in the Prebend by Henry Parry, installed June 21st 1548.⁵⁴ Parry surrendered it on the following 8th July to Sir John Thynne and Robert Keylewey, by the following instrument:—

"This Indenture made the vijth daye of Julye in the seconde yere of the raig'e of o' Sovereigne lorde Edwarde the Sixte by the grace of God Kinge of Englande Fraunce and Ireland Defendo' of the Faithe and in earthe supme hedde of the Church of Englande and also of Irelande Betwene Sir John Thynne knyghte and Robert Keylewey esquier of thone p'tie and Henry Parry clerke p'bendarie of the P'bende of Banburye one of the p'bends whin the Cathedrall Church of Lyncoln on thother p'tie Witnesseth that the saide Henry Parrye for & in co'siderac'on of certayne greate somes of money by the saide Sr John Thynne and Robert Keylewey payed vnto the saide Henry Parry at the sealinge and delyvery of these p'sents whereof the saide Henrye Parry knowledgeth and confesseth hymselfe fully contentid satisfied and payed And for dyvers other cawses and considerac'ons hym sp'ially movinge hathe geven graunted bargayned and solde and by these p'nts doth gyve graunte bargayne and sell vnto the saide Sr John Thynne and Robert Keylewey for ever The saide Prebende of Banburye wth app'taunce and all the P'sonage of Banbury wth app'te'unce in the County of Oxon

(48) Whitworth's Nobil.

(49) Willis's Cathedrals; Bray's Tour; Baker's Northamp.

(50) Willis, in allusion to this, says that Holbech was the first married bishop; and that to raise a family, and oblige some courtiers, he parted with every thing by way of exchange for impropriations. It does not appear however that Bishop Holbech ever had a family; and he, having early joined in promoting the Reformation, only acted, in marrying, upon the principles which he professed. Indeed it is probable that the above alienations, which were made before Bishop Holbech had had a month's possession of the see, were a consequence of stipulations previously made.—*Pegge's Life of Grosseteste*.

(51) Grose's Antiquities, v. 4, p. 140; Boswell's Pict. Antig.

(52) See p. 212, in note 44.

(53) See pp. 212, 213, in note 44.

(54) Willis's Cathedrals.

and all those the Mano's P'sonages Messuages Lands Tent's Medowes Leasues Pastures Wooddes Vnderwooddes Watercou'ses Fysshings Rents Revercyons Services P'ronages Advousons Disposicyons and rightes of patronage of P'sonages Vicarages Chappells and Chauntries Tythes Glebelonds Obvencyons Oblacyons Emoluments Co'tes Leets Viewes of Franc' plegges Fayres Marketts Customes Works Lyberties Franchesies Commodities Proffyths and advauntages and all other heredytaments whatsoever they be sitt' lyinge and beinge in the Townes Felds or parrisshes of Banbury in the saide County of Oxon or in or nere the Cathedrall Church of Lyncoln or in the Cytie of Lyncoln or in the County of the Cytie of Lyncoln or ells wheare within the Realme of Englande to the saide Prebende belonginge or apperteynyng or whiche be parte parcell or membre of the saide Prebende or haue bene reputed taken or knowne for or as parte parcell or membre of the said Prebende of Banbury or any parte or parcell thereof or whiche the saide Henry Parry or any of his predecesso's prebendaries of the saide Prebende have had or of righte owghte to have had as prebendaries of the saide Prebende or in the righte of the saide Prebende And also all and all man'er of his Evidenc's Dead's Ch'r'es Co'te Rolls Rentalls Terr'ors Exemplificac'ons and all other writings and munyments whatsoever they be concernynge only the p'mysse or any p'cell therof all which Evidenc's Ch'r'es and writings the saide Henry Parry for hym his heires and successo's covenanteth and gr'unteth to and w^t the saide Sir John and Robert to delyver or cawse to be delyuered to the saide Sir John and Robert their heires executo's or assignes or theyres executo's or assignes of oon of them before the Feaste of Ester nexte com'ynge after the date of these p'nts To have and to hold " [&c. &c. to them and their heirs and assigns for ever. With the usual covenants.] " In Witness wherof the p'ties abovenamed to these present Indentures interchaungeably have sett their sealls Yeoven the daye and yere above rehersed."¹

Thus was the PREBEND of Banbury dissolved. The prebendal estate² became also part of the possessions of John Dudley duke of Northumberland. In the 5th of Edward VI., the Duke of Northumberland conveyed to the King, in fee, certain manors, including Banbury and other places in the vicinity, and the hundred of Banbury, and the prebends and tithes of Banbury and Cropredy; by the following instrument:—

"This Indenture made the eight day of Decembre in the fife year of the reigne of our Sou'ayne lord Edward the Sixt" [&c.] "betwen the same our Sou'ayn lord the Kinge on thone p'tie and the right honorable Iohn Duke of Northumb'land Earle of Warwike high Mersshall of Eng-land and great master of the Kings most honorable househoule on thother p'tie Wittneseth that the said Duke for div's causes considerac'ons & re-

(1) Among the *Cartæ Antiquæ* in the Augmentation Office.

(2) Willis says this was the impropriation of the rectory of Banbury and the advowson of the vicarage. (Willis's *Cathedrals*.) There was however Church property within the town, which is still designated as the Prebendal property. This lies between the Church-yard and Parson's Street; and comprises the tenements commencing about 70 paces from the top of that street, continuing as far as Church Lane, then along the west side of Church Lane to the turn westward, and so to the Church-yard. This property was sold under the Land-tax Act, for the purpose of redeeming the land-tax of the Bishop of Oxford, to whom the Rectorial and Prebendal property were transferred in the reign of Elizabeth. Mr. Conant, as lessee of the Bishop of Oxford, holds "the Marches," and considerable other landed property within the parish, styled Prebendal. The Banbury Church-building Act of 1790 exonerates from Church-building rates the lands, houses, &c., belonging to the Prebend of Banbury, and then vested in the Bishop of Oxford and his lessee or lessees.

compenses hereafter in this p'nt indenture expressed hathe bargained & sowld and by these fullye and clerelie bargaineth and selleth unto o^r said Sou'ayn lord the Kinge all those his Manors Lordshippes Towneshipp' & Burrughes of Langley Shipton Mynster Lovell Hokenorton Banbury Cropredye Wardington Coots Great Burton and Little Burton in the Countie of Oxford w^t all and sing'lar theyr rights me'bres and app'ten'nc's and also all that his Forest of Whichewood and all those his Hundredes of Chadlington and Banburye and the p'ke of Langeley Cornburye & Hokenorton in the said Countie of Oxford w^t all & sing'lar their rights me'bres and app'ten'nc's" [&c. &c.] "And also all those his Prebendes & Tythes of Banburye & Cropredye in the said Countie of Oxon w^t all & sing'lar their rights me'bres & app'ten'nc's" [&c. &c.] "And also all & sing'lar his mesuags toftes cotags mylnes howses buyldings p'kes warrens lands tent's medowes fedings pastures woodes und^rwoods rentes reu'sions s'uic's hethes mores com'ons fayers marketts stalls tolls customes fynes Courtes leetes viewes of Frankepledge tythes penc'ons por'cons p'ronag's aduousons bondemen nieffes³ villaynes w^t theyr sequell' mynes quarreys Knight fees wardes mariag' releffes haryott' eschaetts wayffes strayes libtyes franchises and all other hereditame'ts profietts and com'odities w^t all & sing'lar their app'ten'nc's as well sp'uall as temporall" [&c. &c.] "situate lying or being comyng growing or renewing in the townes feldes p'isshes or hameletts of" [&c. &c.] "Banbury Cropredye Wardington Cootes Great Burton & Litle Burton" [&c. &c.] "To have hold and enioye the said manors" [&c. &c.] "to our said Sou'ayn lorde the Kinge his Heyres & Successors for ever" [&c. &c.] "In Wittnes whereof." &c. Signed and sealed &c.⁴

In the 6th of Edward VI. (1552), a survey was made, of which the following is the return (translated):—

"THE LORDSHIP OF BANBURY OR THE CASTLE THERE.

<p>"The Office of Reeve of the Castle of Banbury in the county of Oxford parcell of the lands of John late Duke of Northumberland⁵ now in the hands of our Lord the King by reason of purchase.</p>	<p>"A Survey there made by Michael Camsewell gentleman our lord the King's Surveyor in the said county of Oxford the first day of August in the sixth year of the reign of the now King Edward the Sixth and by the oath of John Kyn-ton John Saven Richard Robyns Thomas House Richard Gybbes William Gyll William Barnesley John Hartlett William Bayley Edward Bryghtwell John Longe and John Redeshawe with others As follows:—To wit</p>
--	---

<p>"The Castle of Banbury lying within the Borough or Town of Banbury aforesaid.</p>	<p>"Our Lord the King hath in his own hand the Castle of Banbury aforesaid with all the houses unto the same necessary and the yards and courts, one garden and one orchard and one parcell of land called the Stewe containing one rood of land and a certain ditch without the walls of the said Castle containing three acres and he hath nothing therefrom by the year late in the tenancy of William Rychardson Bailiff of his borough of Banbury and late Janitor of his aforesaid Castle.</p>	<p>Nothing because in our lord the King's hands.</p>
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(3) Neif, or Nief. A bondwoman, or female villein.

(4) Deed of Purchase in the Augmentation Office.

(5) John Dudley duke of Northumberland was beheaded in the beginning of the next reign. The marginal notes &c. to these ancient documents do not appear to have been written at the same time with the entries to which they refer; but when the e-treating clerk examined the rolls he probably made them for his own convenience.

"Moreover the Office of Reeve of the Castle of Banbury aforesaid.

<p>"Demise of Farms within the Borough of Banbury and fields there.</p>	<p>"William Richardson holds two water mills under one roof⁶ lying and being near the Castle aforesaid within the Borough of Banbury And one Hame unto the same adjoining severally containing three acres and with all Waters Fisheries and Fishings unto the said mill belonging or appertaining at the will of our Lord the King from year to year Paying therefore by the year at the feasts of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary and Saint Michael the Archangel by equal portions</p>	<p>} £18. Now demised for £12.</p>
<p>"The same William holds the Toll of the Market of Banbury with the farm of the Drapery⁷ there and with all other profits and advantages unto the same appertaining at the will of our Lord the King from year to year Paying therefore by the year £6 at the two feasts aforesaid equally</p>	<p>} £6. It is granted to the Bailiff and Burgesses of the Town of Banbury as parcell of their Fee Farm.⁸</p>	
<p>"Peter Gylle holds one tenement and one garden lying and being within the Borough of Banbury before the gate of the Castle of Banbury aforesaid with their appurtenances at the will of our Lord from year to year Paying therefore by the year 18s. at the feasts abovesaid equally</p>	<p>} 18s. In the charge of William Manne.</p>	
<p>"Sum of the Rents at will in Banbury aforesaid by the year.</p>	<p>} £24. 18s."⁹</p>	

THE REIGN OF QUEEN MARY.

On the death of Edward the Sixth, which occurred in July 1553, the Duke of Northumberland, for the furtherance of his own ambitious purposes, put forward the claims of Lady Jane Gray to the Crown. The great Cecil, true to the rightful heir to the throne, refused to draw up the proclamation on behalf of the Lady Jane, and found means to escape beyond the power of the Duke and join the Princess Mary. Soon after Mary was established on the throne, Banbury received a charter of incorporation from her; and it appears, from the Charter itself, that this was granted as a reward to the inhabitants for their exertions in the Queen's cause against the designs of the Duke of Northumberland.¹⁰ The feeling created in these parts in the

(6) Every pair of stones is a mill.

(7) The measure and aulnage of cloths.—*Cunningham*.

(8) This marginal note is liable to the remark made in note 5, on p. 217; there being no Bailiff &c. of Banbury till the next reign.

(9) Original document preserved in the Auditor's Office of the Land Revenue.

(10) Preamble of the Charter, 1st Mary. It states that the people of Banbury "most faithfully adhered to us [the Queen] and manfully opposed the same rebellion in great costs expenses and burdens to themselves," &c. &c.

Queen's behalf is otherwise testified, by the circumstance of the men of Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, and Buckinghamshire, being especially enumerated as accompanying Mary when she went to London on the 3rd August.¹¹

The Duke of Northumberland had, as we have seen, lately held the Castle, manor, hundred, and prebendal estate of Banbury, all of which now belonged to the Crown for which there had been on this occasion two competitors. The part taken by the inhabitants of Banbury on behalf of Mary may possibly have been prompted, and the subsequent reward have been suggested, by Cecil himself, who, through his connections, appears to have had influence in Banbury.¹² Sir Thomas Pope adhered to the same party. Sir Thomas, during the reign of Edward the Sixth, had not been engaged in any state employment; but immediately after the King's death he was commissioned by Mary, along with Sir Arthur Darcy and others, to apprehend Lord Russel and several accomplices in this rebellious attempt of the Duke of Northumberland.¹³ Sir Thomas's brother John resided, at this date, at Wroxton.

It was moreover desirable at this juncture for the party which espoused the cause of Mary to add to its strength in Parliament: the Charter granted to Banbury therefore empowered the place to return a representative.¹⁴

ABSTRACT OF THE CHARTER.

Date 26th Jan., 1st Mary (1553-4).

The Charter grants to the Inhabitants of the Town of Banbury that the said Town shall be a free corporate Borough, consisting of one Bailiff, twelve Aldermen, and twelve Burgesses, by the name of the Bai-

(11) Stow's *Annales*, p. 613.

(12) The great Cecil was the grandchild of David Cecil, who had been twice high sheriff of Northamptonshire; and father of another Cecil who was sheriff of that county in the reign of Elizabeth. (Fuller's *Worthies*.) We find Cecil marrying the daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, of Gidding hall, whose wife was daughter and coheirress of William Saunders Esq. (qu., of Banbury? See note 42 in p. 193; and Baker's *Northamp.*, p. 749), and inherited property within this parish. (Baker, 749.) Her sister, a coheirress, was the wife of Stephen Cope of Bedenham, eldest son of William Cope the Cofferer by his first wife Agnes, and elder brother to Sir Anthony Cope of Hanwell and Grimsbury. In 1581, we find Anthony Cooke, of Gidding hall, disposing of his interest in a messuage called the Spittle at Grimsbury (the site of the Hospital of St. Leonard; see pp. 78, 79) and of three closes thereto belonging.—*Ibid.*

(13) Sir Thomas Pope was entrusted with the care of the Princess Elizabeth: although he was a rigid Romanist, his conduct towards her was unblameable, and unsuspected. The Princess appears to have taken great interest in the progress of Sir Thomas's work of founding Trinity College, on which he bestowed Wroxton in 1555. Sir Thomas died in 1559. (Warton's *Life of Sir T. Pope*.) There is a portrait of Sir Thomas preserved at Wroxton; and his tomb has been engraved in the *Glossary of Architecture* (edit. 1840, Plate 66).

(14) Banbury, Abingdon, and Higham Ferrers, were all incorporated by Queen Mary: Abingdon returned a member before. These three places, with Bewdley (incorporated by James the First) and Monmouth, were the only English boroughs which returned but one member each, previously to the Reform Bill.

liff Aldermen and Burgesses of the Borough and Parish of Banbury; and that the same shall be a corporate body and perpetual community. That they shall be in law capable to acquire and possess lands &c., to plead and be impleaded, &c., and to have a Common Seal.

The Boundaries, namely:—

“The said Borough of Banbury and the circuit and precincts thereof shall hereafter extend and reach and may and may be able to extend and reach as well in length and breadth as in circumference to the bounds metes and limits following That is to say From the bridge there called Banbury Bridge situate over the water called Charwell on the east side of the said Borough unto the White Cross without the gate called Sugarforde Yate on the west side and from the said White Cross without the gate called Sugarforde Yate to the gate called Seint Johns Yate on the south side and from the said gate called Seint Johns Yate to the gate called North Yate on the north side and so from the said gate called North Yate to the aforesaid bridge called Banbury Bridge with all Lanes Streets Ways Places Enclosures and Corners within the aforesaid bounds metes and limits existing and as in the usual manner they are reputed.”¹⁵

Twelve of the better and more honest and discreet inhabitants to be Aldermen of the Borough, which Aldermen shall be able to choose twelve others of the better and more honest inhabitants of the Borough who shall be called Capital Burgesses. And which Bailiff Aldermen and Capital Burgesses shall be the Common Council of the Borough for all things concerning the Borough and the rule and government thereof.

The Common Council to elect the Bailiff annually from among the 12 Aldermen.

Vacancies among the Aldermen to be filled up, by the votes of the Aldermen, from among the Capital Burgesses.

Vacancies among the Capital Burgesses to be filled up by the Common Council from the better more honest and discreet inhabitants of the Borough.

A Serjeant at Mace to be chosen by the Council, for the execution of processes orders and other businesses in the Borough. Constables and other necessary officers to be annually chosen.

Power to the Council to ordain wholesome and reasonable statutes and constitutions for the better rule and government of the Bailiff Aldermen and Capital Burgesses and other Officers and Inhabitants of the Borough aforesaid, in order that they may behave themselves in their offices and businesses for the public good and common weal of the Borough, and for other causes and businesses touching or concerning the Borough. Which statutes &c. were to be inviolably observed; the same not being repugnant or contrary to the laws and statutes of our Realm or to the Prerogative of Us our Heirs and Successors.

“Our beloved William Barnesley an honest man and an inhabitant of our Borough of Banbury aforesaid to be first and recent Bailiff.”

“Our beloved the said William Barnesley John Hartlett John Wise John Longe William Plomer Robert Hornesley John Redshawe Edward Brightwell Stephen Wiggett Richard Fairefeld Henry Shutwell and John Luter Inhabitants of the said Borough of Banbury to be first and recent Aldermen of the said Borough of Banbury so long as they shall behave themselves well in that office.” “Our beloved John Lorde William Parnam Thomas Butler alias Carter Edward Bentley Edmund Glover Eustace Bosworthe John Tugges John Barnesley Henry Undertrey

(15) “A Ponte ibidem vocat' Banbury Bridge scituat tans Aquam vocat Charwell ex p'te orientali d'ci Burgi usq' Albam Crucem exta Portam vocat' Sugarforde Yate ex p'te occidentali & ab eadem Alba Cruce exta Portam vocat' Sugarforde Yate usq' ad Portam vocat' Seint Johns Yate ex parte australi & ab eadem Porta vocat' Seint Johns Yate usq' ad Portam vocat' Northyate ex p'te boreali & sic ab eadem Porta vocat' Northyate usq' p'dict' Pontem vocat' Banbury Bridge cum omib'z Venellis Strat' Vijs Locis Clausur' & Angulis infra p'dict' Bundas Metas & Limites existen' & p'ut modo usitat' reputant'.”—*Original in the Rolls Chapel.*

Richard More Roger Jackson and William Dudley " to be Capital Burgesses during good behaviour.

Grant to the Common Council of a weekly Market on Thursday and "Two Fairs or Holidays there annually to be held and kept that is to say One Fair or Holiday there to be held annually on the feast of St. Peter which is called Advinc'la and on the eve and on the morrow of the said feast and Another Fair or Holiday to be there held annually on the feast of Saint Luke the Evangelist and on the eve and on the morrow of the said feast together with a court of Piepowder¹⁶ there during the time of the said Fairs or Holidays together with stallage piccage fines amer-ciements and all other revenues " arising from such markets fairs or holidays and court of Pie Powder, and with all liberties and free customs appertaining or belonging to the same.

Power to hold a Court of Record "before the Bailiff and two Aldermen and two Capital Burgesses and the High Steward of the Borough and Parish of Banbury aforesaid or the sufficient Deputy of the said High Steward for the time being in some Common Hall or other more convenient place in the same Borough to be held on Monday from three weeks to three weeks concerning all and singular pleas complaints and actions as well real as personal and concerning debts compacts trespasses agreements contracts detentions and contempts done or arising within the said Borough of Banbury and the jurisdiction thereof Provided that the said debts compacts agreements contracts trespasses and other actions do not exceed the sum or value of Five Pounds And that such pleas complaints and actions be there heard and determined according to the law and customs of our city of Coventry."

Power to the Bailiff Aldermen and Capital Burgesses to hold and enjoy Law Days and Views of Frankpledge of all the inhabitants and residents within the Borough. The same to be held twice in the year, namely, within a month after the feast of Easter, and within a month after the feast of St. Michael the Archangel, before the Bailiff and two Aldermen and two Burgesses, and the High Steward or his sufficient Deputy.

The Bailiff to be Clerk of the Market.

One Justice of the Peace to be annually chosen from among the Aldermen by the Common Council. To have the same powers within the Borough as a county justice within the county.

Forfeitures, waifs, and estrays, assise and assay of Bread, Wine, and Ale, profits of the Fairs and Market, &c. to belong to the Corporation; the sum of £6. 13s. 4d. being annually paid by them to the Queen's Exchequer.

Power to acquire lands, privileges, &c. within the Borough, not held immediately of the Queen in chief or by military service, and not exceeding the annual value of twenty pounds.

"Moreover We will and for Us our Heirs and Successors by these presents We grant and ordain that there may and shall be in the said Borough of Banbury one Burgess of our Parliament and that of our heirs and successors and that the aforesaid Bailiff Aldermen and Burgesses of the said Borough and Parish of Banbury and their successors upon our Writ and that of our heirs and successors concerning the election of a Burgess of Parliament directed to them may and shall have power authority and means of electing and nominating one discreet Burgess of the said Borough to be a Burgess of our Parliament and that of our heirs and successors for the said Borough and that they shall send the Burgess thus elected at the burden and costs of the said Borough and Parish and the same community to our Parliament and that of our heirs and successors whensoever it shall be then holden in the same manner and form as in other boroughs of our realm of England it hath been

(16) Piepowder; from *pie*, *foot*, and *poudre*, *dusty*; here Latinized "Cur' Pedis Pulve'izat." These courts were held at fairs and markets for the speedy redress of disorders committed therein.

usual and customary Which Burgess thus elected and chosen we will to be present and to stay at our Parliament and that of our heirs and successors at the burden and costs of the said Borough and Parish of Banbury and the same community during the time in which such Parliament may happen to be held in like manner and form as other Burgesses of Parliament for other boroughs or other borough whatsoever within our said realm of England do or have been accustomed to do And which Burgess in such our Parliament and that of our heirs and successors shall have his voice as well affirmative as negative and shall there do and perform all and singular other things which other Burgesses or other Burgess of our Parliament for whatsoever other boroughs or other borough shall have do and perform or may be able and have power to have do or perform in whatsoever manner and form."

The Corporation to have these letters patent under the Great Seal without fine or fee.

"At Westminster on the xxvi day of January.—By Writ of Privy Seal."¹⁷

It appears that, at the first "cowrtt dynar" had by the Corporation, that newly-appointed body expended £1. 13s. 11d.; and the fare consisted of "spyce capones, connyes, geese, and other cattes [cates], bread & ale, a pottell of sake, and a quart of mol-linse." "A gallon & hallfe of wyne and a C [hundred] of payres" were also used "when Mastr Kemsswell & Mr Fysher wher atte the Castell at ower fyrste cowrtte:" and to Mr. Kemeswell, there is a payment recorded of 40 shillings, "for his good toward vs for ye chart'."¹⁸

The granting of the Charter was celebrated by a Pageant. Among the accounts, are charges for the carriage of timber which "Mr Kemesswell did gyve towards the Pagon," and for the hire of "Nethrope men for carryge of the tre y^t Mr Cope gave." Another entry is of "Monny delyveryd of the occupaccions [trades] towards the Pagaunt;" including subscriptions from the Butchers, Shoemakers, Carpenters, Barkers and Sadlers, Weavers, Glovers, Mercers, Tailors and Drapers, Smiths, and Bakers.¹⁹

(17) Original Charter; and a Translation thereof at the Town Clerk's office.

In a Book of accounts preserved by the present Town Clerk, relating to this period, there are entered, after the names of the "Aldermen and Free Burgesses," those of 136 "Freemen." In the margin are the names of John Lovett, Steward of Banbury, and Peter Gyll, Town Clerk.

A Proclamation, in writing, made at this period, has been preserved at the Town Clerk's office. The arms of England and France are drawn on it with a pen. It is as follows:—

"THE TOWNE OF BANBURY newly erectyd created and made a fre borowe & a towne incorporatyd and a body pollytyek by the name of a Bayly xij Ald'men & xij hy Burgyses by the Qwenes lett's patente of incorporatyon to them & ther success's grantyd for eu' in consederatyon and for the goode s'uyce to her grace downe by the Inhabytance of the same And by the * * * labor & delygent Sewte of the ryght honorable Lorde Herry Staford the eldest Sone to the late Duke of Bukynghm Thomas Denton esquier Will^m Barnsley John Wyse John Hartlett John Longe Edward Bryghtwen Stephen Wygat & Richard Ferfeld ald'men of the same towne & borowe wt others Geuen & graunted in the yere of our Lord God 1554 & Ann R' R' Marie primo.

Louett Steward

Pet' Gyll Tovne clarke."

(18) Book of accounts referred to in note 17.

(19) Ibid. On the occasion of these Pageants, the fronts of the houses through which the

A Town Hall was erected; and a cage of timber, which had heretofore been in the Castle, (and which appears, from three items of carriage, and from the damage done to the Castle wall in removing it, to have been a cumbersome affair,) was brought "to the covrt hall," and set up.²⁰ There are several items of accounts relating to the "stokes," the "pellyry," and the "kocke-stoll."²¹ In 1558 is mentioned a payment on account of the "warnynge of the wache." Subsequently, in the Orders and Paines of the 6th Elizabeth, it is required that all property which had found a watchman within forty years should continue to provide the same. The "Com'on Gaoyle of the Towne" is first mentioned in the by-laws of the Corporation in the 15th Elizabeth.

The first representative of Banbury in Parliament was Thomas Denton Esq., who was returned in the first year of Mary's reign. This was the second Parliament of Mary. Before the close of the year 1554, Mary's third Parliament assembled, on which occasion the name of the representative for Banbury is given ——— Denton Esq. To Mary's fourth Parliament, in 1555, no return for Banbury is recorded. To her fifth Parliament, in 1557-8, John Denton, gentleman, was returned.²²

The following items occur, amongst others, in the Book containing accounts of the Corporation, which is preserved by William Walford Esq., the present Town Clerk:—

"THIS YS THE AC'OUNTT OF JHON LONGE MAYD THE XIII DAYE OF NOVEMBER ANNO R RG PHI ET MARIE TERCIO & QUARTO [1556].

In'p'mis recevyd the iiij daye of Octobr for the hooll } xiijs iiijd
tolle of ye market

processions passed were usually covered with rich adornments of tapestry, arras, and cloth of gold; the magistrates and citizens appeared on horseback in sumptuous habits, and joined the cavalcade; while the ringing of bells, the sound of music, and the shouts of the populace, greeted the ears of the spectators. In places appointed for the purpose, the Pageants were erected, which were temporary buildings representing castles, palaces, gardens, rocks, or forests; where nymphs, fawns, satyrs, gods, goddesses, angels, and devils, appeared in company with giants, savages, dragons, saints, knights, buffoons, and dwarfs, surrounded by minstrels and choristers; the heathen mythology, the legends of chivalry, and Christian divinity, ridiculously jumbled together.—*Strutt's Sports, &c.*

(20) See several items of accounts in 1556, pp. 224—226.

(21) The Cucking-stool existed, till within these fifty years, at a horse-pool at the lower part of the Market Place. The Pillory stood near it. It appears that there was a Pillory before the Charter; some of the earliest charges being for the removal of the old one.

(22) Willis's Notit. Parl. Thomas Denton was sheriff of Berks and Oxon in 1526-7. (Fuller.) In 1542, the patronage of the church of Ambrosden, and the manors of Ambrosden and Blackthorn, were given to John Denton, then resident at Blackthorn, and the son of Thomas Denton of Sunderfield co. Bucks. (Dunkin's Oxf.) John Denton was sheriff of Berks and Oxon in 1558.

The elections in November 1554 were influenced by the Queen's circular letter to the sheriffs, commanding them to admonish the people to elect Roman Catholics. (Parl. Hist. Eng.) It appears doubtful, from Browne Willis, whether any return was made for Banbury at that time. Thomas Denton was member in that Parliament for the county of Oxford, and was one of the thirty-seven members who seceded when they saw the majority inclined to sacrifice every thing to the ministry.—*Parl. Hist. Eng.*

Ib'm recevid of Hüge Sly for olde tymbr of the pyllore	—	vjd
Recevid for owlde wood that was lefte of the Churche howsse	—	iiijd
Recevid for tolle in the markett the xj th day of Octobar	vjs	—
Recevid on Sayntt Lvkcs daye for the tolle of ower fayre	xvijs	jd ob'
Recevid the xxv ^{ti} daye of Octobar for the tolle in the markett	—	xd
Recevid a pon all holon eve for the tolle in the markett	ijs	— ob'
to selle his fyche apon	vs	—
Recevid of Wylliam Dudleye & Hüge for the tolle a pon Sayntt Lukes daye for the horsse market	—	xiiijd ob'
Recevid of ij wenchcs xv shurt collers and a partlett and in monye	—	xijd
Recevid for the feyes of a wrytt	—	xijd
Recevid for the forfytte of a hyd of a bocher on skott	—	xijd
Recevid of Jhon Lutts & Jhon Davys for the feyes of on wrightt	ijs	—
Recevid of Wylliam Weston and Robart Vyvers for the feyes of ij writts	ijs	iiijd
Recevid of my coussyn Barnsleye for the fredom of on shope in ye P'sones lane y ^t Vadry ye foll' [fuller] occupyth	vjs	viijd
Recevid of the companye whe' Stevyn Wygatt and I wentt to London	xxxiijs	viijd
Recevid for the tolle in the markett a pon the fyshe fayre daye	xls	ijjd ob'
Recevid of Lankecher for a fraye that he mayd in my coussyn Barnsleyes cowrt	—	xxd
Recevid of Fawdre the fullar for his fredom of his shope	vjs	viijd
Recevid of Rychard Weste at the makynge of hym fre	xiijs	iiijd
Recevid 9 gerkenes and dubletts of ye ascencion daye	xls	ijjd ob'
Recevid for tolle on the assencion daye	—	—
Recevid for a carcas of a shep that Barnard Hopknes stell	ijs	vjd
Recevid for the tolle in the fayre a pon Lamas the fyrste daye of Auguste	xijs	—
Recevid of the in habytance of the Shepe markett for ther penes befor theyr dores	vjs	—
Recevid by mersmentts of ou' cowrtcs as dothe a peyar by a byll of the stretts	ixs	ijjd
Recevid of Rychard Benett for partt of his fredome	vs	—
Recevid of marsmentts for the clarke of the marketts cowrtt	vs	xd
Recevid for the stalls sett by the yeare	xxxixs	—

The Charge.

In p'mvs for takynge downe of the pellyry	—	ijjd
Payde to the carpendar for workenge of the pyllrye and att ower hall for vj dayes & nyghtts	vjs	viijd
Payd to the massones for taykynge downe of the pyllry and workenge downe of the particcion of ower halle	ijs	ijjd
Payd to the gaythers of the tolle in the markett beyng the iiij th of Octobar	—	xijd
Payd for a gallon & hallfe of wyne and a C of payres when Mastr Kemsswell & M ^r Fysher wher atte the Castell at ower fyrste cowrtte	ijs	viijd
Payd to Raffé Plesto & his wyffe and the bellman & his wyffe for carrynge of stone and ramyll owtt of ower halle & sarvyng of ye pavyors	—	xvjd
Payd to the pavyors for 96 yards of the markett place	xijs	iiijd

Payd to W ^m Joynar for his makynge of the frame at the hall for the Kings armes	ij ^s iiij ^d
Payd to Pettr Gyll for his cost to Mr Deyntons	— iiij ^d
Payd for ij li of candull	— vj ^d
Payd to Nycolas Sturgon for workinge v daye & nyghts	iiij ^s vj ^d
Payd to Nycolas Sturgon for v quartres of his owne tymbar	ij ^s iiij ^d
Payd to Rychard Jones for towe strike of lym	— xij ^d
Payd to Jhon Wallso for the hyer of his mare when Pettr Gyll went to M ^r Dentones to feche M ^r Kemeswells lett'	— vj ^d
Payd to my brother Wyes for sarten bords	
Payd to my coussen Barnesley for bread & ale and other cates [cates] att ower fyrste dyner of ou' cowrt	xviij ^s iiij ^d
Payd for a pottell of sake and a quart of mollinse ye sam tym	— xvd
Payd for spycce capones and connyes geese and other catts for the cowrtt dynar as dotth apea by a byll	xiiij ^s iiij ^d
Payd to M ^r Kemeswell for his good toward vs for ye chart'	xls —
Payd for carynge partt of the cage fro the Castell	— vj ^d
Payd to Nycolass Sturgn for vj dayes work for makynge of ower steyres at the hall	vs —
Payd to Northan Jhon for caryge of tymbar of the cage from the castell	— vj ^d
Payd for a locke for ower hall dore	— xij ^d
Payd for vj copull of ches y ^t wer sennt to London to Stevyn Wygatt and Rychard Fearfelld	vij ^s —
Itm payd for iij couppell of capones bought in the markett and sentt vp to London to Stevyn Wygatt & Rychard Fearfelld	vs iiij ^d
Payd to Edward Marche for carryge of the chesses and the caponnes	ij ^s viij ^d
Payd for the sarjantt to Oxford when he dyd carry the indenture to the shrive for the burg ^s of the parlamentt	— vj ^d
Payd for hallfe a li' of marmalantt and in appuells & bysketts a potle of read wyne and for on potell of sake	ij ^s —
Payd to Ellen Bowton for the weringe of hir hvsband goune	— xij ^d
Payd at the comynge of M ^r Jhon Frogmarton in the evyng for v quartts of wyne appulls byskett ma'latt	ij ^s viij ^d
Payd to good wyffe Bennett for M ^r Frogmartnes dyner and his mennes in the morninge	xvs —
Payd for xx orriggs and hallfe a li' of marmalate when Wyllyam Plom' and Jhon Longe wentt theyther to M ^r Dentons at Chrysmas	— xvjd
Payd for ij quear of paper to make a boke for ou' cov'ts	— vj ^d
Payd for v dayes worke of ij menes for to make the kockestoll	vij ^s iiij ^d
Payd to Jhon Awod for makinge of sarten stapulls and hokes for the kockestoll	ij ^s —
Payd for settinge vp of the cage to Nycolas Sturgon and Jhon Carpendr	vjs viij ^d
Payd to Thomas Yoyke for carryge of the tymbr of the cage to the covrt hall from the castell	— vj ^d
Payd for a peace of ashe to Nycolas Sturgon for the kockestoll	— vj ^d
Payd for a covpoll of henes that were gyven M ^r Lovytt at London	— xd

Payd for iij quartts of clarytt wyne and a quart of malmseye & in appulls at Mr Kemesswells beyng heare the v th daye of Febuary	—	xvjd
Payd for a gallond of wyne when Mr Lvce and Mayster Fynes was heare att Dycher & Bramleye pleye	—	xijd
Payd for the charg of the Baly and Stevyn Wygatt at London for them and ther horssees iij dayes	xs	—
Payd for Mr Louvtt's dynar at Ouessbrige	—	vjd
Payd to Mr Bartram a counsellor of gres in [Gray's Inn] for his counsell in the corproaccion	iijs	iiijd
Payd to Mr Oditores clarke for his p'ynes	—	xxd
Payd to the Kyngs mystrels att my cossyn Barnsles	iijs	—
Payd for a gala'd of wy'e gyuen to the byshop of Lyncon	—	xijd
Payd for sarten wyne that we had to Dedyngeton when we shoulde have mett Mayster Deynton	—	xiiijd
Payd for the carige to the cartres for carrynge of iij lodes of tymbr of the tre that Mr Kemesswell did gyve towards the Pagon	iijs	vjd
Payd for makynge the castell walle agayne y ^t was brokon doune in havy'g out ye cage	—	iiijd
Payd to Nethrope men for carryge of the tre y ^t Mr Cope gave to our Pagon	—	vjd
Payd for bread and all and other cattis at the cowrt dynnar as dothe mor playly apeyre by a byll	xxiijs	—
Payd for ij horse lokes for the cage dore and the stokes	—	xxd
Payd for the carryge of Benard Hopkynes to the gayll of Oxford	ijs	iiijd
Payd to Mr Denton for his hallfe yeare feyes	xxs	—
Payd for a gallon of clarritt wyn that we gave B ^w w Raynsford at ou' pley	—	xijd
Payd for a potell of claritt wyn y ^t we gave Mr Foxe at ye pley	—	vjd
Payd for ij gowne clothes to Mr Hartlett on for ye sargon and a nother for the clarke	xlvijs	—
Pyd for mendynge and gylldynge of ower macce	vs	—
Payd for a potell of claritt wyn when ye hygh shrefe was hear	—	vjd
Payd for the vndershreffes breakfast att the Swan w' my brother Wyse	—	xjd
Payd to my cossyn Barnesleye for the cargs of my lorde Cheffe Justes beyng in Banbury	xijs	iiijd
Payd for wyne & marmalatt & byskets at the sam tyme	vs	iiijd
Payd to Mr atorney for his feyes agaynst young Weston	vjs	viijd
Payd to the sargauntt for his waggs	vjs	viijd
Payd for players gere that we bought at Couentre ²³	xxs	—
Payd to the Quenes mageste ²⁴	vj ^{li}	xiijs iiijd

Monny delyveryd of the occupacions towards the Pagaunt.

In p'imvs of the Bucharis	xs	—
Recevyd of the Shumakers	ixs	vjd
Recevyd of the Carpyndars	vjs	ijd
Recevyd of the Barkeres & Sadlores	vs	—
Recevyd of the Wevers	vs	—
Recevyd of Robert Stafford	—	viijd
Recevyd of the Glovers	vjs	viijd
Recevyd of the Marcres	vijs	vjd

(23) Coventry, in the monastic ages, was remarkable for the magnificent and costly performance of the religious dramas called Mysteries. In the reign of Mary, plays were employed by the Romanists to diffuse their doctrine: and, under Elizabeth, nothing was so popular as to represent the Pope as a devil, and monks and nuns as his offspring.

(24) For this payment, see Charter of Mary, in p. 221.

Recevyd of Taylores & Drapers	xs	—
Recevyd of the Smythes	vs	—
Recevyd of the Baykeres	ivs	—
*	*	*

1558 [Receipts.]

In p'm's Recevyd vppon Seynt martynes daye for the } stallege of the market	—	viiij <i>d</i>
The shipe market	—	xviij <i>d</i>
The next Thursdaye the stallage	—	xj <i>d</i>
The shepe markt	ijs	—
The beste markt	—	vj <i>d</i>
The Neweres evyn for all ye market	—	ij <i>d</i>
The twelfe evyn all ye market	—	xd
Lether fayre ye stallage	iijs	viiij <i>d</i>
The beaste market	—	vid
The shepe market	—	vij <i>d</i>
R' by xij Shype	xxs	—
R' more by a payre of Stocckings for hosse & a read } pettycot	iijs	—
Itm for ij payre of Showes	—	xvj <i>d</i>

[Charges.]

In p'mis pd to the qunes Jester	ijs	—
Pd for Cowple of capons when my Lorde Wylliames was } hear	iijs	—
Pd for wyne the same tyme	ijs	iiij <i>d</i>
Pd to M ^r Denton	xxs	—
Pd for a sug' loffe	vjs	viiij <i>d</i>
Pd to to M ^r Barnslay when Sur Antony Honngerford } was hear	ijs	iiij <i>d</i>
Pd when my lord Chaundos was hear	—	vj <i>d</i>
Pd to the Sargaunt towards hys gowne	xxs	—
Pd to Ryehard More for ij yards & iij q ^{ts} of brod clothe } for Petr Gyll	xxs	—
Pd for wyne gyvyn to Sur Fraunces Ingfeld	ijs	viiij <i>d</i>
Pd to Gorge Cowly for warnynge of the wache	—	xx <i>d</i>
Pd for a booke of statutes	—	xij <i>d</i>
It'm my charges for the towne Leat Dynners	iiij ⁱ	ijs viij <i>d</i>
Pd to mysteres Barnslaye when younge Mayster Deyn- } ton was theyr	vs	—

ABSTRACT OF THE BY-LAWS OF THE CORPORATION.

4th-5th Philip and Mary.

“Banbury Bouke of Ord's & Inrowlements Constitueyons and Decreys hade made & deuyssed by Henry Shuttylworth nowe beyng Bayly of the Tovn & Borowe of Banbury concludyd on by the holle consent & assent of the Ald'men & Burgyses of the same by vertu & forse of the Quenes Magestes lett's patente of in corporatyon to them & ther success's geuen & granted as here after foloweth deuyssed & stablyshed as lawes to endure frome tyme to tyme made the xiiij day of Maii 1558.

“Fyrste yt ordeyned condyscendyd & agreed that on the daye of Sent Mychell tharkangell yerely at one of the cloke in aft'noone the Aldermen & capytall Burgyses in ther beste app'ell shall cum unto the housse of the Bayly & frome thens attend vpon the seid Bayly vnto the p'ishe churchre and ther the Bayly Ald'men & capytall Burgys' shall knele before the sacrement & make ther prayers vnto All myghty God.”

Then follows the order of procession to the Town Hall, and of the election of the Bayly; on whose instalment into office the old Bayly is to deliver to him “the Kyng & the Quenes Mace as a syne and a repre-

sentment of the Kyng & the Quenes Levetenant." Also the order of the election of the Justice of Peace, and other yearly officers.

The Bayly not to absent himself more than seven days without having appointed a deputy approved by the Aldermen and capital Burgesses. To maintain the liberties of the Borough. And, when going in his office, or accompanying worshipful or honourable persons, to be in his gown.

The Aldermen to assist the Bayly and Justice. To lose office if found doing any thing to the prejudice of the Corporation. To be "of quyett & honest behayour bothe in worde & dede;" or else to be removed. If absent from the town three weeks without license from the Bayly to forfeit xls. None of the Aldermen to "vexe sewe or dysquyete any other of thys company" in any court out of the Borough: but, having a grievance, to submit the same to the Bayly, Justice of the Peace, and majority of the Aldermen; on pain of one day's imprisonment, and deposition until submission be made and a fine of vjs viij*d* paid. The Aldermen to wear gowns on Sundays and Holy Days, and when they attend at courts, or on the Bayly. The "hed Burgyses" to observe all the same ordinances as the Aldermen.

No inhabitant "shall sewe vexe or moleste another of them" in any court "owte of the courte of Banbury as longe as thei may have vndeleyed ryght & spedy justice;" on pain of one day's imprisonment and the forfeiture of xxs.

There shall be elected two Wardens of every Company or occupation, "for the better gou'nance vtillite & good order of the same;" and they, "with the reste of the seu'all Companies shall have power & actoryte to make orders & constitucyons among themselfs for ther seid occupatyon beyng nott p'iudiciall to the corporation nor repugnant to the lawes of thys realme so that the same be allowed by the Bayly & Aldermen."

No person shall be made free of the town by redemption, on a less payment than xxs to the Chamber, xij*d* to the Towne, and a penny "to the releiff of the pore & prysoners."

Apprentices²⁵ to be enrolled; and each, on taking up his freedom, to pay to the Chamber xij*d* and to the Town Clerk iij*d*. The Town Clerk to make the indentures of all covenanted servants and apprentices.

All inhabitants to be obedient to the Bayly, Justices of the Peace, and officers, and "redy at all lawful commandementes of the Bayly & Justice;" upon pain of two days' imprisonment and loss of freedom.

Any man within the town chosen Bayly or Justice refusing to take office, "shalbe by the Bailie comytted vnto warde withowte bayle or maynpryse ther to remeyne vnto suche tyme as he haue payed vnto the Chamber xx^{li}. And "Yf any beyng chossin in offyce of Alderman Burges constable or other offycer obstenally deney to s'ue [serve] in the seid office to haue too days of in pressonement & to forfyte to the Chamber xls."

"Every Ald'man & Burges on the day of the Assencyon Corpus X^{pi} day & euery fayre shall repayre vnto the Baylyff housse by viij of the cloke in the mornyng in ther best & desent ap'ell & shall accompany the said Baylyff in the p'ambulacyon thorow the faire & m'kett in desent ord' & so aft' p'clymation made at the m'ket crosse to accompany the Bayly vnto hys housse & frome thenss eu' [every] man to dep'te abowte hys lawfull busynes,"²⁶

(25) There are several entrances of Apprentices, none of whom are bound for less than seven years. In the 4th Edw. VI., a shoemaker's apprentice is to have at the end of the term of 10 years double clothing and 3s. 4*d*. wages.—In the 7th Edw. VI., a taylor's apprentice is to have at the end of his apprenticeship double clothing and 40s. wages.—In the 1st Phil. and Mary, a blacksmith's apprentice is to have at the end of his apprenticeship double clothing and 13s. 4*d*. "pro salario et stipendio."—And a taylor's apprentice is to have at the end of his apprenticeship double clothing and food for one year.

(26) Book of accounts, &c., preserved by the present Town Clerk.

REGULATIONS OF THE COURT OF RECORD.

“Ordynances for the Cowrte and the Offys's of the same.

“Fyrste yt ys ordyned & decreed by on holle assent & consent of the baylie aldermen & burgesses that ther shalbe no man constreyned to answer in the Cowrte withowte lawfull accyon com'ensed & entered in Cowrte & that the Defendant haue lawfull somonce and yf he appere nott vppon lawfull somons to be geuen by the S'gyant at the Mace then one dystres to be granted & yf the Defendant appere nott vppon the dystres then the S'gyant to returne a nichell and then shall goo furthe at the suyte of the Plantyff a capyas and then the p'ty attached shall goo to presson except he put in Suertes & bayle as well to answer the accyon or plainte comensed as also to pay the costes & damages of the Defendant yf he be condempned or els to brynge in the body of the p'tie Defendant or Defendantes aft' judgement geuyn & before executyon awardyd.

“It'm yt ys ordered that no capyas shalbe graunted but by the bailie for the tyme beyng & a plante lawfully entered be fore the capias shall go furthe. And that the capias be made & derected under seyll of the Towne Clerke and subscribed with hys hand & name. And the p'tie attached shalbe brought before the Bailie & to hym shall put in Suertes or pleges to answer the holle plainte comensed agaynst hym as ys afore specyfied.

“It'm yt ys agreed that ther shalbe no capias granted at the sewete of any forany' or forryn' [foreigners, i. e., persons residing without the jurisdiction of the court] except yt shall fyrste appere planly to the baylie or the towne clarke that ther ys goode cause to com'ense the same sewte within the libertie of the seid towne.

“It'm yt ys agreed that the S'gyant at the Mace shall nott attache any man' of p'son or p'sones or put them in feare of Sute withowte his lawfull warrante furthe of the Cowrte yf he do the contrary to haue ij dayes of impressonement & to pay to the Chamber for hys offence iijs iiijd.

“It'm yt ys ordeyned that the S'gyant at Mace shall s'ue [serve] all man' of p'cess to hym derected withowte conseylnent & make juste & dewe returne of the same vppon payne of one day of impressonement & pay iijs iiijd.

“It'm yt ys ordered that he that hathe the ofyce of preynatory shall make goode & p'fyte declaratyons answeres replycations reioynders & so delyu' wykly as the case requirethe vnto the Attorneys of the Cowrte & the seid attorneys at eu'y cowrte to delyu' them unto the Cowrte fayre & p'fyte Wrytin with ther handes putto the same plees and yf the preynatory make defeaute therein then he to paye for eu'y such defeaute xxd. And if the defeaute be in the attorneys then eu'y suche attorney to loose & pay iiijd for eu'y plee the forfytir to be to the vse of the Chamb'.

“It'm yt ys ordered that aft' yssue joyned in any matt' that the Towne Clarke shall make the recordes p'fyte & ingrosse them on p'chement vppone payne of dayes of impressonement & pay to the Chamber xxd.

“It'm yt ys ordered that the Towne Clarke eu'y too moneythes shall make & engrosse vppe fayer the recordes of the Cowrtes vppone payne of dayes of impressonement & to forfyt iijs.

“It'm yt ys ordered that nether the Towne Clarke nor S'gyant at Mace shall take any other fees cons'nyng ther offices other then suche as be mencyoned in a table sett & hanged vpp in the Cowrte Hall of the seid towne vppone payne of too days of impressonement and fyne at the plessure of the baylie for the tyme beyng.

“It'm yt ys ordered that the Towne Clarke & S'gyant at Mace shall waite on the bailie eu'y Sondag & Hollyday & all other tymes convenyent except sicknes & other lawful excuses and the S'gyant daylie to wayte vppone the bailie except specyall lycence vppone payne of eu'y offence xxd.

"It'm " [the manner of the officers of the Borough Court being summoned].²⁷

William Binsley, of New College, Oxford, who was admitted bachelor of laws in 1536, was, subsequently to that date, vicar of Adderbury. He resigned the vicarage in 1554, and became about the same time chancellor to Pole, bishop of Peterborough. It is said that he was a persecutor of the Protestants during Queen Mary's reign, while he was chancellor; but, after Elizabeth came to the throne, he was nevertheless made archdeacon of Peterborough.²⁸

THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH.

To Cecil, lord Burleigh, is due the merit of having discovered, and called to the service of his country, the abilities of Sir Francis Walsingham; who, at the age of 22 years, was returned to Parliament for Banbury in the 1st Eliz. (1558-9). To the succeeding Parliament (5th Eliz.), Walsingham was again chosen for Banbury, and also for Lyme. He took his seat for Lyme, and Owen Brereton Esq. was chosen in his stead for Banbury.²⁹

The following items occur among the Corporation accounts for 1563:—

"The Chargs of the Leyte Dynn's	vli	—	—
The Clrqs of the Courts Wags	—	xxs	—
The Srgyant Wags	—	xxvjs viijd	
The Clarks gowne	—	xxs	—
The Srgyant leuerey	—	xxs	—
The Chargs for mending the Courte housse the brede crosse the tomrell the pynfold & the towne bosshell & cheyne & the stoks in the Court Hall	} vli	iiij s	viij d
Itm for bakying of Venyson that Mast' Fynes sent.....			
Itm for Venyson that Mast Cope sent			
Itm for Venyson sent by Mast' Wodhull			
Itm to Mast' Cowp' hys fe.....			
Itm to Mast' Louet hys fee	—	xls	—
	—	xls	—
	—	xs	—"

In the 6th Elizabeth the following local Regulations were established:—

(27) Book of accounts &c., preserved by the present Town Clerk. The handwriting of the above is apparently of the time of Mary; and the document immediately follows the By-Laws of her reign.

(28) Wood's Athenæ.

(29) Willis's Notit. Parliament. It has been said of Walsingham that "he knew how to be grave or facetious, could laugh with Henry IV. of France, and quote Greek and Latin authors with James VI. of Scotland. He was so far from raising a fortune, that he spent his patrimony in the service of the public; and was buried in the night, at the expense of his friends, who were apprehensive that his corpse might be arrested for debt."—*Granger*.

“ORDERS AND PAINES establyshed made and conformed by the Grett Inqueste of & for our Sou'ane Lady the Quene within the Tounne and Borowe of Banbury to be obs'ued and kept for eu' establyshed & greed vppon the xxiiij day of Aprell 1564 Anno R' R' Elizabethe n'ne Regine Anglie &c sexto.”

1st. “For setting op- } “Fyrste we doo order & decree that no man
pon of Shope Wyndowes } nor woman of what dedre or occupatyon so eu'
thay be wythin the p'cyncts of thys lyb'ty shall
vppon the Sabot Day or other festyuall day sett oppe' any ther shope or
shoppe wyndowes to vse ope' bying or selleng nether vse wythin ther
housses any kynd of syenes labor or manuall occupatyon other then the
lawes of thys realme wyll p'myte but eu'y man & woman to eu' to the
churche in tyme of devyne s'uyce' vppon payne eu' man fonde defectyve
to forfyte & pay for eu'y offence iijs iiij*d* hauyng no resonable excuse
lawfully prouyd the oone halfe of wyche forfeit or forfytures to remayne
& be leuyed to the vse of the Chamb' of the seyd corporatyon & the other
halfe to be leuyed & payed to the releue of the pore people.”

2nd. The next item is;—“For vittellers selleng ayle or other vitall in
tyme of devyne s'uyce.” The sale is forbidden on pain as above.

3rd. The 3rd item is “For takyng of inmates.” “No inhabyt' to re-
cyeue into his house any inmate or und' tenente wythe owte lycense of the
Bayly & Justyce of the Peace on payne of forfyteng vjs viij*d* & to have
ij days of impressonement and any person keepyng any inmate or und'
tenente nott lysoned aboue xij days nott only to forfyte xls but to loose
his freedom & lyb'ty of the Tounne for eu' after except on new redemcyon.”

4th. “For the Clen- } “Itm Wee do establyshe & order that the
sing of the P'sones } inhabyt's dwellynge betweene the northe barre
Layne. } & the nether end of the P'sones Layne estwarde
& also the Fermor of the P'sonege shall yerly

clense ther stretes & the grounds afore ther dores yerly a fore the feest
of Est' & the same so clensed the fylthe therof to be caryed away yerly
a fore the feest of the Assencyon & so eu'y yere quartly to be clensed
& caryed away vppon payne eu'y man defectyve for eu'y offynce to loose
forfyte & pay iijs iiij*d* And the lyke ord's & paynes to be for all other
streetes in the towne.”

5th. The fifth item is against laying wood in the streets.

6th. “For the iij pla- } “Itm we doe establyshe & decrey that ther
ces for laying of dong. } shalbe no fylthe nor dong layed wythin any
strete wythin the lyb'tys of the toвне or layne
but in foure places here mencyoned & appoynted that ys to sey the fyrste
in Sent Jones Strett ou' agaynst the house where the wyff of Hewe
Slee nowe dwellythe the second a gaynst a crosse latly Jone Wyb'tones
in the Northe Barre Strete the thurd wyth owte colle barre on the est
syde xx*vi* fooyte frome the barre & the forthe so what be nexthe the housse
where Will'm P'kyns dwelleth in & xij foyte frome the hey wey & he that
dothe the contrary to forfyt & pay for eu'y offence xij*d*.”

7th. Against laying “fylthe or dong wythin the Scaldynge Layne.”

8th. “For clensing the bochers shampulls & eu' wyke to carry a wey
the fylth.”

9th. “That no man shall ley in soke nor washe any felts in Charwell
nor throw in pelts into the wat' wythin xx*vi* foyte of the brege.”

10th. “Itm we do order that no man shall ley any caryen or empty
any p'uy or Jakes in the Goose Leysew or els where in any place within
the p'sycts of this toвне but shall bury the same vi foyte wythin the
grounde vppon payne eu'y man offendyng to loose forfyte & pay for eu'y
tyme vjs viij*d*.”

11th. This item declares “Where shope pennes shall be sett;” namely,
frome the east syde of Mast' Hartlett yate where Thom's Necoll now or
late dwellyde eastward and frome the est corn' of Bartyl Ekelfeld housse
westward.”

12th. Regulates the price of pens. No man "shall take for the lynch of an hurdull nott ou' & aboue jd & on holly thursday corpus x'ri daye & eu'y fayre day nott above iiij*d* for a pen;" on pain of forfeiting xij*d*.

13th. Strangers bringing sheep to sell to put them in the pens (if any be empty); on pain of forfeiting iiij*d* for every sheep.

14th. That no person "shall sett any ryke or houell wythe furses fagotts strawe or corne but in such places as shalbe thought most meyte by the Bayly & Justyce of the Peace as well for the save garde of the own's as other ther neyburns."

15th. "The Mylne Layne yerely before the feeste of Est'" to be "clensed vpon payne of xx*d*" for every defaulter.

16th. "The lyke payne we make & order for the Scaldyng Layne & all other laynes & stretts where people co'molly travell."

17th. "For selling" } "Itm we order & decree that noo inhabyt of egges. }

wythin the tovn shalby any egges to sett in ther wyndowes or other wyse to sell owte of ther housses neyther by smaylle or grett but Inkep's & other Vytel'ers admytted to kepe vyttelynge housses & to spend them in ther housses upon payne eu'y man defectyve to loose & pay for eu'y tyme vjs viij*d*."

18th. "For mend- } "Itm wee doo order & constytute that the ynge the Grattes a bowte } Farm' of the P'sonage shall yerly & at all tymes the Churche yerde. } & frome tyme to tyme repayre amend & meytayne the grattes a bowte the Churche Yerde in

good ord' & in thos places here to fore of ancylent tyme vsed & in suche lyke sorte as all people may have safe passage to the Churche & at all tymes may be a lawfull defence to kepe furthe Swyne & other vndecent cattell vppon payne of xls for eu'y thre wykes lynch & knowne in defaulte for lake of amendement as is afore seyde."

19th. "The Cuttelbroke shall yerely be clensed frome the housse wherin John Wysdom³⁰ nowe dwellyth in to the housse wherein Will'm Hancoke dwellythe at the costes and charges yerly of the inhabyt's dwellynge on the northe syde of the same broke & the fylthe there furthe yerly to be caste on the northe syde of the same Brouke."

20th. "That the same Cuttelbrouke betwene the northe barre & the house that John Wysdom dwellythe in shall yerely be clensed at the coste & charges of the inhabyt's dwellynge in Banbury & whosse groundes ar adjoynynge to the same & that no man shall turne the same Brouke of Wat' owte or furthe of the ryght coursse except lycense obteyned of the leyte & not hurtfull to the brouke vppon payne for eu'y defauyt vjs viij*d*."

21st. That "Ther shall no hogges goo abrode wythin the market place nor in any strette wherein market ys kept vppon the market day rynged or unrynged."

22nd. That "no man shall swepe ther gutt's in to the Cuttelbrouke or caste any fylthe in to the same nor suffure any geyse or doukes to goo in the same brouke nor shall sett any honey barelles or other vessell in souke."

23rd. That "no man shall lett ther hogges goo abroade in any p'te of the Toune unrynged nor no swyne nor geese to goo wythin the Churche Yerde."

24th. That "nether Inkep' Vytteler or any other man dwellynge wythin the p'syncts of this tovn shall receyue or loge in ther housses ether begg' or vagrant p'sone wytheowte lycense of the offyc's vppon payne eu'y man defectyue to pay for eu'y tyme iij*s* iiij*d* & to have ij days of impressionment."

25th. That "No Inhold'" or other man should suffer any "prentes or chylde" to play at any unlawful games, or spend their masters' or parents' goods; or receive of them any kind "of ware for ther expences or vyttell;" on pain of forfeiting vjs viij*d* and to have two days' imprisonment.

Under the same penalties, no innholder or other man shall suffer to come within his house "any journeyman or couen'nte s'uant to play at any vnlawfull gaymes."

No man (innkeepers excepted) to sell "ayle or vyttell," unless bound in recognisance.

26th. "Yt ys agreed that no man shall sell any charcolle a boue iiij*d* the stryke," on pain of forfeiting 2*s*.

27th. "Vynten' [Vintners] shall sell ther wyne in mesures sysed & seled."

28th. "All that ether sell hony or oyle shall have ther messures sysed & selled."

29th. "That all the coman Brewers shall kepe ther assyse geuen them wykly by the Bayly or his depute & shall make bothe ther ayle & drynk good & holsome for mans body & well & suffycient barmed and nether clense furthe ther ayle nor drynk tyll the tasters have tasted & alowed yt upon payne for eu'y offence vjs viij*d*."

30th. Sets forth the duties of the Tasters.

31st. "For a sawcy" } "Itm we do order that no sawcy beche shall beche. } goo abrode wythin the p'syncetes of this toвне upon payne of iij*s* iiij*d*."

32nd. "For frey & } "Itm that what man' of p'sone or p'sones so blod. } eu' dothe make any frey or drawethe blode shalbe comytted to warde & ther to remayne vnto suche tyme as the p'te who made the fray to pay for the frey iij*s* iiij*d* & yf ther be bloude drauen for the bloude shede vjs viij*d*, & the wepon forfytte wherwythe the frey or bloude was made with the offer in tryall of the offend' to be juged by the ij constables & iij thythingmen," &c. &c.

33rd. All property which had found a watchman within 40 years to continue to find the same.

34th. "That no Jernemayn except he be a freeman shall kepe eney staylle or standynge place vpon the m'ket or fayre day beneythe Roger Jacksones standynge vpon payne of iij*s* iiij*d*."

35th. "Itm all thos that bryngeth any peres aples or other frute to sell shall stand & make saylle thereof ou' agaynst Mast' Longes housse next to the well ou' & agaynst Will'm Hylles housse & in no other place."

36th. "All the Bochers & Chandelers to obs'ue & kepe the pryces of talowe & candell sett by the Bayly beyng clark of the Markett."

37th. That "ther shalbe no stalles of fyshe but in the place now apoynted ou' agaynst mast' Longes house & that the place for fyshmong's be not forstalled by any other stalle or standyng & that no fysher stalle nether strang' or townes man any nether the Crosse on the south syde than Will'm Longes housse & on the northe syde the shope of Thomas Longe."

38th. "No woode or nowance" to be laid from the house of Thomas Longe to the garden in the occupation of Robert Pope."

39th. That "No man' of p'son shall feche leed or cary any dongè or mucke furthe of the tovn but betwene the fyrst day of May & the feest of Sent Michell tharckangell."³¹

The Town Seal of Banbury is entered in the Heralds' Visitations of 1566³² and 1574³³ (see Plate 26, fig. 2). The following arms are stated by Browne Willis³⁴ to have been taken by the Corporation, but at what date is not mentioned:—Az. the Sun in glory Or (see Plate 26, fig. 3); and, On a Mount Vert a Lily Arg. In base the letters B A (see Plate 26, fig 4).

(31) Book of accounts &c. preserved by the present Town Clerk.

(32) Harl. MS., 1097.

(33) Harl. MS., 1095.

(34) Notit. Parl.

The Corporation made some new By-Laws on the 2nd Sept., 1573. (15th Eliz.)

ABSTRACT OF THE BY-LAWS OF THE CORPORATION, 15th Eliz.

The choice of Bailiff. On the morrow after St. Matthew the Apostle the Common Council shall repair to the common hall, and the bailiff shall call to him the justice and two other aldermen, who shall name two aldermen to stand for the office of Bailiff; who shall be approved by the remainder. And then "the sayd baylyf to goe fo^rmost havinge the S^riant at Mace afore him wth his mace on his right shoulder And aft' the baylyf shall folow the justyce and next after the same two elect shall go together and then all the rest of the sayd Aldermen and Burgesses in their auneyentye to accompanye the baylyf to his howse and then to depart for that tyme." And on Michaelmas day following "the Aldermen and Burgesses of the sayd burrow together wth the said two elect shall betwene twelve and one of the clock in the aft' noone of the same day repayre vnto the baylyf his howse then beinge wthin the same burrowe and ther decentlye arayed wth gownes and capps and oth^r comly apparayle in sage and dyscreet manner shall make their aboade vntyll the sayd baylyf shalbe redye to go to the sayd election and then in lyke manner according to their auneyentye and degrees in offyce to accompanie the same baylyfe from his howse vnto the churche and from thence to the sayd co^mon hall and the offycer called the S^riant at mace for the sayd burrowe shall go before the sayd baylyf in a longe gowne havinge the one end of his mace in his hand the other leanyng vpon his ryght shoulder." The two aldermen elect having retired to an inner chamber, the paper of their election being produced, the Bailiff, Aldermen and Burgesses present were severally to set "prycks" against the name of him they would have to be Bailiff. The two aldermen being then brought to the bar, "the Stewarde or Town Clarke to go to the barr and takynge the ald^rman to whom most voyces shall chaunce to be gyven by the hand shall bryng him to the Clarkes table vpon which standynge the ould baylyf shall pronounce to him his election and therevpon the Steward or Town Clarke shall gyve him his othe and then the ould baylyf in takynge him by the hand shall gyve him his place & delyu' vp his mace and wyshe him good successe in his offyce and all the howse shall say Amen."

Then follow

The Bailiff's oath of office;

Penalties;

Elections in case of death; &c.

In respect that the Bailiff "is to be a lanthorne in good vsage and order as well to all the rest of his brethren as to the whole comynalty of the sayd boroughe therefore the sayd baylyf shall well and decently behave himself in all degrees and indyfferently and ryghtlye iudge and deale towards all men of the same borowe accordynge to the ryght of the cause and so lykewyse shalbe comelye attyred in apparayle aft' a comelye sage and dyscreet order and alsoe at all soch tyme as he shalbe occatyoned to go into the said towne or the p^ambulac^on of the same ether on the fayre dayes markett dayes or anye other tymes and about the exec^on of his offyce or togayth^r with his brethren touchinge anye affayres or busynes of the sayd boroughe he shall have on his gowne and in lyke manner when it shall fortune the sayd baylyf to accompanie anye noble or worshipfull wthin the sayd towne and in all the sayd doinge he shall have the S^riant at Mace to be attendant vpon him with his mace."

At all meetings, "and evrye Sondag and holyday at the Church we the said Aldermen and Burgesses and our successors and eu^eye of vs shall have and weare a longe gowne and capp vpon payne eu^eye one of vs" to forfeit for every offence iij^s iiij^d.

"Yt shall be lawful for the sayd baylyf justyce aldermen & burgesses.

or the more part of them by agreement to remove soch obstynate p'son from their companye and neverthelesse to comytt soch p'son for his sayd contempte to the co'mon Gaoyle of the Towne there to remaine by soch space as shalbe thought convenyent and meet for his contumacye."

Aldermen and Burgesses not to inhabit out of the Borough. Inhabitants shall not be sued by inhabitants in actions cognizable under the letters patent except in the borough courts.

"All manner of freemen as well resyant wthin the sayd boroughe as wthout" to keep the orders of the "Common Counsaile," as well touching the order of "Companyes of Craftesmen" as other matters; "and eu'ye of them that shall openly or secretly dyspyse dysdayne resyst or deprave the same beinge thereof duely convicted by examynac'on before the sayd comon counsaile or the more part of them to forfeitt and pay soch fyne as shalbe taxed and seased by the sayd com'on counsaile and also suffer one dayes emprysonm^t wthout bayle or maynpryse."

"All and eu'ye p'son and p'sons beinge of the Com'yналty free or not free that shall wyllingly advysedlye malyciously and slanderously rayse vp speake talke wryte synge or say any false report of or agaynst the sayd co'mon counsaile or anie of them for acte or actes thinge or thinges done or sayd spoken or declared by them or anye of them syttinge in co'mon counsaile for the sayd boroughe or syttinge in place of iustyce in the court of recorde or leet or other court of the sayd boroughe or yf that any soch p'son or p'sons of the com'yналtye shall rayse p'nounce or declare by speakinge wrytinge or synginge or otherwyse anye soch matter abovesayd upon report of anye other p'son or p'sons and beinge required to dysclose the same p'son and wyll not then the same p'son so reportinge soch talke to be taken for the pryncypall speaker of the sayd slaunderous talke vntyll he shall playnly showe his auc'tor and neu'thelesse as well eu'ye soch p'son and p'sons so raying up anye slanderous talke as also eu'ye soch p'son and p'sons that shall upon report declare the same and wyll not vtter his auc'tor (beinge of the same offences or anye of them duely convicted by examynac'on) to haue and suffer soch fyne taxed vpon him them and eu'ye of them as by the sayd co'mon counsaile or the more part of them shall be thought meete and neverthelesse for his and their contempte to be comytted to prysonn there to remayne for the space of three dayes wthout bayle or maynprise wch sayd fyne and fynes and eu'ye of them to be levyed by attachm^t."

Two Wardens or Masters to be yearly chosen by every Company.

Foreigners, before being admitted freemen, to compound with the Company whereof they mean to be to pay to the "Chamberlain xij*d* & to the S'iant vjd." ³⁵

Ludovick Grevile, the descendant of the GREVILES of DRAYTON mentioned in p. 174, was lord of the manor of Drayton in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, having succeeded to the estate at the age of 22 years. In the 9th Eliz. he obtained from the Queen permission to erect a castle at Milcot in Warwickshire; and by this and other expenses he greatly injured his fortune. To recruit his finances, he formed a design upon the estate and life of one Webb, a wealthy bachelor, who had been his servant, and was then the occupier of his Drayton estate. Ludovick Grevile invited his victim to a merry-making, at his residence at Seasoncot

(35) The copy of the By-Laws which is contained in the Book of accounts &c. preserved by the present Town Clerk, was afterwards altered and interlined in order to adapt the same to the Charter of James the First.

in Gloucestershire; and then hired two of his servants to strangle his visitor in bed. The murder being thus perpetrated, it was given out that Webb was sick and apparently in danger; the parson was sent for to make his will; and one of the murderers was put into the bed, with the curtains drawn close, where he continued moaning, to enact the part of a dying man. The will which was thus fabricated bequeathed the whole of Webb's property to his former master Ludovick Grevile; with the exception of one legacy, which was given to an attorney in Banbury, whose mouth "thereby being stopt," it was supposed that no one else was likely to interfere about either Webb's life or property.³⁶ A report was then spread that Webb's sickness increased; and next that he died.

The above representation appears to have met with credit, until one of the murderers talked indiscreetly of the affair, when "in his cups" in a publick house at Stratford upon Avon, where he stated that "he could hang his master." Hereupon, fearful of a discovery, Grevile sent out the two murderers on a dark night on pretended business, with secret instructions to the less talkative of the two that he was to murder the other. This second diabolical act was committed, and the body was thrown into a pit of water; but, it being afterwards discovered, and the assassin confessing his guilt, both master and man were tried for their crimes at Warwick. Grevile, desirous to prevent the loss of his lands, refused to plead to the indictment, and was consigned to the fate then decreed in such cases: he received judgment to be pressed, and suffered death accordingly.³⁷

Anthony Cope Esq. was chosen representative for Banbury in the Parliament which met in the 13th Eliz. (1571); and also in all the succeeding Parliaments of Elizabeth, except that of the 27th year of her reign (1585), when Richard Ferris (Fenys or Fiennes) Esq. was returned.³⁸ This Richard Fenys was descended from James de Fenys, lord Saye and Sele, who was beheaded by Cade's

(36) Wood's MS., 8474.

(37) Wood's MS., 8474. Edward, son and heir of this Ludovick Grevile, succeeded to the lordships which had belonged to his father. In his younger years, this Edward Grevile, when shooting with a long-bow upright, discharged an arrow which fell on his elder brother's head and killed him. The father, Ludovick, was so little properly sensible of the event, that he made a jest, telling Edward that it was the best shot he had made in his life. Edward Grevile was afterwards knighted: he married Joan, daughter of Sir Thomas Bromley, chancellor of England; but, being much involved in debt, he sold his estate; and, having only daughters surviving him, the elder branch of the family of the Greviles of Drayton and Milcot became extinct.—*Brydges's Collins's Peerage*.

(38) Willis's Notit. Parl.; &c.

rebels (see pp. 174, 175); and he was the first of the family that regained the title after the death of William lord Saye, the son of that nobleman. In 1595 he is styled Sir Richard Fenys knight; and in the same year (37th Eliz.) the castle of Banbury was leased by the Queen to his three children, then minors.³⁹ In 1603, James the First revived in his person the barony of Saye

(39) The original lease is in the possession of the Hon. T. W. Twisleton Fiennes. This instrument grants "to our beloved William Fenys the son of the aforesaid Richard Fenys knight and Ursula Fenys and Elizabeth Fenys daughters of the aforesaid Richard Fenys knight All that our Castle of Banbury with all and every its appurtenances in our county of Oxford parcel of our manor of Banbury aforesaid and parcel of the lands and possessions which John the late Earl of Warwick [Duke of Northumberland] lately had And before times parcel of the possessions which the bishops of Lincoln held And all and singular houses horse-stables dove-houses orchard for apples gardens wastes leys courts yards And one parcel of land called the Stew containing one rood of land whether more or less and all other profits commodities easements and emoluments within the bounds sight circuits and precincts of the same Castle and Walls of the same with the Fosse and the Banks beyond the Walls surrounding the aforesaid Castle with all and singular our liberties of egress and regress with all appurtenances to the said Castle belonging or appertaining Also that our Hundred of Banbury with its members and appurtenances in our said county of Oxford in the said diocese of Lincoln formerly appertaining and belonging and parcel of the possessions which the aforesaid John late Earl of Warwick lately held And all that certain annual Rent of the aforesaid Hundred paid in the different villages following (namely) in Shutford 9s 10d in Clayton otherwise Claydon 8s in Swacliffe 13s 4d in Burton Magna and Burton Parver 10s in Prescot 10s in Hardwick 12d in Nethrope and Crowthrope 8s within Swacliffe 3s in the Prebend of Banbury 6s 8d in Williamscoot 5s and in Lee 5s And all manner of courts leet views of frankpledge with all perquisites and profits of the same Also all suits at the Court of the Hundred aforesaid Also goods and chattels waifs estrays goods and chattels of felons and fugitives and all other liberties franchises jurisdictions profits commodities advantages and emoluments whatsoever in the Hundred aforesaid appertaining or belonging or within the Hundred aforesaid happening coming renewing or being in as full and ample manner and form as any Bishop or Bishops of the said bishoprick of Lincoln had in the said Hundred or as they had held or enjoyed or that were to be had held or enjoyed or ought or should be held and in the fullest manner and form as they all and singular of them came to our hands or to the hands of our well beloved predecessors Henry the Eighth and Edward the Sixth formerly kings of England or to the hands of either of them or to the hands of our heretofore beloved sister Mary formerly queen of England were payable or ought to be paid as into our hands they ought to be paid And all those Closes or Close formerly called Castle Orchard lying within our lordship of Banbury aforesaid in our said county of Oxford with all its appurtenances parcel of our manor of Banbury aforesaid and parcel of the possession which the said John late Earl of Warwick formerly held there Except nevertheless always reserved to our heirs and successors all and all manner of fines amerciements accruing annually or from time to time hereafter becoming payable in any of our Courts of Record or to be taken in the Court of the Hundred aforesaid or before our Justices of Assize or our Justices of the Peace or Clerk of our Markets or in any ways arising or happening within the liberty or collection of either of them within the Hundred aforesaid Also except and in like manner to us our heirs and successors All those certain annual rents in Wardington Cotty alias Cott Cropredy in the aforesaid county of Oxford being parcel of certain rents of the Hundred of Banbury aforesaid and all trees woods underwoods mines which in the said premises are," &c. For the Castle and Hundred, an annual rent of 78s. is to be paid; and for the Castle Orchard a like rent of 40s. The instrument then goes on—"Also the said William Fenys Ursula Fenys and Elizabeth Fenys and their assigns The aforesaid Castle of Banbury aforesaid and all houses edifices moats fosses enclosures shores banks and fortification walls and all necessary reparation of the premises from time to time and at all times necessary which ought to be done at their own proper expense well and sufficiently shall repair support sustain cleanse keep and maintain during the separate terms aforesaid and so shall leave the said premises so repaired at the end of their separate terms And we will and by these presents grant unto the aforesaid William Ursula and Elizabeth and their assigns that it should be lawful for them or either of them from time to time to take receive and have growing on the said premises competent and sufficient house-boot hedge-boot plough-boot and cart-boot there and not elsewhere to be expended and used during the term aforesaid and that they shall have materials in wood and stone to be found on the land part of the said premises for the use and reparation of the Castle and house edifices aforesaid," &c.

and Sele. He inherited Broughton, by descent from William Lord Saye and his wife Margaret the daughter and heiress of Sir Thomas Wickeham (see p. 175). Fuller says—"he was a worthy gentleman, and bred fellow (being the founder's kinsman) of New College in Oxford." He died in 1612.⁴⁰

The above-named Anthony Cope Esq. is styled of Hanwell, Hardwick, and Grimsbury. He was chosen member for Banbury in the following Parliaments of Elizabeth;—the third Parliament of Elizabeth, in 1571; the fourth Parliament, in 1572 (which continued eleven years); the sixth, in 1586; the seventh, in 1588; the eighth, in 1592–3; the ninth, in 1597; and the tenth, in 1601.⁴¹ This Anthony Cope was the son of Edward Cope before mentioned (p. 194, in note 46), and grandson of Sir Anthony Cope the son of the Cofferer.⁴²

Anthony Cope resided at HANWELL.⁴³ He was one of the leaders of the early Puritans. On the 27th February 1587–8, after speaking in the House of Commons touching the necessity of a learned ministry and the amendment of things amiss in the ecclesiastical estate, he offered to the House a bill and a written book; the bill containing a petition that it might be enacted, that all laws then in force touching ecclesiastical government should be void, and that the book then offered, being a form of Common Prayer, and none other, might be received into the Church to be used. The Speaker hereupon interposed that her Majesty had commanded the House not to meddle with this matter, and desired that it would please the House to spare the reading of the Book. This was over-ruled by the House, and the Book was ordered to be read: whereupon Mr. Dalton observed, that it was not meet to be read, as it appointed a new form of administration

(40) Fuller's *Worthies*. Sir Richard is reputed to have resided at one period at his manor-house at Shutford, some remains of which yet exist, the building having been converted into a farm-house.

(41) Willis's *Notit. Parl. &c.*

(42) Baker's *Northamp.*, p. 748.

(43) In the 26th Elizabeth (1584), there is a lease from the Crown of two water mills, with appurtenances, within the borough of Banbury, and the hame to the said mills adjoining, to Anthony Cope Esq. In the 29th Eliz. the premises are described as having been lately in decay for lack of reparations, so that one of the said mills had fallen down to the ground, "the newe buyldinge wherof together wth the repaying of the other did coste the sayd Mr. Cope above one hundredth marks." Whereupon a new lease was granted for the term of 41 years, on payment of a rent and fine specified. (Particulars of Leases in the Augmentation Office.) In the 8th James I. (1610), Sir Anthony Cope obtained a grant of the manor of Grimsbury, in the counties of Oxford and Northampton, with the water-mill and lands as particularly described, parcel of the late monastery of Bicester, of the yearly value of £13. 6s. 8d. Probably this was to remove any doubt which might arise on the validity of the title, in consequence of its having been forfeited by the former grantees. (Baker's *Northamp.*, p. 748.) The manor-house at Grimsbury was within these few years an humble abode: it was taken down in 1836, and a new residence has since been erected on the site by E. L. Fisher Esq.

of the Sacraments and Ceremonies of the Church, to the discredit of the Book of Common Prayer and the whole state; and he thought this dealing would bring her Majesty's indignation against the House, thus to enterprise the dealing with those things which her Majesty had especially taken into her own charge and direction. Mr. Lewkenor spoke next, in favour of the motion that the Book be read; and two other members, Harleston and Bainbrigg, followed on the same side: when, the time being passed, the House broke up. Queen Elizabeth hereupon sent to the Speaker for the Petition and Book; and, on the 2nd March (after Mr. Wentworth had, on the 1st, delivered to the Speaker certain articles touching the liberties of the House), Anthony Cope, Lewkenor, Harleston, and Bainbrigg, were sent for before the Privy Council, and committed to the Tower; whither Wentworth had been committed on the preceding evening. Two days after, Sir John Higham made a motion in the House, "that since several good and necessary members of that House were taken from them, it would please them to be humble Petitioners to her Majesty for the restitution of them again to the House." The Vice-Chamberlain argued against the motion, and observed that the House would soon know more: as for the Book and the Petition, her Majesty, for good causes best known to herself, had thought fit to suppress them without any farther examination.⁴⁴ The Five Members continued prisoners until the dissolution of the Parliament on the 23rd March.

However, the Queen's displeasure towards Anthony Cope does not appear to have been lasting, for she knighted him in 1590, in which year he was also appointed sheriff for Oxfordshire—an office which he had before served in 1581–2 (24th Eliz.).⁴⁵ In 1601 Sir Anthony made preparations to receive a visit which the Queen intended to pay him at Hanwell, but which does not seem to have taken place.⁴⁶ In September of that year, when the Queen was at Caversham at the seat of her minister Sir Francis Knollys, Sir Anthony Cope went there to wait upon her, "with a great shew and train of retainers." He appears to have been in much favour with James the First, who appointed him his first high sheriff for Oxfordshire, on his accession in 1603.⁴⁷ he then retired from public life to his seat at Hanwell, where he is recorded

(44) *Parl. Hist. Eng.*, v. 4, pp. 314–319.(46) *Nichol's Progresses of James I.*, v. 1, p. 525.(45) *Fuller's Worthies*.(47) *Fuller's Worthies*.

to have kept "a hospitable house in the old English style" and to have lived beloved and respected by his neighbours and countrymen. Here he entertained King James and his Queen for a day and a night on the 20th August 1605; and again on the occasion of a second visit, on the 27th August 1612.⁴⁸ He was called from his retirement to serve in Parliament for Oxfordshire in the second Parliament of James I., in 1614;⁴⁹ and died, full of honour and universally lamented, soon after its dissolution, in the same year. He had been created a baronet on the first institution of that order in 1611, and had received from the King a grant of the dissolved abbey of Brewern, or Bruerne, in this county, and of some of the lands of the dissolved Chantry of St. Mary at Westbury in Gloucestershire.⁵⁰ Sir Anthony was buried at Hanwell in July 1614,⁵¹ when his funeral sermon was preached by the celebrated puritan Dr. Harris, whom he had presented to the rectory. In the Church at Hanwell, in the north wall of the chancel, is a handsome monument, in the mixed Italian style of the time; where, partly within an arch flanked by Corinthian columns, is a recumbent effigy of Sir Anthony Cope, clad in armour, carved in white marble: a little below and in front is represented, in the curious dress of the day, his first lady, Frances, of the family of the Lyttons of Knebworth in Hertfordshire (and sister of Sir Rowland Lytton of Knebworth, captain of the band of gentlemen pensioners to Queen Elizabeth), who died in the year 1600. There are three escutcheons of arms; one displaying the family bearings of the Cope family; another, "Or, a Cross engrailed Sab." for Mohun,⁵² impaling Cope: and the third, Cope, impaling "Erm. On a chief indented Azure three ducal coronets Or" for Lytton. A Latin inscription on three tablets is as follows:—

(48) Nichol's Progresses.

(49) Willis's Notit. Parl.

(50) Rudder's Gloucestershire, pp. 292, 370.

(51) Sir Anthony had three daughters. The eldest, Anne, married Sir John Leigh, ancestor (by a former wife) of the now extinct Lords Leigh of Stoneleigh. (Register of Kensington; Collins's Peerage, 1768, v. 7, p. 18.) Elizabeth married, at Hanwell, Sir Richard Cecil, second son of Thomas first Earl of Exeter and ancestor by her of the present Marquis of Exeter. (Register of Hanwell; Collins's Peerage, v. 3, pp. 119, 120.) The youngest, Mary, married, at Hanwell, Henry Champenown, of Dartington in Devonshire, Esq.—*Register of Hanwell; Playfair's Family Antiq.*

(52) The marshalling of this coat exemplifies a custom of the heralds of that age, of placing the lady's arms on the dexter side of the shield in certain cases when she was of high and noble birth, or brought in the representation of her own blood and line to her husband's family. The arms above noted are those of Edward Cope of Hanwell Esq. (Sir Anthony's father), and Elizabeth his wife, daughter and heiress of Walter Mohun of Wollaston in Northamptonshire, Esq., who derived from a younger son of John Lord Mohun, of Dunster in Somersetshire, who died in 1330.

[FIRST TABLET.]

HIC IACET SEPULT; VIR VERE NOBILIS
ANTONIUS COPE, MILES & BARONETT;
QVI OBLIT POST QVAM CONIVGIUM CVM
DVABVS NOBILISSIMIS VXORIBVS SANC-
-TISSIME COLVERAT, & EX EARVM ALTERA
QVATVOR FILIOS & TRES FILIAS SVSCEPERAT
ANNO SALVTIS QVIDEM NOSTRÆ
1614.

ÆTATIS VERO SVÆ 66.

[SECOND TABLET.]

EPICEDION HONORATISSIMI VIRI A. C.
OLIM MILITIS & BARONETTI
IN EFFIGIEM.

SICCINE DIVINUM NOBIS HEROA REPONIS
EFFIGIES? VULT; SICCINE ET ORA REFERS?
SICCINE DEFORMIS TIBI TRUNC; INVILIS EXCORS?
SICCINE SORDEBAT QVEM PIA TVRBA STVPET?
AST FALLOR: PRVDENT? AGIS, DVM NOCTE RECONDIS
DICERE QVÆ NEQVEVNT MARMORA, MVSA, DIES.
AT LICET ILLIVS NON SIS PRECONIA FANDO
FINGE TAMEN VOCEM, AC VLTIMA VERBA REFER.

[THIRD TABLET.]

EFFIGIES AD LECTOREM.

QVÆ TE FATA MANENT EX ME VEL DISCE (VIATOR)
QVO NEMO A FATIS TVTIOR ESSE POTEST.
EST FORMOSA TIBI CONIVX, NVMEROSAQ. PROLES.
EST DOMVS & FVNDVS, GLORIA, FORMA, DECVS
CORPORIS, AC ANIMI DOTES: PRVDENSQ. PIVSQ.
SOBRIVS & CASTVS DICERIS: ESTO: MIHI
ET CONIVX PRECLARA FVIT, NVMEROSAQ. PROLES.
ET DOMVS & FVNDVS, GLORIA, FORMA, DECVS
CORPORIS, AC ANIMI DOTES: PRVDENSQ. PIVSQ.
SICCVS ERAM & SANVS (SI QVA FIDES POPVLO
NAM MEQ. ME MEMORARE PIGET) MORS ISTA MORATVR
NIL MINVS; ERGO ETIAM TE TVA FATA MANENT
—SERIVS AVT CITIVS, MORS VLTIMA LINEA RERV
MARMORE TE CONDET; CESPITIVSQ. TEGET.

CONCLUSIO.

QUOD MORS UNA DOCET DIXI, DEHINC CETERA MITTO:
UNA RESURGENDI SPESQ. FIDESQ. MANET:
VNA SALUS CHRISTUS DEUS ET PATER VNUS, & UNA
VRNA DOMUS PRESENS, VNA FUTURA POLUS.

R. H.⁵³ ÆTERNÆ
MEMORIÆ
SVMMI VIRI
D. D.

The early prevalence of Puritan principles in Banbury is not evidenced merely by the facts just related, concerning the part which was taken in Parliament by the representative of the town against the measures of the Court. There is further proof of such principles being prevalent in some particulars relating to the then Vicar of Banbury, THOMAS BRASBRIDGE. This person was born, according to Anthony à Wood, in Northamptonshire; but he himself speaks of his father's living at Banbury when he was a child.⁵⁴ His birth occurred in or near the year 1537, some years before the parish register commences. Brasbridge

(53) Robertus Harris.

(54) Poore Mans Iewell. There are entries in the parish register of burials of William Brasbridge on the 26th March 1576, and of Alice Brasbridge on the 22nd April 1580.

was elected demy of Magdalene College, Oxford, at the age of 16 years, by the endeavours of Peter Morwyng, in 1553; and, after he had continued a sedulous student for some years, was elected probationer-fellow of All Souls College in 1558, and admitted B. A. on the 18th November in the same year. Thence he returned to Magdalene College, of which he became fellow in 1562; and soon after (Oct. 20th, 1564) proceeding in arts, he applied his mind to divinity and physic. In 1574 he supplicated to be admitted to the reading of the sentences, but whether he was ever admitted does not appear.¹ The next year he resigned his fellowship; he having, says Wood, "a spiritual cure, or school, or both, conferred on him at, or near to, Banbury in Oxfordshire, where, as it seems, he practised physic."² It is certain however that Brasbridge resided in London for some years.³ In 1581, on the 19th September, he was inducted to the perpetual vicarage of Banbury, "by Jonas Wheeler schoolmaster; the Bailiff and other elders of the town being there present and consenting."⁴ Wood was ignorant of this part of Brasbridge's history, and he entirely loses sight of him in 1586. Brasbridge continued to reside at Banbury in 1592;⁵ but he ceased to be vicar in 1590, on grounds of conscience taken by the early Puritans. The following are copies of some original documents which are preserved among Lord Burleigh's papers:—⁶

"To ye Righte Honorable and our very good Lord the Lord Treasurer of England [Lord Burleigh] one of her Maiesty most honorable Privy Co'nsaile, &c.

"Righte honorable whereas Thomas Brasebrige many yeares a preacher of ye worde of God, allowed by the vniu'sitye of Oxon was by the p'sentation of her maiestye placed amongste vs for our pastor, of whose godlye conu'sation we are all witnesses: where also he haith the paynfullye labored in his vocation, teachinge vs our dutyes towards god, her maiestye and of one towards another: So it is (Righte honorable) that ye said m^r Brasebrige is either altogether or verie lyke to be depryved of ye small

(1) Wood elsewhere says that Brasbridge supplicated to be admitted B. D. in 1574, but was "not at all admitted in this university."

(2) *Athenæ Oxon.*; *Fasti. Oxon.*

(3) Brasbridge's *Poore Mans Iewell*.

(4) Parish Register.—"Anno D'ni 1581.—Anno d'ni suprascripto & decimo nono die Septembris, Thomas Brasbrige artium Magister in perpetuam vicariam de Banburie inductus est per Jonam Wheelerum Pædagogum ibidem presentibus & consentientibus Baliis & Senioribus alijs eiusdem oppidi, & octavo Octobris proxime sequente dictus Thomas Brasbrige legit Articulos de confessione fidei, & doctrina Sacramentorum, per Episcopos & alios Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Antistites editos Anno D'ni 1562: Hos inquam, (quemadmodum per quendam actum Parlamenti statutum est) Articulos legit, die dominico post secundam sacrarum literarum lectionem, & eisdem assensus est coram parocis suis ad vespertinas preces ibidem congressis. his Testibus Jonas Wheeler Mathewe Wigget Edward Weston."

(5) Dedication to *Poore Mans Iewell*, 2nd edit.

(6) Lansdowne MSS., No. 64, lettered "Burghley Papers 1590," in the Brit. Mus.

livinge he had emongst vs, some matters of ceremonies beinge prosecuted against him by suche his adversaries of whose vyolence and wronge towards him y^e whole contrye haith the harde. In tender considerac'on wherof, and for that the mayntenaunce in this place is so small that no learned man will vndertake the same, wherbye we are lyke to be ledd by an vnfitt guyde: May it please yo^r honor yf vpon his relation of ye matter it shall seeme reasonable to vouchsafe vs the inhabitants of Banburye yo^r honorable fauour to be a meanes that he may continue amongst vs his paynfull function, and we all shall make prayers for so honorable a personage, by whom we haue receaved so greate a blessinge as is the ordinarye winninge of our soules vnto god.

Your honors most humbly to co'mand the
Bayliffe Justyce, and other the inhabitants of
the boroughe and pysh of Banburye."

[To the foregoing document are appended 95 signatures, including the autographs of Halhed, Showell, Long, Whately, Knight, Wigatt, Edens, Wagstaffe, Wise, and others of the most considerable persons in the town. The paper is thus endorsed:—"16 Junij 1590 The inhabitants of the towne of Banbury in nvmber lxxxxv hauing subscribed this peticion Humbly pray y^r l^p honorable fauor for the contynuanee of their mynes-ter and a preacher, one m^r Bracebridg amongst them, who is like to be depriued for matters of ceremoneyes."]

"To ye right honorable, & my very good Lord, ye Lord Highe Treasurer of England.

"Right honorable, my duty in most humble maner remembred, for as much as ye right honorable S Francis Knowles, hath both written & spoken in my behalfe, (vnto whose honour I am knowne by ye credible reporte of right worshipfull gentlemen) & also for y^t no small number, both rich & poure, of good reporte, of ye towne, & parish of Banbury, have geuen me a good co'mendation, in a supplicatio' vnto your Lordshipe; I am bold to trouble your honour, w^t my letters, requesting ye same thing y^t they have requested: vz. I being deprived of ye small living I had at Banbury, yf there be no hope to recover yt: yet at ye least, y^t I may by your honoures meanes be admitted to p^rch there. My reason ys for y^t ye towne & parishe, in consideration of ye former paines, y^t for y^e space of nine yeares, I have taken amonge them, ar minded to maintaine me, whether I p^rche, or p^rche not. And therefore seeing he y^t laboureth not ys not worthy to eat: I am desirous to take some paines for yt. More over may yt please your honour to understand; th' he w^{ch} ys p^rsented in my place, ys but a yong scholar, and therfore (vpon certaine knowledge I speake yt) ys not willing to p^rche often. The w^{ch} often p^rching as yt ys necessary in al places, so especially in y^t place, because many recusantes soiourn hard by ye towne; who notw^tstanding their close keping, may do much harme to ye parishioners, yf papistry be not diligently laboured aganst; whervnto many of ye inhabitants are to much enclined. Also yf ye people shale lacke their accustomed p^rching, many of them wil easilly straggle to other parishes adioyning

to heare ye word, in heat, and in fowle wether: ye we^{ch} will be no small inconvenience: especially seing y^t by better meanes, they also y^t tary at home, might at one instante, together w^t ye residew be satisfied: who wold not willingly be destitute of their accustomed exercises: the we^{ch} sute, y^t by your ho. meanes I may y^e better obtaine, I promise y^t in my sermons I wil handle no matters in contro^vsy, but only papistry, such as ar condemned by publike authority, in ye church of England, and also y^t I wil by al godly meanes so farre as in me lieth maintane peace & vnity, w^h ye minister of y^e place, & al other p^rchers. The we^{ch} yf I do not performe, I submitte myself to any punishment, whatsoever. Thus much knowing y^t your lo. to no small encrease of your great honour, hath don good in y^e like casse, I was ye more encouraged to trouble your lo. desiring ye lord of honour, to p^rserve you to his glory, ye good of his church, & your perpetuall honour. Junii 23. 1590.

your honours most humble suppliant

Thomas Brasbridge."

[The foregoing paper is endorsed on the outside as follows:—

"Mr Bracebridg

"That if the commendacion geuen 'out hym, by the inhabitants of Banbury, and the request of m^r Threasure of the Howshold, to whom he is well knowen, may not kepe hym from deprivation

"Yett considering the towne in respect of his former paines are content to give hym mayntenance, preache he or preache he not, He prayes that by y^{or} lp good meanes he may be permitted to preache."]

Brasbridge lived about three years after the above date; and died in 1593 at the age of 56 years.⁷ He became best known by his "Poor Man's Jewel, or, a Treatise of the Pestilence," the editions of which, and those of his other known works, are given in a note.⁸ Nine years after his death, the zeal of the people of Banbury in the cause of Puritanism was violently shewn by

(7) The following is the entry, in the Register, of his burial in November 1593:—"Thomas Brasbridge sometimes vicar of the Church of Banburie was buried the 11 daye."

(8) Brasbridge's known works are:—1. *Abdias the Prophet*, interpreted by T. B., fellow of Magdalene College in Oxorde. Lond. 1574, octavo. Dedicated to the Earl of Huntingdon:—2. *The Poor Man's Jewel; or a Treatise of the Pestilence*, 1578, 1580, and 1592, small octavo:—3. *Questiones in Officia M. T. Ciceronis, compendiarium totius opusculi Epitomen continentes*, Oxon. 1615, octavo. Dedicated to Dr. Laur. Humphrey, president of Magdalene College, an. 1586."—*Wood's Athenæ*, &c.

The first edition of "The Poore Mans Jewell" appeared in 1578, the occasion of the treatise being that—"Forasmuch as the famous cite of London, (where I am an inhabitant) is eftsoones infected with the dangerous disease, called the Pestilence, to the hinderance as well of them that are cleere, as also of them that haue the sicknes in their houses: I (vnderstanding that the hearbs Carduus Benedictus, and Angelica, are preseruatiues, and medicines for this and many other diseases,) haue thought good to gather out of the writings of learned Physicians, a Treatise of the Pestilence, annexing thereunto the vertues of the said hearbs." A reprint was published in 1580, while Brasbridge continued in London. The second edition was published in 1592. This is dedicated "To the Right Worshipfull Master Anthony Cope, esquire: and Mistres Francis Cope his wife," and is dated from "Banburie the 20 of Januarie, 1592." In this dedication, mentioning the Plague as one of the sharpest rods wherewith God chastises his people, Brasbridge says—"The which I haue very oftentimes seen whisking about mine eares: but through the great mercie of God, it neuer touched my bodie. The towne of Banburie (I being a child) was very sore infected therewith: at what time it was in one of the next houses vnto my father." He then mentions the severity of the Plague while he was at Oxford, "so that all the students, sauing two,

the destruction of the "goodly Cross" in 1602.⁹ All the Crosses in the town appear to have been destroyed during this period of outrage; and the ornamental parts of the Church suffered greatly also.¹⁰ The celebrated John Dod, one of the greatest and best of the early Puritans, was at this time living at Hanwell, his own rectory.¹¹ John Prime, then deceased, had been the Puritan vicar of Adderbury, and obtained note there as a preacher from 1589 to 1596.¹²

The Parish Registers of Banbury commence in the first year of Elizabeth.¹³ The following are extracts:—

"Anno D'ni 1558. This booke entreth the first day of Januarie in the first yeere of the Raigne of our Soueraigne Ladie Queene Elizabeth &c Which representeth all the Childrens names baptized and the names of such as haue beene Maried, and of such as haue been Buried within the Prebendarie of Banbury."

Aug. 1580. "Thomas Moore viccar was buried the 18 daye."

Jan. 1584. "Owen ap Lewes, the servant of Thomas Dix, beeing slayne of his fellowe was buried the 17 daye."

Dec. 1584. "William Ostree a straunger and a pettie chapman of small wares beeing a Shropshire man was buried the 9 daye."

May 1585. "William Morris a straunger of Brinklowe in Warwick sheire departed at the Swan and was buried the 26 daye."

1590. "Licensed the 10th of Marche Humfrey Hadley & his wyfe for their extreme grife and Elizabeth Knight new brought to bed to eate fleshe according to statute for the dayes appointed & so fro' time to time untill the recovery of their strengthe."

Dec. 1590. "Thomas the sonne of no man borne of Joyce Dyx daughter of Thomas Dyx beeing base borne was christened the 28th day."

Oct. 1593. "Josirana Houghton the wife of Rafe Houghton viccar of Banburie was buried the 10 daye."

Oct. 1594. "Thomas Bull of Nethrop was buried in the Church the 3 daye and was the first that was buried w^t the great bell whiche was new cast at Reading in Barksheir the 18 day of September before going."

or three, and a few singing men (in whose lodgings the infection was) fled into the countrie: I being one that remained: and in some sort accompanying the affected. After that I dwelling at London: there was (as diuers yeers together, so especially one yeere) a very great plague, both in the citie, and suburbs: the which did compasse me in such sort, that I could not go out of mine house, either at the fore, or backe doores, neither on the right hand, nor on the left: but I must needs haue passed by an infected house, next, or very neere adjoining vnto mine owne. Yea both I, and my wife had schollers that fell sicke at our feet; and (as I may say in our laps) who going home, died, within two, or three daies." Upon this occasion he published the first edition of his work. "I am persuaded," he says, "that almightie God did giue no smal blessing vnto my small labor." "Minding to print the booke againe, I haue thought good to dedicate it vnto your worships: as vnto personages resient neere vnto my habitation; as also vnto whom I am very much bound: perswading my selfe, that through your Worships fauor; the little booke will be the more generally receiued of my countrie men." The Poor Man's Jewell occupies 63 pages in black letter.

(9) See p. 160.

(10) See pp. 156, 157, 160.

(11) He was the predecessor, at Hanwell, of Dr. Harris, just mentioned. Both are noticed hereafter.

(12) Wood's *Athenæ*. Prime was the author of a Treatise on the Sacraments and of a Treatise of Nature and Grace, besides Sermons and other works. He died in 1596, and was buried in his church at Adderbury.

(13) The present copies of the early registers were made on parchment, from the ancient books, by authority, in the early part of James the First's reign. One of the old books however remains, commencing in 1580.

July 1597. "Wright a stranger carried from Constable to Constable towards Coventrie was buried the 13 daye."

"John Gill, gener, licensed by reason of his sicknes the 10th of Marche 1598 to eate fleshe so advrtised by his Phisition vntill his health be recovered."

"Mawde Wateley licensed according to statete for her weakenes to eate meate the v^h of Marche.

"In such sort & for like cause haue I lycensed the same time

Anne Naylor

Ellenor Rymell

George Nicolls."

July 1601. "Ales Yewicke daughter to Richarde Yewick borne beneth the Castell was baptised the 5th daye."

Jan. 1602. Ralph Houghton, M.A., is mentioned as having been 12 years vicar of Banbury. His burial is subsequently recorded, 15th Feb. 1609.

The RECTORY of Banbury and the Prebendal property had been demised to William Cornwall; but afterwards, on the termination of the lease to Cornwall, they were granted, 10th Elizabeth (1567-8), to Richard Fenys, by lease for 21 years, at an annual rent of £49. 18s. 9d. On the termination of the latter lease, 32nd Eliz. (1590), the Queen granted the said possessions to the Bishop of Oxford:—

32nd Eliz.—"We grant to the aforesaid John bishop of Oxford all that our Rectory of Banbury and our Prebend of Banbury with all their rights members and appurtenances in the said county of Oxford being lately parcel of the lands and possessions of John late Earl of Warwick and by our letters patent sealed with our Great Seal of England bearing date the 19th day of January in the tenth year of our reign demised and granted for the term of twenty-one years (commencing from the end or determination of a former demise thereof made to one William Cornwall) and in consideration of the yearly rent of forty-nine pounds eighteen shillings and nine pence to Richard Fenys Esq. And also the advowson gift free disposition and right of patronage of the Vicarage of Banbury with its rights members and appurtenances."¹⁴

In the 30th Elizabeth (9th Feb., 1587-8), are letters patent of the Queen concerning the Tithes &c. of Grimsbury, Netherecot, and Overthorp; as follows:—

"The Queen unto all to whom &c. greeting. Know ye that we as well in consideration of the manor of Frenchey otherwise Frengey with all its rights members and appurtenances in our County of Kent by our beloved subjects Thomas Fludd of Milgate in our said County of Kent Esquire Henry Brockhull of Aldington Nicholas Gylborne of Charinge and John Goughe of Mulgate aforesaid in the said County of Kent gentlemen unto us our heirs and successors lately bargained sold given and granted as at the humble petition of Robert earl of Essex and in consideration of the good true and acceptable service of the said earl unto us before these times done and rendered and for divers other causes and considerations us specially moving Of our special grace and of our certain knowledge

(14) Original grant, preserved in the registry of the Bishop of Oxford. Elizabeth kept the see of Oxford long vacant, and took from it many estates, in lieu of a part whereof she now bestowed upon it the above property, and also rent at Banbury to the amount of £1. 6s. 8d. (Willis's Cathedrals.) The Rectory, and advowson of the Vicarage, of Banbury, and the former prebendal property, are still vested in the Bishop of Oxford.

and mere motion Have given and granted and by these presents do for us our heirs and successors give and grant unto Edmund Downing and Miles Dodginge gentlemen" [Here follows a recital of numerous grants in various counties, amongst others] "All and all manner of our Tithes of sheaves grain hay and lambs and other Tithes whatsoever of whatsoever kind nature or sort they be annually and from time to time growing proceeding or renewing within the townships places and fields of Grymesburye Nethercote and Overthorppe in our said County of Northampton being lately parcel of the lands and possessions of John late Earl of Warwick and before that parcel of the possessions of the Bishoprick of Lincoln And all those our Messuages and Tenements with the appurtenances and all those our two virgates of Land Meadow and Pasture with the appurtenances situate lying and being in Grymesburye aforesaid being lately parcel of the lands and possessions of the said John late Earl of Warwick and before that parcel of the possessions of the Bishoprick of Lincoln Which premises in Grymesburye Nethercote and Overthorppe aforesaid by our letters patent bearing date the seventeenth day of March in the sixteenth year of our reign were demised and granted unto Edward Fetyplace for the term of twenty-one years beginning from the Feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Mary the Virgin then next to come after the date of the aforesaid letters patent and for the annual rent of 40 shillings And afterwards by other our letters patent bearing date the twelfth day of February in the twenty-sixth year of our reign were demised unto Simon Wickham for the term of the life of the said Simon, remainder thereof unto Thomas Wickham for the term of the life of the said Thomas, remainder thereof unto Mary Wickham for the term of her life, as by the said letters patent more fully appears" [&c. &c.] To be held of the Queen her heirs and successors as of the manor of East Greenwyche in the county of Kent by fealty only in free and common soccage and not in capite nor by military service. And by rendering and paying to her her heirs and successors of and for the aforesaid Tithes and other premises in Grymesburye Nethercote and Overthorppe aforesaid forty shillings. Dated at Westminster the 9th day of February.¹⁵

Downing and Dodginge, on the day following the above date, transferred the above property at Grimsbury, Nethercot, and Overthorp, to Richard Merrick of Banbury and Edward Shugborough of Broughton. On a partition between these parties in the following year, the tithes were assigned to Merrick; and the messuages and lands with the tithes of the same to Shugborough. In the 34th Elizabeth, Richard Merrick of South Newington sold the tithes for £400 to Richard Chetwode of Warkworth Esq., from whom they descended by the same title as the manor of Warkworth to Francis Eyre Esq. At the time of the enclosure, the commissioners made an allotment of land to Eyre, in lieu of "that part of the Parsonage impropriate of Warkworth aforesaid which is called Banbury Tything;" and which included all tithes "except the tithes of bushes and thorns," for which the commissioners allotted 4a. 1r. 18p. of land to the vicar of Banbury.¹⁶

(15) Copy of Letters Patent, in the possession of T. Tims Esq.

(16) Baker's Northamp., p. 749.

The following entries occur in the Corporation accounts :—

34th Elizabeth. "Pickage and Stallage and tole xxxij^{li} xj x ob
 "Layd out for mendyng of the townhall paym'ts of }
 the Quenes rent and dyv's other things as in the booke } xxxvj xvij j ob"
 made for that purpose may appere }
 "xviii Decemb^r 1592, 35th Eliz.
 "A note of such things as are deliu'ed by Henry Showell late Bayliffe
 to Thomas Whateley nowe Baylif.
 Imprimis the Charter & the Seale & the Mace.
 Item the brasen measures videlt a pottell a quart & a pynt a brasen
 yard & a half yard.
 Item iij marking irons to seale weights & measures.
 Item a strike at the Cage tyed with a chayne & another at the Court
 Hall to try the strikes & a peck.
 Item the booke of account the booke of orders the booke of the poore
 y^t have the quens pencon and two toll books videlt one for the Shepe
 m'ket & another for the Beast m'ket.
 Item the obligaccons for the money given by Mr Bryghtwell
 Item a counterpart of the gifte of Mr Okens¹⁷ money and of the
 indent^r
 Item the brasen weights & skales w^{ch} the Tasters vse
 Item Stocks pillory cooking stoole & tumbrell."
 40th Eliz. "Paied out hereof for o^r dynn' at the } — 9s —
 Alt'stone }
 Payed to good wif Thorpe that her husband Clarkson } — 9s 9d
 lent to the buylding of the newe hall }
 For that the sayd avditors payed Nicodemus Edens } — 10s —"
 that he lent to the buylding y^e hall }
 1601. "And they [the Chamberlains] are to receave } iiij^{li} — —
 of Robert Horwood for his fredome }
 And to receave of William Whrigham for his freedome v^{li} — —"¹⁸

An Order and Decree concerning the Banbury CHARITIES was made at Banbury on the 20th January, 45th Eliz. (1602-3).¹⁹ It contains, on the examination of witnesses, and the oaths of twelve lawful men of the county of Oxford, an enumeration of the property in Banbury which had been given to Charitable Uses ; namely :—

1. The Property left for the repair of the Bridge and Highways (see p. 99, in note 1).
2. An Almshouse situate near the Churchyard, "employed to lodge the most poor, old, and impotent people there in the said town." (See p. 177, in note 23.)

(17) Thomas Oken of Warwick, a person of mean parentage who died in 1573, left to the bailiff and aldermen of Stratford £40. to be let out to eight tradesmen (£5 each), for three or four years, at 8s per pound : of which proceeds half was to go to the poor, 3s. 4d. to a minister to preach a sermon to them, and the rest to be merry with. And in like manner he did to the town of Banbury.

(18) An entry in the volume states that the tenants of the manor of Bloxham are free from tolls, by a charter bearing date the 13th May, 17th Eliz. (1575), and confirmed by a charter dated 15th Feb., 3rd James I.

(19) By Sir Richard Fennys and Sir Anthony Cope, knights, Richard Chetwood, Thomas Chamberlayne, and Thomas Horton, Esquires, Thomas Drope bachelor of divinity, and Humfrey Colles gentlemen, Commissioners authorized by the Court of Chancery under the Great Seal, bearing date at Westminster the 26th of June 1602, "for to redress the misemployment of Lands Goods Pensions Annuities and Stocks of money heretofore given to Charitable Uses" in the County of Oxford, according to the Statute 43rd Eliz.

3. For the repair of the Parish Church in Banbury:—One acre of arable land and two butts of ley ground lying in the fields of Neithrop, in a place called Barrett Leys;—one sidelong of pasture in Cothrop field;—one land of arable and sidelong of pasture in Cothrop fields on the south side of the brook or lake in a place called the Vineyards;—two acres of arable land in Cothrop fields called the Vineyards;²⁰—two acres more or less of arable land in Cothrop fields lying without the lane called Sugarford lane at the nether end of Berrey Moor in a place called the Church Pits;—“one burgage or tenement sometimes called the Church House and now a School House situate on the north side of the Church-yard of Banbury aforesaid now in the tenure of the Bailiff Aldermen and Burgesses of Banbury aforesaid at the yearly rent of 6s. 8d.;”—a burgage on the west side of Newland Street;—four burgages lying together on the north side of Parson's Lane, situate between the land of William Bowers husbandman on the east and the land of the Queen now in the occupation of Matthew Knight on the west;—and four burgages on the the south side of Parson's Lane, situate between the Parsonage yard on the east side and the High street on the west side.²¹

4. A tenement on the east side of Colebar Street, situate between a tenement of William Wootten on the north, and one of Sir Anthony Cope on the south, given by John Knight to the use of the poor of the Borough.

5. An annuity of 20s. given by Edward Brytwell to the use of the poor of Banbury, payable for ever out of a house in Barkhill Street occupied by Thomas Webb, between the tenement of _____ on the east, and the tenement of John Pyme on the west.

6. An annuity of 20s. to the poor, given by Johan Knight out of her part of a lease of Ensham meadows.

7. An annuity of 20s. given by Henry Halhead to the poor, out of a tenement in Sheep Street; to be bestowed upon the poor in Frize in the presence of the minister and the bailiff.

8. An annuity of 10s. given by the said Henry Halhead for ever, out of a shop being the corner shop adjoining to Barkhill Street, the tenement in the tenure of Thomas Webb on the west side; to be employed in the maintenance of the true and sincere preaching of the Gospel, and the true word of God weekly, within the parish of Banbury; and in default of such lecture then to the teaching of poor children there.²²

9. An annuity of 20s. given by Walter Callcott, late of Williamscoth, for the poor of Banbury, arising out of a stock of £100 to be lent to artificers or occupiers in Banbury or elsewhere.

10. An annuity of 3s. given by Thomas Hall of Bodicot to the poor of Banbury, to be bestowed in bread.

(20) The closes called the Vineyards are in Neithorp township, near the foot-way leading from Banbury to North Newington. Some writers attribute the destruction of the English Vineyards to the falling of Gascony into the hands of the English, whence better and cheaper wine was imported. Doubtless the English wine was bad enough.

(21) The Banbury Church-building Act of 1790 enacts that the Corporation may sell, for the purposes of that act, certain messuages, lands, &c., of which they were seised upon trust for the repairs of the Church;—namely, a messuage, with yard, garden &c., situate on the north side of Parson's Street called the Flying Horse Inn;—eleven other tenements situate at the top of Parson's Street;—two pieces of land, measuring about 4 acres, in Wickham;—a piece of land called the Causeleys, situate in Neithorp, and in the possession of the Oxford Canal proprietors;—and divers commons belonging to the aforementioned tenements, for horses and cows to depasture, in Parson's Meadow.

(22) The Commissioners on Charities in 1825-6, report that there were then collected two several sums of 10s., on account of the Vicar; one paid out of a house in the Market Place in the occupation of John West [and now of John Payne]; the other from a corner house in Red Lion Street [High Street], the property of John Hopercraft, being the Ship Inn, then occupied by Jonathan Adams. The Commissioners suggest that the payment from the latter might be in respect of the gift of Henry Halhead. A document, however, of Edward VIth's reign, mentions an annual rent of 10s. formerly paid to the Guild of the Blessed Mary from “a shop in the Market Place in the tenancy of Henry Halhed.” (See p. 212, note.) This probably refers to Mr. Payne's premises in the Market Place. From another document it appears likely that Barkhill Street was the north side of the Market Place.

11. A stock of £40 given by ——— Oken of Warwick, to be let out yearly to the poor occupiers at Banbury. The proceeds, £1. 6s. 8d., were yearly paid to the use of the poor, the meeting of the company, and to a preacher. [See p. 248, note 17.]

12. £50 given by Edward Brytwell to be lent to poor artificers and occupiers freely for ever.

13. £100 given by Walter Calcott to be lent to occupiers at Banbury or elsewhere.²³

14. A stock of £22. 18s. 6d., given by divers persons; wherewith the Churchwardens were in the summer to buy coals, and in the winter to sell them to the poor at such rate as that the stock might still be preserved:—the overplus, if any, to be given to the poor.

“AND FOR AS MUCH AS UPON COMPLAINT MADE” that the same Lands Tenements and Burgages had been misapplied and not bestowed according as they were intended, the Commissioners called before them the Bailiff Aldermen and Burgesses, and the Churchwardens, and entered into the examination thereof by their own consent, it was found that they had dealt very honestly and faithfully therein. Wherefore it was decreed, that the bailiff aldermen and burgesses and their successors should be seised of all the premises therein mentioned, and should employ the rents and profits to the uses whereunto they were given; that they should be and be called Governors of the said lands &c.; and should have power to demise the same at such rents and fines as to them, and the minister and churchwardens, or the more part of them, should be thought reasonable. That they should yearly elect two honest and substantial men of the said town or company, who should be called Bridge-masters, Overseers, or Receivers, to manage the same; and that the Bridge-masters should render their accounts once every year before the auditors of the corporation, and the minister, or vicar, and churchwardens. And, reciting that divers of the annuities had been bestowed obscurely and privately, it was ordered that the same should be yearly brought by those who were to pay the same at the days appointed to the said Bridge-masters, to be disposed of there in the presence of the minister; and a note thereof to be set down in a book, to be shewn with the accounts at the audits. And that the bailiff aldermen and burgesses should have the disposal of the monies for coals; and that they and the minister should appoint yearly two of the churchwardens, or two other substantial men, to see the same employed, and to be accountable to them and the other inhabitants of the borough at such time as the churchwardens should yearly render their accounts. There being some ambiguity in the gift of Walter Calcott, and the £100 being in the hands of his grandson, Calcott Chambers, an agreement was made as to the same. And lastly, it was decreed, for the better encouragement of others to do the like charitable acts, that the bailiff aldermen and burgesses should cause to be made a table, fair written, of the lands, annuities, &c. &c. that had been or should be given to the church or poor or to highways or to any other charitable uses within the town and parish, and the names of the Givers of the same, and the particular uses of the same, to be set up or hanged in the Church, before the feast of Easter next ensuing, and there to remain.²⁴

(23) Calcott's will bears date 10th Nov. 1574: he bequeaths £100 to be put out by his executors in sums of £10 or £20 to poor persons in the country who would take the same at five per cent.; and directs that the £5 arising annually therefrom shall be distributed among the poor of Banbury and those of several neighbouring places.—*Reports on Charities*; and see the above account of *Charities*, No. 9.

(24) Decree, in the Town Clerk's office. Other Charities, of subsequent periods, are enumerated by the Commissioners in 1824. Among them are:—

METCALFE'S CHARITIES. Thomas Metcalfe left property in 1712, subject to the payment of £13 per annum, namely,—£10 every second year to apprentice two poor Banbury boys; £10 every second year to clothe six poor Banbury widows; and the remainder for other purposes. Mary Metcalfe in 1723 left £5 annually to the schoolmaster of the Church

THE REIGN OF JAMES THE FIRST.

A Survey of property in Banbury yielding revenue to the Crown &c.²⁵ was made on the 30th July, 4th James I. (1606), by Sir Anthony Cope knight and John Hereye Esq., commissioners appointed for that purpose. It states as follows:—

1. The names of 76 Free Tenants, being occupiers in Bridgstrete, Barkhillstrete, Shoprowe or Highstrete, Horsemarett strete, Birchley strete, and Brickley strete. The amount of their rents of assise was £7. 9s. 6d.

2. "Richard Lord Sey and Seale claims to hold by virtue of letters patent under the seal of the Exchequer dated the day of in the year of the reign of the Rectory and Tithes of Banbury, that is to say, the tithes of Sheaves Grain Hay Wool and Lambs in Nethrop Cowthrop and Wickham of the yearly value to demise £100; Glebe Lands in the common fields and meadows, that is to say ploughed land in the fields of Nethrop being three yard lands by estimation 45 acres; ploughed land in Cothrop field being one yard land by estimation 20 acres; meadow in Leaz in Nethrop fields by estimation 6 acres: The Tithe Barn²⁶ is 8 bays. Annual Value £20." Other property £5.

3. Henry Hawtayne gent. claimed to hold of John Bishop of Lincoln, by indenture dated 12th August 36th Henry VIII. made to John Franchishe, arable lands in demesne in the fields of Cothrope, appertaining to the manor of Banbury or Essingdon grange nigh to Banbury, with the appurtenances, and all the meadows leasowes and pastures following, namely, a dwelling house, kitchen, &c., a great barn of bays, a stable, garden, and two courts, together 1 acre; a meadow called Castlemeade 5 acres; the first mowing of Greate Fullake 4 acres; the first mowing of Litle Fullake 2 acres; an enclosed meadow called Gadsresse 7 acres; a meadow called Swinslowe 1½ acres; enclosed arable land called Winmill

School, on condition that he should assist the vicar by reading service on Wednesdays and Fridays &c. in the parish church; £5 annually to the vicar and his assistant to distribute amongst the sick poor; and £5 annually to be given in weekly bread to six poor families who should live orderly and frequent the church. Henry Metcalfe left £100, the interest to be laid out in bread for the poor on St. Thomas's day.

COUNTESS OF ARRAN'S CHARITY. The property belonging to this charity consisted, in 1824, of a house occupied by Mr. Alderman Kirby in the High Street at a rent of £27 per year, a house and yard in Church Lane worth £6 or £8 per year, and £100 stock. This charity was under the management of the corporation, and the income was applied in putting out youths as apprentices.

HENRY SMITH'S CHARITY. This amounted, in 1824, to about £35 per annum, the value of which was distributed in flannel.

A few minor Charities existed, besides those relating to the Blue-coat School; and several others were lost. See Knight's and Brytwell's Charities, p. 19 of the reprinted reports; Halhead's ditto, p. 20; Calcott's, p. 21; Loans, p. 22; Coal Fund, and Pleslow's Charity, p. 23; some of Metcalfe's Charities not here enumerated; and Lost Charities, p. 33.

(25) A preceding document, dated 12th April 1603 (preserved in the Book of accounts remaining in the hands of the Town Clerk), is entitled "A Note of all The Leasses wch are now in esse of the Burgages and Tenemts wch wee hold of or Sou'raigne Lord the Kinge." This enumerates the Leather Hall; Crown poole banck; and property in St Jones streete, the Beastm'ket, the Hogm'ket, the Beastm'ket or Colebar streete, Newe Land, Sheepe streete or Sheepem'ket stret, Northbar streete, near Sugerford Bar or Shugerbar streete, at the upper end of the Mil lane in the nether end of the Hogm'ket, by the Church stile, in the High streete at Pibble lane end, and on the east of the Lether hall.

(26) A building which was called the Tithe Barn down to our own times, stood in Church Lane, nearly opposite to the meeting-house of the Independents.

Feild 30 acres; pasturage of two closes called Durdan from the feast of the Annunciation to the feast of St. Michael 8 acres; a meadow called Berriemore meade 5 acres; a close of pasture called Lodge Close heretofore a rabbit warren²⁷ 7 acres; a close called the Crouche 40 acres; free fishery &c. in the water called Charwell from Banbury bridge to the farthest side of the manor of Banbury; and arable land in the common fields called Easingdon Feilds 70 acres:—to have and to hold from the expiration of a former lease made to William Pearson (7th March, 6th Henry VIII.), for the term of fifty years, rendering yearly £100.

4. The Bailiff Aldermen and Burgesses of Banburie held by letters patent dated 13th Feb., 15th Eliz., divers messuages, tenements, and cottages in the town of Banburie, namely; a house in St John's streete of the yearly value of 20s.; a piece of waste ground in St John's streete upon which is built a mansion house of 8 bays with garden and curtilage half a rood; a dwelling house &c. value 40s.; a dwelling house thatched with straw with garden &c. in St John's streete; a dwelling house of six bays in the Horsefaire with garden &c. in the occupation of Peter Wootton half a rood; a dwelling house and garden in Sugar barre streat; a dwelling house &c. in St John's streete in the occupation of Seth Pope; a dwelling house and garden in Northbar streete; a dwelling house and garden in the occupation of Sir Anthony Cope knight; a cottage in Hogmarket streete; another cottage in Hogmarket streete six bays with garden and curtilage 2 roods, valued at 21s., with "10s for the Mill there" [Cuttle mill]; another cottage in Hogmarket streete; a dwelling house in Hogmarket streete; two cottages with a garden in Sheepe streete; a tenement and garden in Sheepe streete; one tenement eight bays, and garden, having three occupiers, in ditto, 2 roods; one tenement and garden, in ditto; one tenement ditto; one tenement eight bays, with garden and curtilage, in the occupation of Edward Weston, 1 rood, in ditto; one tenement and garden in ditto; one barn, and garden, 1 rood, in Myllane; one tenement lately burnt, and garden, in the Beaste Markett; one tenement, with garden and curtilage, 2 roods, in the Beaste Markett; one tenement four bays with garden and curtilage; one tenement and garden near the Bridge; one waste piece of land in Cobarstreete; one cottage with garden &c. in Shepestreete; one ditto in ditto; two cottages in ditto; one tenement in the lane called Caltrop lane, in the occupation of Edward Weston; one cottage in Highstreete; one ditto in ditto; one ditto there near the Shambles; one cottage with garden in Northbarstreete; one cottage with curtilage in ditto; one cottage in ditto; one tenement four bays, and garden, in the occupation of Robert Hawes, in ditto; one cottage near the Burial ground now in the occupation of the aforesaid Bailiff &c., three bays; to hold for 60 years; yearly value £41. 9s. 4d.

5. Nicodemus Edons claimed to hold by letters patent of the 4th James I., a dwelling house with shop and curtilage, 10 perches, for 60 years; yearly value 20s.

6. Edward Walker claimed to hold by letters patent dated 5th June, 4th James I., made to John Wase, gent.,—a dwelling house 3 bays, and a garden, in Cornemarkett streete, half a rood; a shop at the west end of the garden aforesaid, one bay, and a stone house newly erected called the Townhall²⁸ three bays; to hold for 40 years; yearly value 40s.

7. "The Right Honorable Richard Lord Say and Seale holds by virtue

(27) The present Lodge Close is a lofty pasture ground between Broad Street and Bodicot fields. A deed made in 1650 mentions "The Warren" as part of Easington, Calthorp, Neithorp, or Wickham, and appears to relate to property lying west of the Horse Fair.

(28) It seems that this Town Hall stood at the present Cornhill (the northwestern part of the Market Place). The building which is at present remembered as the Old Town Hall was erected chiefly of timber, and stood on the same spot as the present wretched Town Hall which was built in 1800 or 1801.

of letters patent the Castle and Hundred of Banbury with the Leet and View of Frankpledge within the Hundred aforesaid, that is to say:—

A Mansion House within the inner gates of the same Castle twenty-three bays covered with lead

The outermost Gate six bays covered with slate

One close called the Stewe by estimation 1 acre

One other close of pasture called the Castle Orcharde in the occupation of Thomas Wise by estimation 3 acres

To hold to William Feenes son of the aforesaid Lord Say Ursula and Elizabeth for the term of their lives successively Rendering by the year £3. 18s. 0d. for the Castle and Hundred and 40s. for the Castle Orcharde. Yearly value to demise £10."

8. "M^d yt appeareth by a Decree of the Courte of Excheq^r made ye xxvijth day of November in the xvth yere of the raigne of the late Queene Elizabeth ex parte R R^{ne} (viz^t) by the right Ho^{bl} W^m Lo. Burgley Lo. Highe Thre'r of England S^r Walter Mildmay k^t S^r Edward Saunders k^t Lo. Cheife Baron & ye residue of the Barons there y^t x^{li} viij^s shall be paid yerely to xij pore men and weomen weekly quarterly or otherwise & vj^{li} vj^s viij^d shalbe yerely paid to an assistant to serve the Cure in Banbury²⁹ by the Receivor Generall of ye Q. Ma^{ts} Revenewes of the said County or by the Bayley or Collector of the Rents & Revenewes of the Chauntry Lands in the said Countie of Oxon or of the Rents and Revenewes of ye Castle or Mannor of Banbury & that the said some of xvj^{li} xiiij^s viij^d shalbe paid yerely to the Bayley Aldermen & Burgeses of Banbury aforesaid for the time beinge at fewer usuall feasts in the yere viz^t the Birth of o' Lo. God the Annunc' of ye Blessed Virgin Mary ye Nativity of S^t John Baptist & ye Feast of S^t Michael the Archangell to be paid to the said xij pore men and weomen & to the said Assistant³⁰ wth Warrant to ye Auditor & Receivor for paym^t & allowance therof as by an exemplification of ye said decree under ye seale of Thexcheq^r bearing date ye xijth daye of February in ye xvth yere of Her Ma^{ts} said Raigne appeareth."

9. Sir Anthony Cope, knt., claimed to hold, by lease of John Longland bishop of Lincoln, dated the last day of March 35th Henry VIII., to William Robyns &c., a close of meadow called Calves Close; a close of meadow or pasture called Greate Kinsham and Little Kinsham [the Ensham Meadows]; a cottage and garden two roods: a close called the Procession Way 2 roods; a close called the Cow Close 4 acres; to hold to the said Robyns &c. for 81 years: yearly value £50.³¹

The Boundary was taken on the following 15th September (1606), as follows:—

"Burgus et P'ochia } "The Lymyts and P'inctes of the said Bo-
de Banburie in Com' } rough and P'ish seene & viewed the xvth daye
Oxon } of September in the fowerth yere of the raigne
of o' Sov'aign Lord James by the Grace of God

Kyng of England France & Ireland & of Scotland the fortyeth and founde & p'sented by the Jury whose names are und'wrytten the xvijth day of November in the year aforesaid w^{ch} before were chosen and apointed by Hersye Esquier the Kyngs Ma' Surveyer.

"Imprimis from the East Arch of the Bridge w^{ch} standeth over the Water called Charwell on the East parte alonge by the said Water on the East syde of the plott of grounde called the Gooseleys vnto the meadowe called the Parsons Meadowe and soe over the said meadowe and over a lyttle crosse of one Thomas Halhed and vp a close called Gattridge

(29) See p. 283.

(30) The sum of £5. 17s. 4d. (the rest being deducted for fees) is still annually paid to the "Assistant Preacher of Banbury" by the receiver of the land revenues of the Crown for the county of Oxford.

(31) From the original record in the Crown Office.

and soe into the old lane called Cothrop Lane³² and then strayght forwards to the Sowth Barr called S^t Jones Barr

“Item from the Sowth Barr downe along the Lane betwene the Closes and Cothropp field vnto the great Stone called the White Crosse³³ on the Weste parte

“And from the said Stone called the White Crosse over to the run'ng streme of Water by the North end of the Leyes called the Barridge Leyes and soe throwe a little shorte lane by the howse of Edward Keelling meeting there wth another run'ng streme of Water and soe by the said Water vnto the Barr called the North Barr

“Item from the said North Barr along by the said water which is called the Cuttle Brooke vnto the howse of one Edward Wysdome where Walter Wafford nowe dwelleth and from thence alonge the back sydes of the Howses by the Castle Mote vnto the place where the Mill did stande called the Cuttle Mill and soe alonge by the Cuttle Brooke streme or water vnto the water aforesaid called Charwell and then by Charwell vnto the said Easte Arch of the Brydge.

“The Names of the Jurie, viz^t

Wylyam Knyght
Henry Showell
William Longe
William Alsop
Thomas Tunney
Theodor Maior
Richard Vivers

Bartholomewe Nayler
John Awsten
John Dixe
Mathew Longe
Henry Shirwood
Edward Wysdome
William Sowtham³⁴

The privileges of the Corporation were extended, and the Borough was made a mayoral town, under a new Charter granted, on the petition of the Council, 28th June, 6th James I. (1608.)

ABSTRACT OF THE CHARTER OF JAMES I.

1. The Recital, to the effect that, whereas the Bailiffs, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough have held and enjoyed divers franchises, liberties, &c.; and whereas the now Bailiff Aldermen and Burgesses have humbly entreated measures for the better government of the Borough; the said Bailiff, Aldermen, and Burgesses, and all Freemen being inhabitants of the said Borough, are hereby constituted a corporate and political body, by the name of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough of Banbury.

2. Power to have a common seal.

(32) Not the lane now so called; but perhaps the old road leading from Broad Street into the Adderbury road at Easington, or the narrow lane which led from that old road to St. John's Bar, where the wide road has recently been made.

(33) The White Cross Stone stood at the west end of the present West Bar Street, probably about eight paces eastward from where a lane turns off southward into the Bloxham road.

(34) Copy in the Book of accounts preserved by the Town Clerk. An inaccurate record of the same survey was obtained by the parish authorities from one of the public offices some years ago, when the boundaries of the borough were disputed.

In 1818, a case was laid before counsel, under the impression that the hamlets might be compelled to pay rates in common with the borough towards the support of the poor. The circuit of the Borough which is given above clearly includes a part of Calthorp, if not also small portions of Easington and Neithorp. Indeed it appears, from a case reported in Skinner, that, as late as the reign of James II., the adjacent townships, though having their separate officers, joined with Banbury in one account for the relief of the poor.

By the Act of the 43rd Eliz., the poor were to be maintained by the respective parishes; but by the 13th-14th Charles II., when a parish was so large that it could not reap the benefit of the Act of the 43rd Eliz., the several townships were empowered to maintain their own poor in districts. Doubtless the present divisions were formed under the Act of the 13th-14th Chas. II.

3. Boundaries to be as before.
4. Power to make perambulation.
5. Twelve of the Burgesses shall be named Aldermen, of which Aldermen one from time to time shall be Mayor.
6. Six other of the Burgesses shall be Chief Burgesses.
7. There shall be a Recordator and a Chamberlain of the Borough.
8. The Mayor, Aldermen, and Chief Burgesses shall be the Common Council of the Borough.
9. There shall be within the Borough 30 honest and discreet men who shall be helpers or Assistants of the same Borough. And the rest of the Aldermen, and the Chief Burgesses, Recordator, Chamberlain, and Assistants, shall be helping to the Mayor so often as it shall be requisite, in all things belonging to or concerning the Borough.
10. Power to the Common Council to make By-Laws for the government of the town, and to punish by fine and imprisonment for breach of the same : such By-Laws not to be contrary to the laws of England.
11. Thomas Webb, one of the Aldermen, to be the first Mayor.
12. Thomas Wickham, Thomas Wheatly, Henry Shewell, Edward Edon, John Nicholes, Thomas Halhed the elder, Thomas Webb, John Gyll, Thomas Foster, George Nicholes, Nicodemus Edens, and Robert Russell, to be Aldermen, for life, unless for their evil government or for some other just cause they shall any of them be removed by the majority of the Council.
13. John Pym'e, John Winge, Robert Bentlye, George Moselye, Edward Wisdome, and John Austin, to be Chief Burgesses for life, unless as before.
14. William Fines, Richard Cope Esquier, Edward Wickham, and Thomas Drope, Clerks, Thomas Crew, Edmund Meek, William Wright, Richard Griffin, Edward Yorke, Walter Floyd, Henry Hawteyne, Cal-kett Chambers, John Blincoe, George Mole Esquire, Thomas Garwey, Thomas Garner, Edward Bentlye, William Knight, Martin Wright, Thomas Hollawey, Edward Gyll, William Tayler, Rowland Bull, gent., John Halhed, Edward Man, Bartholmew Naylor, Ralph Dyx, Edward Warner, Thomas Halhed the younger, and Nicholas Barrowes, to be Assistants for life, unless as before.
15. The Mayor to be chosen annually from the Aldermen, on the first Monday in September, by the Mayor, Aldermen, Chief Burgesses, Chamberlain, and Assistants.
16. If the Mayor die, or from the office for any just and reasonable cause be removed, the Aldermen and Chief Burgesses to choose another Alderman to serve as Mayor during the remainder of the year.
17. Power to fill up other vacancies, namely, of Aldermen from the Chief Burgesses, of Chief Burgesses from the Assistants, and of the Assistants from the more honest and discreet men in the foresaid Borough. All the appointments to be by the Council, and the oath to be taken by the party chosen.
18. Fine for refusing any of the offices not to exceed five pounds. Imprisonment in case the fine is not paid.
19. The Council in future to elect "one honourable man that shall and may be Baron of this our Realm, or at least a Knight, for the time being to be The Chief Steward of the foresaid Borough." The charter appoints "our wellbeloved and trusty Counsellor William Lord Knoles of Gray's Inn, & Treasurer of our Inn, the Chief Steward."
20. The Council in future to elect "one honest and discreet man skilful in the laws of England" to be Recordator of the Borough. The charter appoints "our wellbeloved Thomas Chamberleyne of Graies Inn London esquier," the first Recordator.
21. The Chamberlain in future to be chosen from the Aldermen by the Council. The charter names William Knight, gent., the first Chamberlain.

22. In case of inability or absence of the Mayor, the senior Alderman to be his deputy.

23. On reasonable cause shown, the Recordator may have a deputy, he being skilful in the laws and approved by the Aldermen.

24. Waste ground, commons, ways, lanes, streets, lands, &c. granted to the Mayor Aldermen and Chief Burgesses, with a confirmation of all their former grants liberties and privileges.

25. A Court of Record to be holden every Monday, for actions wherein the debt or damage shall not exceed forty pounds, before the Mayor or his deputy, one of the Aldermen, two Chief Burgesses, and the Recorder or his deputy—or before three of them, whereof the Mayor or his deputy must be one. The Mayor to appoint attorneys of this court.

26. Two Serjeants at Mace to be appointed by the Mayor and Aldermen, for the execution of processes, &c., and to "carry and bear the gilded and silvered maces and with the signet of our arms our heirs and successors engraven and adorned within the foresaid Borough liberties and precincts of the same before the Mayor of the foresaid Borough for the time being or his deputy."

27. A Prison or Gaol to be within the borough; the Mayor to be the keeper thereof.

28. All fines and amerciaments to go to the use of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Chief Burgesses.

29. The Mayor, Aldermen, Burgesses, and Freemen, to be free from serving on juries out of the Borough.

30. William Lord Knoles, Richard Lord of Say and Seale, Sir Roger Wilbraham knight one of our masters of our requests, Sir Anthony Cope knight, Sir Richard Chittwood knight, Thomas Chamberleyne Esq., Edward Wickham, and William Knight, gents., and also the Mayor and Recorder for the time being and their successors, and three of the Aldermen to be named by the Council, to be Justices of the Peace within the Borough. Their powers defined.

31. Three justices, whereof the Mayor and Recorder shall be two, shall have power to keep Sessions, and to swear honest and lawful men of the Borough, by which the truth of the matter may the better be known of all felonies, murders, poisonings, enchantings, sorceries, magical arts, transgressions, forestallers, regrators, ingrossers, and extortioners within the foresaid Borough. "And also of all those who in the conventicle against our peace shall go or who to the disturbance of our people by force of arms shall go or ride³⁵ or presume to go or ride (impostors and others). And also for the finding out of all those who for the killing or slaying of our nation shall lay wait," &c. To be heard and determined of as in any counties of our realm of England, without any other commission or letters patent.

32. That the Mayor Aldermen and Burgesses and their successors may have and shall have authority and shall within the foresaid Borough be able to erect and have a pair of Gallows³⁶ for the hanging of all those convicted of felonies murders and other misdemeanours within the foresaid Borough precincts limits and liberties of the same who shall be adjudged to be hanged according to the laws of our realm of England.

33. Power to imprison.

34. Henry Shewell, John Gyll, and George Nicoles, to be the three first Aldermen Justices of the Peace.

35. The Mayor to have the execution and return of all His Majesty's writs within the Borough.

36. No High Sheriff, &c. to enter the Borough for the execution of any writ, unless in defect of the Mayor or his officers.

(35) "Going or riding" signifies going or riding armed in the day or night to the terror of the people. It was an offence at common law, and by 2nd Edw. III., cap. 3, and 10th Ric. II., cap. 1, was made punishable by fine and imprisonment.

(36) See the situation of the Gallows in 1730 in the wood cut, p. 150.

37. A Coroner to be appointed.

38. The Mayor to be Clerk of the Market and Escheator.

39. A grant of a weekly Wool Market, for the benefit of the poor by providing work for the men women boys and girls in the same Borough, empowers every freeman being an inhabitant of the Borough to buy and sell Wools, Threads, Woollen and Linen, to be kept or wrought or employed by labour and industry within the foresaid Borough, for the shunning of sloth and idleness, &c. And because the Wools, Threads, &c., brought into the Borough on the days whereon the said market shall be holden, may arise to a greater quantity than shall be necessary for the setting on work of the foresaid poor, it is granted to every freeman resident within the Borough that they may sell the same Wools, Threads, Woollens, and Yarns, within any city, village, or borough in England; so that the foresaid Wools, Threads, Woollens, and Yarns to be sold without the foresaid Borough may not exceed in any one year two thousand Tods.³⁷ Together with a court of piepowder &c. The profits of the Wool Market to be for the use and public good of the Borough, and for the sustenance of the poor and infirm inhabitants of the same.

40. No foreigner or person not a freeman to sell or expose to sale within the Borough any merceries merchandises or wares, except in gross or at the fairs, under a penalty of 6s.

41. Power to tax the inhabitants in any matter for the public good of the town.

42. Two Fairs or Marts established, namely, "one of them on the vigil on the feast and on the day after the feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary And the other on the first Thursday which shall happen next before the feast of St. Nicholas the Bishop and on the even and the day after the same day every year for ever to be holden for and during all the same days Together with a court of piepowder," &c.

43. A Horse Market to be held every Thursday, with a court of piepowder.

44. The Mayor and Justices shall have power for the "punishment and correction of all and singular drunkards and of all and singular whorehunters strumpets and others whatsoever of a lascivious and incontinent living and of all and singular who dishonestly or maliciously by any occasion of communicating together or wicked scolding may be named or in English may be called scolds brawlers and quarrellers."

45. Power to purchase lands not exceeding £40 per annum.

46. One wise and discreet man to be elected who shall be called the common writer or clerk, in English the Town Clerk. Nicholas Awstin appointed to this office by the charter.

47. "And because that many are poor within the foresaid Borough and that there may fitly be provided for the relief of the poor and sustentation of the said inferior men and other the men and women inhabitants and abiders within the foresaid Borough Know ye therefore that we of our especial grace certain knowledge and mere motion Will and grant and by these presents ordain for us our heirs and successors That for ever there shall be one Hospital in the foresaid Borough for the relieving and sustentation of the poor and inferior men and other the men and women dwellers and inhabitants in the foresaid Borough Which said Hospital shall be called the Hospital of our sovereign lord James the King within the Borough of Banbury in the county of Oxon and the same

(37) A Tod of Wool (by 2nd Chas. I.) is 28lb. The "Wolehowse" is mentioned in the 3rd year of Edward VI.; and, two years subsequently, it is said to be in "Shepe Strete." (See pp. 212, 213, in the note.) Subsequently to this grant, by the charter, of a Wool Market, the Corporation accounts, in 1610, mention the making of the "Howse for the wooll market." It is said that the staple hall for Wool was at one period in the rooms over the Town Gaol, where subsequently the Blue Coat School was kept; (Rawlinson's MSS., Topog. Com. Oxon.;) and some such hooks as are used by woolpackers were remaining on the beams 70 years ago.

Hospital by the name of King's Hospital of Banbury in the county of Oxon we have firmly by these presents erected ordained founded and established." The same Hospital to be of four-and-twenty poor and weak men and women who are altogether disabled from getting their living. "And that our foresaid intent may take the better effect and that the goods and chattels manors messuages lands tenements rectories tithes rents reversions revenues annuities and other the profits and hereditaments for the relief and sustentation of the poor and weak men and women in the same Hospital from time to time to be relieved sustained granted assigned and appointed shall be the better governed by the continuance of the same Hospital We will grant and ordain for us our heirs and successors that for ever hereafter there may and shall according to the ordinances in these letters patent contained and specified be elected named and assigned one discreet man who shall be and shall be called Guardian of the foresaid Hospital and three honest and discreet men at the least who shall be and shall be called Fellows or Brethren of the foresaid Hospital which said Guardian and Fellows or Brethren shall be and shall be called the Governors and Brethren of the goods possessions and revenues of the Hospital of our sovereign lord James King of England within the Borough of Banbury in the county of Oxon." And "We have elected named and assigned and by these presents do elect name and assign and constitute Edward Wickham clerk being and to be first and last Guardian of the Hospital aforesaid and Thomas Drope and John Dod clerks Richard Wickham Nicholas Woodhall and Edward Meek esquires Martin Wright Thomas Holloway Thomas Garway Thomas Garner William Tayler David Floyd Thomas Wickham William Knight Thomas Foster and Rowland Bull gents. being and to be the first and last Fellows or Brethren of the goods possessions and revenues of the said Hospital of James King of England in Banbury." The said Governors and Brethren to be a corporate and politick body and to have everlasting succession. To have a common seal. To be in law capable of holding and receiving lands, chattels, &c., and of pleading and being impleaded. To be able to receive and hold to the sustentation of the foresaid Hospital, lands &c. not exceeding the clear yearly value of forty pounds per annum besides all charges and reprises. The same to be applied to no other purposes whatsoever. That when the aforesaid Guardian die or be removed by the King, the Brethren surviving may elect an honest discreet and fit man to supply his place. That when either of the foresaid Brethren die or be removed, the Guardian and others the said Brethren, or the greater part of them, whereof the Guardian shall be one, may elect a successor. And that the said Governors and Brethren may elect or remove at their pleasure the said poor and weak men and women to the foresaid Hospital.

48. A confirmation to the mayor aldermen and burgesses of all former grants and privileges.³⁸

In the 9th year of James I. (1611-12), the Corporation enacted new By-Laws, under the powers of the foregoing Charter:—

ABSTRACT OF THE BY-LAWS OF THE CORPORATION.

9th James I.³⁹

Recital of the power of the Common Council to make by-laws, under the new charter. The manner of their proceeding to the Common Hall for the election of mayor, "in such decent apparell as shall befit their place

(38) Original Charter, and a Translation thereof, at the Town Clerk's office.

(39) By the oath of Jane Newlove, made 7th June 1716, it appears that Philip Style, the deponent's father, had been Town Clerk of the Borough; and that he, having taken a copy

and callinge and such gownes as they now vse upon such occac'ons or shall hereafter by the most part of the company aforesaid be agreed upon :'' every defaulter to forfeit 20s. Fine for not attending common halls, or for departing without leave, 3s. 4d. Fine for councilmen not conducting themselves "soberly, discreetly, and peaceably," at common halls, 3s. 4d. The mayor to have the casting vote. The manner of choosing the mayor: every one refusing to vote or not giving his voice in convenient time to forfeit 20s. The Mayor to reside within the borough, or forfeit 40s. for every month he shall be absent without the consent of the council. Every inhabitant of the Borough being hereafter chosen mayor, justice, chamberlain, alderman, burgess, assistant, constable, churchwarden, tithingman, overseer of the highways or of the poor, taster of victuals, searcher or sealer of leather, or to any other office within the said Borough, having due notice or knowledge of their election, who shall refuse or deny or do not take the oath and exercise the offices to which they respectively shall be appointed, shall forfeit to the use aforesaid 20s. Every inhabitant "shall be of good behaviour as well in words as deeds towards the Mayor Justices of the Peace Aldermen Capitall Burgesses and other Officers there and shall behave them towards the said officers with due respects of their place and calling upon pain that every one offending shall forfeit 3s. 4d." "Item it is ordered according to the auntient custome of this Borough that every person that shall break his Ma^{ties} Peace or the peace of his heirs and successors within the said Borough by any blow or force offered wherein no blood is shed being duely convict thereof shall pay 3s. 4d. to the use aforesaid and if any blood be shed 6s. 8d. and the party soe breaking the peace shall be com'itted to Prison of the said Borough untill he shall make payment thereof." "Item it is ordered (as by the said Letters Patente is granted) That the said Mayor Aldermen and Capitall Burgesses or the more part of them shall have power and authority from time to time as need shall require to tax and levy as well the said Mayor Aldermen and Burgesses as alsoe all other the inhabitants of the said Borough towards the Entertainement of his Ma^{tie} the Prince his sonn the Queen or any of his Ma^{ties} Royal and towards the paveing rayling or mending the Streets repairing the Bridge keeping of Prisoners the Poor and house of Correcc'on maintaining of the Prison and Prisoners or to or for any other publick thought needfull to be done in or about the said Borough by the greater part of the said Com'on Counsell." Persons refusing to pay to be fined, or imprisoned by warrant from the mayor "for want of such distresse to be found." Every "Forreigner or other inhabitant" that shall practise "any trade art craft mistery science or occupac'on or that shall be a scrivener inneholder innekeeper victualler or maulster wthin the said Borough & practising the same wthin the s^d Borough not being first made a Freeman of the s^d Borough by the most part of the Com'on Counsell & having taken his oath & be entred into ye Chamberlains booke of the s^d Borough shall forfeit s." Every one not a Freeman who shall sell or expose to sale or cause to be sold or put to sale any wares or merchandise within the Borough or the liberties thereof, "otherwise then in grosse to a Freeman or upon Markett dayes or Faire dayes," to forfeit 10s. The Common Council may tax "every p'son that shall come to the said faires and marketts for the makeing cleane the Streets for their more convenient standing to sell their said

of the By-Laws of the Corporation made under the foregoing charter and allowed 10th March, 9th James I., called the Deponent to him to examine the same by the Original; which copy, made on eight sheets of paper, was subscribed by both. That the said copy was annexed to this oath; and that Deponent believed she had heard her father declare that it had been approved and made use of as a true copy.—*Copy of the By-Laws remaining in the Town Clerk's Office.*

the tenant, for some losse he is lyke to susteyne by his sudeyne removal.
So wth Remembrance of my dutye, I leave you to God.

Yo^r Hono^r to be Comanded

ANTHONY COPE."⁴⁰

"Hanwell this 11th of October 1612.

"To the Right Ho^{able} S^r Julius Ceaser
Knight Chauncell^r of his Ma^{ties} Ex-
cheq^r be these."

Sir William Cope, son of Sir Anthony Cope, was returned for Banbury to the three first Parliaments of James I.; namely, in 1603-4, 1614 (in which Parliament his father sat for the county), and 1620-21.⁴¹ Previously to his father's death he resided at Hardwick.⁴² He was knighted by James the First (soon after that monarch's arrival in England), at the Charter House, 11th May 1603.⁴³ On the death of Sir Anthony in 1614 he succeeded to the baronetage. In 1616 he was to have been raised to the peerage as a Baron; but, on his hesitating to pay the exorbitant sum of £10,000, which was demanded by the venal ministry of that period as the price of a barony, a more compliant candidate for the honour of the peerage was found in the person of Sir Philip Stanhope, who was accordingly created a baron. "Your cousin S^r William Cope," writes Mr. Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, 12th October 1616, "hath long been in treaty with Mr. Secretary to be made a Baron: but he hath dallied and delayed so long that now at last he hath fully concluded with Sir Philip Stanhope. The agreement is £2,000 presently, £4,000 at midsummer, and £4,000 at this time twelvemonth."⁴⁴

Sir William Cope married, at Hanwell in 1602, Elizabeth Chaworth, (see p. 240, in note 51,) daughter of his father's second wife (Anne, daughter of Sir William Paston of Paston in Norfolk,) by her former husband Sir George Chaworth of Wiverton in Nottinghamshire.⁴⁵ Sir William was honoured with a visit from James the First and his Queen at Hanwell, from the 22nd to the

(40) Lansdowne MS., 161, fol. 310. Recusants were such Roman Catholics as refused to take the oath of supremacy or to conform in matters of religion.

(41) Willis's Notit. Parl.

(42) Dedication of one of Dod's works to him.

(43) Nichol's Progresses of James I., v. 1, p. 115.

(44) Nichol's Progresses, v. 3, p. 191. Sir Philip Stanhope was created Baron Stanhope of Shelford co. Nottingham, 7th Nov. 1616; and Earl of Chesterfield in 1628.—*Collins's Peerage*, v. 3, p. 267.

(45) With her, who was Sir George Chaworth's sole heir, he acquired the manor and estate of Marnham in Nottinghamshire, and other considerable property: and by her he had issue three sons, Sir John Cope, Anthony, and Jonathan, (which last inherited Ranton Abbey and Ellenhall in Staffordshire under his father's will, and founded the family of the Copes of Brewern in Oxfordshire and Ranton Abbey, baronets, who eventually succeeded to the greater part of the family estates in Oxfordshire,) and two daughters.

24th August 1624, on their Majesties' return from Warwick Castle.⁴⁶ In the same year he was chosen representative of the county of Oxford in the last Parliament of James I. He died 2nd August 1637, and was buried in Hanwell church the day after, but his obsequies were solemnly celebrated there on the 22nd August. Sir William's brother, Richard Cope, resided at Calthorp.⁴⁷

James the First paid a visit to WROXTON, where, Warton says, he was entertained, "probably in the old Abbey-house," by Sir WILLIAM POPE, and diverted with the amusements of hawking and bearbaiting.⁴⁸ It appears, however, from the evidence given in the note, that this visit took place after the erection of

(46) Nichol's Progresses; and MS. Journal of Sir Simon Archer.

(47) Parish Reg. Richard Cope afterwards went to Ireland, where he obtained an estate in the county of Monaghan, and ultimately settled at Drunilly in the county of Armagh and was ancestor of the family there now extinct in the male line. (Lodge's Irish Peerage.) He died in 1628.

(48) Warton's Life of Sir T. Pope, p. 43S. Nichol says (but afterwards disputes the fact) that this visit to Wroxton was paid by the King on the same day that he was at Hanwell with Sir Anthony Cope, namely the 20th August 1605. (Progresses, v. 1, p. 527.) Warton mentions, that on the occasion of the visit of James I. to Wroxton, the lady of Sir William Pope had been lately delivered of a daughter, and that the babe was presented to the King, holding in her hand the following verses, which are believed to have been written by Richard Corbet, afterwards the Bishop, and then a young student at Christ Church; with which verses his Majesty is said to have been highly pleased:—

" See this little mistres here,
Did never sit in Peter's chaire,
Or a triple crowne did weare;
And yet she is a Pope.

" No benefice she ever sold,
Nor did dispenche with sins for gold;
She hardly is a sev'nnight old,
And yet she is a Pope.

" No King her feet did ever kisse,
Or had from her worse look than this:
Nor did she ever hope,
To saint one with a rope;
And yet she is a Pope.

A female Pope youll say, a second Joan;
No sure—she is Pope Innocent or none."

The two sons of Sir William Pope, William and Thomas, were born in 1596 and 1598; but the date of the birth of his only known daughter, Anne, does not seem to be on record, either in the register of Wroxton or elsewhere. This Anne appears to have died unmarried:—"Anne Lady Pope was buried July 13th" 1629 (Register of Wroxton).

In the Royal Progress of 1618, James the First, on the 25th June, visited Sir Thomas Watson, at Halstead in Kent; whose daughter (and only child) Elizabeth was married to Sir (for he was then knighted) William Pope, son of the above-named Sir William Pope. It was here, according to other accounts, that the above verses were presented to the King, namely, by the hand of the infant granddaughter of Sir Thomas Watson and eldest child of Sir William Pope knight. (Cotton. MS., Titus, C. vii. fol. 96, b.) This infant, Anne Pope, was christened at Wroxton on the 5th January 1617 (Register of Wroxton); and, consequently, poetic license must be allowed in the above verses as regards her age at the date of the Royal visit. The Cotton MS. referred to above has the line thus:—

"She scarcely is a quarter olde."

Her only sister was Elizabeth, born at Halstead December 19th 1618.

Nichol, in another place, speaking of the Royal Progress in 1619, says:—"On the 23rd of August his Majesty was probably at Wroxton, the seat of Sir William Pope, baronet, and afterwards Earl of Downe." (Progresses, v. 3, p. 563.) The evidences he gives are:—1st, a letter of Mr. Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, dated June 5th 1619, wherein he says, that on the 18th July the King intends to begin "his Progress northward, as far as

the present mansion at Wroxton. Sir William was the only surviving son of John Pope of Wroxton (the brother of Sir Thomas Pope, see p. 219), and was born in 1573. On the arrival of James the First in England he had been created knight of the bath, in the great gallery of St. James's Palace, July 24th 1603; and on May 22nd 1611 he was created a baronet. He erected the present mansion at Wroxton, which was finished in 1618, on the site of the ancient Priory.⁴⁹ Some portions of the old buildings (which are reputed to have been destroyed by fire) were retained; these have been partially noticed in p. 84. The kitchen and dormitory may yet be traced; and also the ancient cellars, beneath the present hall.

The west front of the present mansion at Wroxton extends 118 feet in length: the porch is a very elegant specimen of the Italian decorated entrances so frequently attached to buildings of this period. The hall measures $45\frac{1}{4}$ feet from north to south by $24\frac{3}{4}$ feet from east to west: at the south end is the highly-decorated screen of the music gallery, which is supported on columns, leaving the space beneath the gallery open: the pendant in the centre of the ceiling, intended for the suspension of the lights, is extremely elegant: the stags' heads introduced into the walls are also striking ornaments. The dining room measures $39\frac{1}{2}$ by 21 feet, and is decorated with a beautifully enriched ceiling. The chapel measures 27 feet 2 inches by 16 feet 10 inches: the ancient window thereof (see p. 84) is decorated with stained glass by Van Ling. The Lord Keeper Guilford (who became possessed of Wroxton by his marriage with the Lady Frances Pope, daughter and heiress of Thomas third earl of Downe, in the reign of Charles the Second,) made some additions to the mansion; and, in the present century, Francis, fourth Earl of Guilford, erected

Royston, Nottingham, Derby, and so, by Warwick and Sir W. Pope's, to Woodstock," &c. (p. 552.):—2nd, that Wroxton is directly on the road, and about half way, between Warwick, where the King was on the 21st August, and Woodstock, where he stayed on the 25th:—3rd, an inscription formerly remaining in a small mansion, called the Chicken House, at Hampstead; where was formerly some well-executed stained glass, representing in one window a small portrait of James the First, and a label beneath it as follows:—"Icy dans cette chambre coucha nostre Roy Jacques, premier de nom, le 23me Aoust, 1619." Now it is certain that the King was not at Hampstead on the 23rd August: the glass must therefore have been made for some other place; and it is not unlikely that it was designed for Sir William Pope's new mansion at Wroxton, which had been completed just before this date, in 1618, and on the execution of some windows of which the eminent Dutch artist in glass, Van Ling, was employed. Nichol adds that the Wroxton glass was dispersed, part of it now embellishing the Duke of Buckingham's Gothic Temple at Stow. (P. 563.)

(49) Warton's Life of Sir T. Pope, pp. 433—438.

the spacious and elegant library, after a plan by Smirke.⁵⁰ The mansion contains many portraits of the families of Pope and North: among which are an original of Sir Thomas Pope, by Holbein; one of Sir William Pope, first Earl of Downe, by Vansomer; two of the Lord Keeper, by Sir Peter Lely and Riley; and one of Lord North the Premier, by Dance.

Sir William Pope was by Charles the First, in 1629, made Baron of Bellturbett and Earl of Downe in Ireland. He died July 2nd 1631, at Wroxton, and was buried in the church, on the north side of the altar: over his remains, and those of his lady (Anne daughter of Sir Owen Hopton) who died in 1625, was erected the magnificent alabaster monument before mentioned (p. 123).⁵¹

The Plague visited Banbury in 1623 (21st James I.); at which period twenty-six deaths by Plague are recorded in a part of the original register which has not been transcribed into the parchment copy.

Peter Allibond, "an ingenious man in the opinion of all that knew him," was born at Wardington about the year 1569, became a student of Magdalene Hall, travelled, and was afterwards rector of Cheyneys in Buckinghamshire. He was the author of several works, and died in 1628 and was buried at Cheney's.⁵² Shakerley Marmion (who was descended from the ancient and noble family of the Marmions of Scrivelsby, in whom was vested the right to the chivalric office of the King's Champion at coronations,) was a dramatic writer and poet, and was born at the manor-house of his father, at Aynho, and baptized 21st Jan. 1602-3. He became a commoner of Wadham College, Oxford, and died in 1639.⁵³

Sir Erasmus Dryden, bart., was returned member for Banbury to the Parliament of 1623-4.⁵⁴

(50) There is, in Skelton's Oxfordshire, an engraving of the hall and beautiful screen at Wroxton, and, on the title page, an engraving of the west front of the mansion: and in Nash's Mansions of England in the Olden Time there are engravings of the porch and hall.

(51) Warton's Life of Sir T. Pope, pp. 435, 6.

(52) Wood's Athenæ.

(53) Baker's Northamp., p. 559; Marmion's Cupid and Psyche, reprinted in 1820. Marmion's works are:—1, Some fugitive pieces which are dispersed in different publications:—2, Holland's Leaguer, a Comedy, 4to., 1632 and 1633:—3, A Fine Companion, a Comedy, 4to., 1633:—4, A Morall Poem, entitled the Legend of Cupid and Psyche, or Cupid and his Mistris, 4to., 1637:—5, The Antiquary, a Comedy, 4to., 1641. He also wrote, but never printed, "The Crafty Merchant, or the Soldier turned Citizen," a Comedy.

The "manor of Aynhoo, alias Aynehoo, alias Ayno, alias Aynhoo on the hill, alias Eynhoo," with capital message and lands, was sold by the father of the dramatist to Richard Cartwright, of the Inner Temple, Esq., in 1615, for the sum of £5250.—Baker, p. 548.

(54) Willis's Notit. Parl. By the marriage of one of the Drydens with the daughter of Sir John Cope in the early part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the Dryden family came into possession of Canons Ashby. Sir John Cope here mentioned was a younger son of William Cope the Cofferer. Sir Erasmus Dryden, the member for Banbury, was the grandfather of the poet John Dryden.—Baker's Northamp.

The following items occur during this reign, among the accounts &c. of the Corporation:—

1603. A Note of Leases mentions a lease dated 42nd Eliz., to Thomas Whateley, of "the Leather Hall⁵⁵ and stalles vnd' it for 9 yer'es."

1612. "The 18 of Aprill. Whereas seu'all somes of money were expended about c'tayn Suyts & obtayning of the Chrt' of this Borough & Charges about the suyt of the Crosse and other things the int'taynement of the King the buylding of the Wool Hall and other busynesses conc'ning the Corporac'on w^{ch} said seu'all somes are now paied out of the private purses of the maior ald'men and burgesses chamb'lyn & towne clark of this Borough as by a p'ticuler note here vnd' wryghten may appeare It is fully agreed by all the said company ye maior ald'men & burgesses that as any money shal be receaued to the vse of the saide corporacon the same shal at eu'y account be devided p'portionally to eu'y one of them" till their several debts be paid.

1612. "To Henry Sharpe for the Kings p'vis'e'on	—	40s.	—
To M ^r W ^m Knight chamb'lyn for glasing of the Court	}	4l.	14s. 10d.
Hall for iorons & other things for the prisons for paying the			
castell orchard lane repaying of the Almshouse & such			
like things			

For the armor swords daggars &c

For the muster m^r

5th Oct. 1612. Ordered "that eu'y day laborer of this Borough shall eu'y working daie that he lacketh worke goe to the leather all by six of the clock in the mornyng & there tarry one hower at the least unlesse he be hiered vpon payne that eu'y laborer fayling herein & being found idle shall for eu'y tyme so fayling be sett in the Stockes two howers. And that noe handicraftsman be geared or goe to daie labor out of harnesse if he may have work at his owne occupac'on or trade vpon payne of eu'y one offending herein to be set in the Stockes two howers for eu'y tyme soe offendinge."

1613. "Rec of Richard Devill for frayes and bloudsheds — xixs. —"

1615. "Of Rycharde Devill Constable

Of M^r Edons for Alsopps quart potts being to lyttle — xs. —

Am'cem^{ts} for victualling w^{thout} lycence &c

Am'cem^{ts} for victualling w^{thout} lycence &c

"It is agreed this 15th of January 1615 that Barth. Nayler shalbe paid half yearely xs. to the menyding and dressing of armor belonging to the towne and his first paym^t is to begyn at the Lady day next and the Chamb'lyn to pay it And he must keepe a noate of the armor"

[There is afterwards added]:—

"M^{ch} the 11. 1617. A Note of all the Armo' that belongeth vnto the Bourough of Banburie

Imp'm^t 3 Cosletts furnished
4 Musketts furnished."

1615. [Payd] "For our supp' at the Lyon

For our suppers

For wyne and lyghts

For warning of the watch

1616. "For the Companyes dynners.....

In this year, a list of the "Towne Rents" gives ten names in "Brige North;" six in "Persons lane M'ket place Bread Crosse;" four in the "Horsemarkett;" thirteen in "Brige Southe & New Land;" four in "North Barr;" eight in "St. Johns;" and twelve in "Sheepe Street."

1617. "Rec^d of Willm Maunder Thomas Vdall and } 22l. 11s. —
Robert Kinge Constables

(55) The Leather Hall, at a later date, was the building on the north side of High Street or the south side of the Butchers' Row, since converted into the shop and dwelling-house now occupied by Mr. Perry.

"Whereof Paid vnto Will'm Maund ^r for his layinge out for the Kinge's p'viscon	15l. ijs. 0d.
Paid alsoe vnto M' Wynges for traine souldiers & the Kings proviscon	7. 9. 0."
1619. "A Note of all the Companies ¹ wh'in this Bourough and what they paid yearelye for their orders.	
Itm Of the M'cers Companye	— xs. —
Itm Of the Drap's Companye	— vs. —
Itm Of the Bakers Companye	— xs. —
Itm Of the Glov's Companye	— xs. —
Itm Of the Smithes Companye	— vjs. viijd.
Itm Of the Shu' makers Company	— vjs. viijd."
"Pd M' Mavor for the super at ou' court	— xlvjs. —
Pd for a cak & sack	— viijs. vjd."
1620. "Paied Thom Wynges for the muster master for the last yeare	— 12. 6.
Paied unto the Constables for the Kinges p'vision	5. 1. 8."
1621. "Paid M ^r Edens" (he was Town Clerk) "for his chardges when he went to London w th the Charter and for his horse hier	xxxijs. vjd."
1624. "The Constables accompt p' Andrewe Anselly the receipt for the Sesement made for his Mat ^{ies} p'vision and other expences cometh	l. s. d. xiiij ij viij l. s. d.
Ther remaineth vngathered of the same Seasement	ij xvij xj."

KNOLLYS, EARL OF BANBURY.

Sir Francis Knollys was a fellow minister of the great Cecil, being Treasurer of Queen Elizabeth's household. He had married Catharine, the daughter of Mary Bullen (sister to the Queen's mother, Ann Bullen): his second son by this marriage was Sir William Knowlls, or Knollys, who succeeded his father in his office at court. In the 1st year of James I. (1603), Sir William was advanced to the title of Baron Knollys of Greys: in 1608 he was, by the charter to Banbury, made High Steward of the Borough and Justice of the Peace. In 1616, he was created Viscount Wallingford; and, in the 1st Charles I. (1625), EARL OF BANBURY. He continued to be High Steward of Banbury until his death in 1632. The Knollys family resided at Greys Court, at Rotherfield Greys in Oxfordshire.²

(1) In 1687 there is record of a deed of Covenants between the Mayor and the Company of Woollen Drapers in Banbury. In more recent accounts of the Corporation are entries of the Smiths' Company paying 6s. 8d. as late as 1747; the Glovers' Company 10s. in 1763 and 1770; and the Shoemakers' Company their "annual acknowledgment" 6s. 8d., regularly, till the year 1800. Freedoms, besides those of the members of the Common Council, were taken up as late as 1803; chiefly or wholly by publicans.

By the Freeman's oath, every Freeman was required to bear truth to the King; to aid his Justices and Officers; to maintain the liberties and customs of the Borough; to contribute to all charges; and to warn the Mayor and Justices of any gatherings against the King's peace. — *Corporation Records*.

(2) In the church of Rotherfield Greys is the burial place of the Knollys family, wherein

The Earl of Banbury had two sons (at least so said the after claimant of the title);³ Edward, who died without issue; and Nicholas, claimant of the title. This Nicholas was reputed to be the son of Edward, fourth Lord Vaux, who married the Earl of Banbury's second wife and widow; but he was born before the decease of the Earl. The claimant was only once summoned to Parliament, namely in 1660. His son, Charles Knollys, also preferred a claim to the earldom of Banbury, but received no summons.

WILLIAM WHATELEY, VICAR OF BANBURY.

This noted Puritan divine was born at Banbury, and was Vicar of the place during the greater part of the reigns of the First James and Charles. As a preacher, his fame was so great, that, as the biographer of Mede says, some "great wits" would often "slip out of Oxford on purpose to hear him, and came at first with prejudice enough."

WILLIAM WHATELEY was the son of Thomas and Joyce Wheateley of Banbury, and born on the 21st May 1583:⁴ his father was a justice of the peace, and twice mayor, of the Borough. The youth received the rudiments of his education at, or in the neighbourhood of, Banbury: Scudder says⁵ his "ripenesse in grammer learning in Latine, Greeke, and Hebrew, was so earely, that about the fourteenth yeare of his age he was sent to Christ's Colledge in Cambridge; where God provided him and me a

is a monument of elaborate workmanship, which was raised by William Earl of Banbury. Under a canopy supported by pillars of black marble, lie the effigies of Sir Francis Knollys and his lady; by whose side is the effigy of a child who died when an infant. Seven sons and six daughters, with the countess of Banbury (daughter-in-law), are represented kneeling, on two of the sides. In the upper part of the monument the Earl of Banbury is represented with his lady, robed, and kneeling before a desk and open book.

Fuller thus writes of the contemporary families of Knollys and Norris:—"No county in England can present such a brace of families cotemporaries, with such a bunch of brethren on either, for eminent achievements. So great their states and stomachs, that they often jostled together; and no wonder if Oxfordshire wanted room for them, when all England could not hold them together." The family of Knollys is represented as shining most in the court; that of Norris in the camp. "Queen Elizabeth loved the Knowlls for themselves, the Norrises for themselves and herself, being sensible that she needed such martial men for her service. The Norrises got more honor abroad, the Knowlls more profit at home, conversing constantly at court; and no wonder if they were the warmest who sat next to the fire."

(3) Reports, Trin. Term, 6th Will. & Mary.

(4) "Maij 26 [1583]. Die Dominic. 3 p' Trinitatis festo. William Wheateley baptizatus est filius Thomæ et Ieisæ Wheateley natus Maii vicesimo primo."—*Original Register*.

"May 1583. William Wheateley the sonne of Thomas and Joyce Wheateley was christened the 26 daye."—*Parchment Copy of the Register*.

(5) Life and Death of W. Wheateley, prefixed to Wheateley's Prototypes.

tutor [Thomas Potman], one of a thousand for pietie, learning, diligence," &c. While Whateley continued at Cambridge, he was the constant hearer of Dr. Chaderton, Perkins, and others who held Puritan opinions, until he became B.A. in 1601, when he was taken home by his father.⁶ Soon after, he married Martha Hunt, a granddaughter of that John Hunt who is mentioned in the Book of Martyrs as having been condemned to be burned for religion but saved from the execution thereof by the death of Queen Mary.⁷ Young Whateley's talents were soon discovered by "understanding men who frequented Banbury;" particularly by his father-in-law, Mr. George Hunt, who, having by importunity prevailed upon him to make trial of his ability to preach, at length persuaded him to devote himself to the ministry. Thereupon he entered himself at St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, where he was incorporated B.A., July 15th 1602; and, with the foundation of logic, philosophy, and oratory, which he had made at Cambridge, he soon became a noted disputant and a ready orator. On the 26th June 1604 he took his degree of M.A., being then considered "a good philosopher and a tolerable mathematician." Soon after, he entered into holy orders, and was appointed Lecturer of Banbury. When he had filled this situation five or six years, he was, in 1610, instituted to the Vicarage of Banbury,⁸ which preferment he held nearly thirty years, until his death.

It appears that Whateley encountered some obstacles to his ministry on first coming to Banbury, on account of his dissent from the former teachers.⁹ These obstacles however were soon got over, and his popularity in the town and throughout the adjacent country became extreme.¹⁰ He is recorded to have had "a most able body and sound lunges:" tradition states that, from

(6) Wood's *Athenæ*.

(7) Scudder's *Life of Whateley*. In the dedication of one of Whateley's works, the "Bride Bush," to "his verie loving and much esteemed father-in-law, Master George Hvnt, Pastor of Collingburne Ducis in Wiltshire," Whateley says:—"The Lord of heauen hath abundantly fulfilled his promise to your father, whose poeerty (by reason of the taking away of all his goods, & long imprisonment in Qu. Maries daies) was such, that at his death he had nothing in the world to bequeath vnto you but his Bible."

(8) Wood's *Athenæ*, and *Fasti Oxon.*; Scudder's *Life of Whateley*. On the 9th Feb. 1610, Christopher Langley delivered to Dr. Othowell Hill, auditor causarum, letters of proxy from Mr. William Wheatley M.A., instituted to the vicarage of Banbury by the Bishop, to which he was presented by King James, whereupon Dr. Hill granted induction.—*Bliss's edit. Ant. Wood*.

(9) *Durham's Life of Dr. Robert Harris*, p. 12.

(10) See more hereafter, when we come to speak of the Puritan Divines of the neighbourhood. Whateley for some time, alternately with other divines of similar Puritan sentiments, preached a lecture at Stratford upon Avon: it afterwards appears, from Archbishop Laud's annual accounts of his province to the King, that the Bishop of Worcester certified to the Archbishop that he was less troubled with nonconformists since Mr. Wheatley of Banbury

his powers of voice and style of preaching, he was called "The Roaring Boy of Banbury." Scudder says that he had but an ordinary study of books, yet he had "read very much," and had always, when it pleased him, the "benefit of a bookseller's shop." He usually penned his sermons at large; and if, before he preached, he had time to read over what he had written and to gather it up into short heads, he was able to deliver it in public nearly in the same words. "And according as his matter in hand, and his auditory needed, he was both a terrible Boanerges, a sonne of thunder, and also a Barnabas, a sonne of sweet consolation."¹¹ Whateley's portrait, copied from the engraving in his "Prototypes," is given in Plate 22.

The learned Sir Edward Leigh remarks thus of Whateley:—"Of all the ministers that ever I knew so experimentally, he was the most unblameable in his conversation. I had the happinesse to live almost a yeare with him in his house, neare foure yeares under his ministry, and to be esteemed by him one of his faith-fullest friends; I have cause to blesse God for him whilst I live, since it pleased Him by his meanes, not onely to reveale many saving truthes unto mee, but also to set them on with such power, as I hope I shall never forget them. Oh, with what life and zeale would hee both preach and pray! and how strict and watchfull was hee in his whole life."¹² It was his practice to set apart days of humiliation for his family; besides which he had his own seasons for private fasting, and humbling himself before God alone.

For some sentiments contained in one of his works, the "Bride Bush," published in 1619, Whateley had to undergo a charge before the High Commission Court:¹³ these sentiments he recanted,

gave over his lecture at Stratford. (Bliss's Wood's Athenæ.) Anthony a Wood owns that Whateley "was an excellent preacher, a person of good parts, well versed in the original text both Hebrew and Greek;" but, he adds—"being a Calvinist, and much frequented by precise and busie people there [Banbury], and in the neighbourhood, for his too frequent preaching," he "laid such a foundation of faction in that place, that it will never be easily removed." Whateley appears to have regularly preached at Banbury on Tuesdays. (See Whateley's Sermon on the Fire in 1628.) There is an entry in the Book of accounts of the Corporation, in 1626:—"Paied unto Will'm Allenn for Mr. Wheatelys lecture the some of 3l wh was due vnto Mr. Wheately frome the company att Midsomer & att St Tho. last past."

(11) Scudder's Life of Whateley. Harris of Hanwell used often to say, that "for all the requisites in a preacher, both for matter, method, elocution, pronunciation, all, he seldom met with an abler man than his brother Whateley of Banbury."—*Life of Harris*, p. 91.

(12) Leigh's Epistle Dedicatory to Whateley's Prototypes.

(13) For two propositions therein contained:—1st, that "committing the sin of adultery by either of the married persons, doth dissolve, annihilate, and untye the bond and knot of marriage:"—2nd, that the malicious and wilful desertion of either of the married persons doth in like manner dissolve the connection. These opinions being noted and complained of to the Archbishop, Whateley was convened before the High Commission: but he, ingeniously confessing that he could not make any satisfactory answer, recanted on the 4th of

and thereupon he was dismissed the court. Fuller says of him :—
 “He became minister in the town of his nativity; and though generally people do not respect a prophet or preacher when a man whom they knew whilst a child, yet he met there with deserved reverence to his person and profession. Indeed he was a good linguist, philosopher, mathematician, divine; and (though a poetical, satirical pen is pleased to pass a jeer upon him)¹¹ free from faction. He first became known to the world by his booke called the *Bride-bushe*, which some say hath been more condemned than confuted, as maintaining a position rather odious than untrue: but others hold that blows given from so near a relation to so near a relation, cannot be given so lightly but they will be taken most heavily.”

* * * “Sure I am that Banbury had a gracious, learned, and painful minister; and this town need not be ashamed of, nor grieved at what scoffers say or write thereof; only let them add knowledge to their zeal, and then the more of zeal the better their condition.”¹⁵

Sir Edward Leigh, addressing the Corporation and people of Banbury soon after Whateley's death, says :—“Master Whately was the most bountifull minister to the poore I thinke in England of his meanes; your consciences will witnesse that hee hath often pressed and urged this dutie upon you, and as hee was earnest in perswading his hearers to beneficence, so hee practised the same himselfe, entertaining some poore widdowes or necessitous persons weekely at the least at his table, and giving the tenth of all his estate that way; and see how God blessed him for the same, his estate (as himselfe told mee) prospered the better after hee

May 1621. (Wood's *Athenæ*.) To a new edition of the *Bride Bush*, which appeared in 1623, were appended two pages explaining the grounds of the Author's recantation of his former opinions; concluding thus, Sept. 4th. 1623 :—“From him that had rather confesse his owne error, then make thee erre for company.”

(14) Doubtless alluding to Corbet, who in his *Iter Boreale* thus satirizes the mutilated pavement of Banbury Church, and also the Banbury Vicar :—

“If not for Gods, for Mr. Wheatlyes sake,
 Levell the walkes; suppose these pittfalls make
 Him spraine a lecture, or misplace a joynt
 In his long prayer, or his fiveteenth point?”

(15) Fuller's *Worthies*. I have not discovered who was the “near relation” of Whateley that is here alluded to by Dr Fuller. Harris of Ilanwell had married Whateley's sister, and Scudder of Drayton had married Whateley's wife's sister. It is just noticeable that Harris was not one of those who were appointed by Whateley to peruse and print his manuscripts after his death, he having selected Leigh and Scudder for that purpose.

Scudder says that, although Whateley's maintenance from his parishioners was but small, and unkindnesses and discouragements many, and although his offers of greater preferment in the Church were often and importunate, he would not leave Banbury :—“yea though once for reasons which suddenly tooke him, he did promise to accept of another charge, yet within a while hee intreated mee to tell that person to whom he had promised, that hee had better thought of it, and did desire to be released of his promise;” and that out of consideration of that great people which he should leave if he undertook a lesser charge.

tooke that course, and in his sicknesse hee comforted himselfe with that promise, Psalm xli. 1, 3. 'Blessed is hee that considereth the poore, the Lord will deliver him in time of trouble. The Lord will strengthen him upon the bed of languishing.'¹⁶

Whateley's last sickness continued about eight weeks. For a good while before, he had with comfort and joy declared to his dearest friend that God had given him victory against his greatest corruptions, which had for a long time kept him in continual exercise. He continued to the last to give counsel to his family, friends, and neighbours who came to visit him. On a time when "a brother, in the ministry, and by alliance," (probably Harris, or Scudder,) came to see him, and was praying with him and for him to this effect;—that, if his time was not determined or expired, God might be pleased to restore him for the good of his Church; or, if otherwise, that He would put an end to his pain if He saw good; Whateley lifted up his eyes steadfastly towards Heaven, and also one of his hands (he not being able to lift up the other); and, in the close of that prayer gave up his spirit, shutting down his eyes himself as if he were fallen into a sweet sleep.¹⁷ His death occurred on Friday, 10th May, 1639, when he had nearly completed his 56th year. "God took him away," says Fuller, "a little before the Civil Wars began, and before the sad desolations that fell upon the town of Banbury in particular." His remains were interred in the Church-yard, on the south side of the Church. In one of the Harleian MSS., occurs the following notice of his monument:—

"In the church yard
On the side of a great raised mont, this

(16) Leigh's Epis. Dedic. to Whateley's Prototypes. It is elsewhere related, that Whateley, preaching on a holy-day on the subject of charity, recommended his hearers, when they had received good gain by traffick or otherwise, to take 6*d.* or 4*d.* in the pound, and put it in a purse by itself for works of piety; a practice which he maintained would be beneficial to their estate, and take away all secret grudging; for when they had laid so much aside for such a purpose, they would rather wish for an opportunity of disbursing it. After the sermon, a neighbouring divine, one who was allied to him, called upon him, and desired more particular directions. "As for that," said Whateley, "I am not to prescribe to others; but since here are none but very good friends, and we are all so private, I will tell you what hath been my own practice of late, and upon what occasion. You know sir, some years since, I was often beholden to you for the loan of £10 at a time: the truth is, I could not bring the year about, though my receipts were not despicable, and I was not at all conscious to myself of any vain expenses, or of improvidence. At length, I began to examine my family what relief was given to the poor, and although I was assured that was not done niggardly, yet I could not be so satisfied, but resolved instantly to lay aside every tenth shilling of all my receipts for charitable uses. And (to let you see how well I have thrived this way in a short time) now, if you have occasion to use an £100 or more, I have it ready for you." This, says the writer, "I can avouch, for I was present both at the sermon and at the conference."—*Life of Mede.*

(17) Scudder's Life of Whateley.

The body of WILL WHATELY Lecturer in this Church 35 Vicar 29
yeares was here into'bed May 14. 1639.

Lege Luge

Clauditur hoc tumulo qui cœlu' pectore clausit
In cœlo cujus mens pia clausa manet
Prodiga lingua, benigna manus dispersit abunde
Divitias cœli divitiasq' secli.

Dans, meditans, orans, exortans, fata peregit,
Eheu! quam multos flebilis ille cadit.

What so'ere thou'lt say who passest by
Why here's inshrined celestiall dust
His bones, whose fame & name can't dye
These stones as fœoffees weepe in trust
Its William Whately y^t here lyes
Who swamme to's tombe in's peoples eyes.

Death was his crowne but our crosse
If not a great man yet ile say
A good man sure, the greater losse
Is falln in Israell this day,
Both learnd in arts and hearts: O can
Whole ages give us such a man.

Nor prayrs nor teares nor means nor men
Nor his owne grace & partes so knowne
Could save from death, though many then
For his life would have pawnd their owne
Read this O man & rightly know
That one day thou must ly as low.

Anagramma duplex

Latin	{	Gulielmus Whately
	{	Hui lugēs! Ellum vita
Anglic	{	William Whately
	{	What { I ly } well
		{ I am }

Cronogramma duplex

Annis D'ni	{	1639	VenVstI sVnt peDes eIVs qVI eVangeLizat
			saLVteM
Ætatis ejus) 56	{	1639	VsqVe qVos VenI DoMIne IesV CVr non
			VenIs
			{ LVge bIs
			{ Looke on hIs yeares then poVre forth teares.''' ¹⁸

(18) Harl. MS., No. 4170. The Life of Whateley, by Seudder, is closed by two folio pages of verses, called "Banburies Funerall Teares powred forth upon the death of her late pious and painefull Pastour Mr. William Whateley deciphered in this Sympathizing Elogy."

Whateley's Works are;—Sermons.—1, "The New Birth: or a Treatise of Regeneration." Lond. 1619 and 1628, 4to. This was delivered "in certaine sermons" at Banbury, and is dedicated to the Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses, and the rest of the Inhabitants of the Town and Parish of Banbury. The dedication concludes thus:—"With my most feruent prayers to God for your prosperity, I kindly take my leaue, resting (so long as the ouerweightnesse, and ouer-toylesomnes of the place shall suffer) your Pastor."—2, "Sinne No More," a sermon on the Fire in 1628 (see hereafter).—3, "The Oyl of Gladness," in several sermons. Lond. 1637, 8vo.—4, "Poore Man's Advocate," in certain sermons. Lond. 1637, 8vo.—5, "Redemption of Time." Lond. 1606, 8vo, and 1619, 4to.—6, "Caveat for the Covetous." Lond. 1609, 8vo., and 1616, 12mo.—7, "Samuel's Funeral, Sermon, at the Fun. of Sir Anth. Cope Kt. and Bar." Lond. 1618-19, 4to.—8, "Mortification." Lond. 1623, 4to.—9, "Charitable Teares: or a Sermon shewing how needfvll a thing it is for every godly man to lament the common sinnes of our Countre," 1623, preached in Banbury.—10, "Gods Husbundry: the First Part. Tending to shew the Difference betwixt the Hypocrite and the true-hearted Christian. As it was delivered in certaine Sermons, and is now published by William Whately, Preacher of the Word of God in Banbury in Oxfordshire:" dated April 6th, 1619, dedicated to Dod of Hanwell.—11, Gods Hus-

Whateley's wife survived him more than two years. The same MS. in the Harleian Library gives the inscription which was placed over her remains in the Church-yard:—

“The body of MARTHA WHATELEY wife of William Whately min. lyeth under this adjoining tombe, who was buryed the 10 of Dec'ber 1641.

Scarce had the streames of the sad teares
Caused by this tombe surceast their course
But loe another straight appeares
Which doth renew their former force.”¹⁹

THE TOWN OF BANBURY, PREVIOUSLY TO THE FIRE OF 1628.²⁰

Commencing our account at the eastern extremity of the town, from the Bridge,²¹ the first street was Bridge Street, or Bridge-end Street, now Bridge Street, running westward. Next was the Beast Market, the present Bridge Street South: this part is described as the “Beast Market” in the writings of the Altarstone Inn and other property. Colebar Street ran off from the Beast Market southward, at or near the present Broad Street (lately called Broad Lane),²² and formed a portion of the direct way from the Castle into the Oxford road: probably Colebar Street was destroyed by the Fire of 1628, since no ancient houses are remembered in this part, and the name and direction of the street have been nearly lost. From the Beast Market, southwestward, the way was through Shop Row or High Street.²³ High Street extended as

bandry: The Second Part. Tending chiefly to the Reforming of an Hypocrite, and making him True-hearted.” Lond. 1622, 4to.—Other sermons were printed in various years.

Other works.—1, “A Bride Bvsh; or, a Direction for Married Persons.” Lond. 1619 and 1623, 4to.—2, “A Pithy, Short, and Methodical Way of opening of the Ten Commandments,” Lond. 1622, 8vo.—3, A Care Cloth: or a Treatise of the Cvmbers and Trovbles of Marriage.” Lond. 1624, 4to.—4, “Prototypes, or the Primarie Precedent Presidents out of the Booke of Genesis, applied to our Information and Reformation.” Lond. 1640 and 1647, folio. Published by the author's great admirers, Edward Leigh Esq., and Henry Scudder, minister of Colingbourne Ducis.—5, A tract on the Art of Preaching.—*Whateley's writings; Wood's Athenæ.*

(19) William Whateley had some children: one, a son named William, married Joyce Tustian in 1638. (Register.) The Banbury family of the Whateleys is now extinct in the male line: the last of them was the late John Wheatley Esq. of Broughton, who died in March 1817 and was buried in the chancel of Banbury Church, and whose only daughter married George Cobb Esq., of the Tump, Monmouthshire.

(20) Described from the preceding Inquisitions and Records, Leland's account of the Town, various title deeds, &c., and the modern localities.

(21) Where the boundary post stood. See the engravings on pp. 98 and 150.

(22) Called Colebar Street in the title deeds of Mr. Dickason's premises and of the Flower-de-Luce Inn, 1674 and 1753. I have not met with the name “Broad Lane” earlier than 1705. As “Coale Bar Street” and “Broad Lane” are both mentioned in a list of the streets in 1718 (Rawlinson's MSS., Top. Com. Oxon), it may be surmised that the former name was applied to the part where houses stood, the latter to the road beyond.

(23) I am inclined to believe that Shop Row was only a part of the High Street, where it

far southwestward as the end of Scalding Lane, now called Fish Street. Then came Sheep Street or Bolting Street (so named in the decree of Charities, 1603), otherwise called Breadcross Street or Bowling Street (in the note of Leases in 1616, see p. 99, note 1): this was recently known as Sheep Street; but the Paving Commissioners, when they put up the names of the streets in 1835, included it as a part of High Street.²⁴ At the western end of Sheep Street was the area formerly, as now, called the Horse Fair: beyond which, southwestward, was Sugar Bar Street, Sugerford Bar or Shoccarfarbarre Street; called in 1649 West Bar otherwise Bull Bar Street; which forms the first portion of the present West Bar Street. At that part of this street where the lane called the Shades crosses it at right angles, the Bar stood:²⁵ the remainder of the present West Bar Street is modern.

The main line of streets as above enumerated ran from east to southwest. Crossing this line, and running from south to north, was another line of streets; the first of which, commencing at the South Bar, was St. John's Street, afterwards frequently called Oxford Bar Street, and named by the Commissioners, in 1835, South Bar Street. Next was the Horse Fair, sometimes called Horsemarket Street, the area above alluded to, still called the Horse Fair. This line of streets was completed, to the North Bar of the town, by North Bar Street, now bearing the same name.

Such were then, as now, the principal lines. To the south of Colebar Street, and running in the same direction, was New Land, or Newland Street; lately called New Land,²⁶ but included by the Commissioners in 1835 as part of Broad Street. Scalding Lane branched off from New Land and the southern end of Colebar

is now widest, and may then have been divided by houses in the middle of the street which have been since removed. The writings of Mr. Wise's property, on the north side of High Street, describe that part as "Shopp Row." In Rawlinson's MS. before mentioned, of the date 1718, the list of the streets of Banbury includes both "Red Lyon Street" (that is High Street) and "Shop Row Street."

(24) The writings of the house occupied by Mr. Lovell, being the corner house of Fish Street (on the north side) turning into High Street, describe that part as "High Street or Bolting Street."

(25) The boundary of the Borough was about 222 paces beyond the Bar, namely, at the White Cross Stone. (See pp. 220, 251.) Further on, in the road to Broughton, appears to have once stood a stone called the "Old Gallows Stone."—*Banbury Vestry Book*, 1770.

(26) Some writings of the date of 1688 describe this part as New Land or Fish Street; and the corner house of New Land towards Scalding Lane was long known as the "Fish House," having some fishes carved on the front of it in stone. The Fish House is mentioned in 1722 as belonging to the poor; and in 1774 it was let by the parish.

New Land Wake, an annual holiday, has been kept up from time immemorial in the week commencing with the second Sunday in July: on the Monday, a Mayor of New Land is chosen with much mock ceremony, to bear an empty title for the ensuing year.

Street, and joined Sheep Street and High Street: this part, in 1835, received from the Commissioners the name of Fish Street.²⁷

It is uncertain whether Caltrop Lane, mentioned in some early records, was the present Calthorp Lane connecting South Bar Street with High Street; as the Cothrop Lane mentioned in the boundaries of the borough (p. 254) must have been in another direction. This part was also probably destroyed by the Fire of 1628. Persones Lane was the present Parson's Street,²⁸ running from North Bar Street eastward, to the parts of the town then described as the Market Place, Cornmarket Street, and Barkhill Street. The two first of these names evidently apply to the present Market Place, the northwestern portion of which is still called Cornhill: Barkhill Street, called also Brickley or Birchley Street, seems to have been on the north side of the Market Place, or that nearest to the Castle.²⁹

The Cuttle Brook ran through Cornhill and the present Market Place, on the side nearest to the Castle:³⁰ the principal stream (which remained to our own times) flowed from the west, along the south side of the Castle Orchard Lane (now Back Lane), turning through the narrow passage near the Plough Inn; and thence through the Market Place to its eastern part, where it fed the Cucking-pool.³¹ Hereabouts, probably near the present Bear Inn, the Cuttle mill stood, which is described as being in the Hogmarket. Another stream appears to have come down Parson's Street and to have flowed into the Cuttle Brook in the

(27) For no better reason than its leading to the ancient locality of that name. See the preceding note (26).

(28) Called Parson's Lane until 1835. The name of the Lane had the same origin as that of Parson's Meadow; it being in great part Church property. (See p. 216, note 2; and p. 249.) The name "Parson's Lane" is as early as the reign of Edward VI. (see p. 213, in the note); and another name, which occurs in the writings of the Raindeer Inn (of the date of 1564), may not have referred to that street, but to some alley connected with it.

(29) This may be inferred from the List of Free Tenants in the Inquisition of 1606; wherein a tenement in the holding of "the Feoffees of the church of Lapworth" is described as being in "Barkhill Strete." The house alluded to is situated on the north side of the Market Place, and is now in the occupation of Mr. Coles. The title deeds of the Cock Inn, on Cornhill, of the dates of 1601, 1640, and 1691, describe that part as "Breechlesse Streete," probably the same name. The decree concerning Charities in 1603 mentions the shop of Henry Halhed (now occupied by Mr. John Payne), before described as situated in the "Market Place," as being "adjoining to Barkhill Street." (Pp. 212, 249.) Perhaps the name "Market Place" was confined to the part of the present Market Place where the Town Hall stands. The writings of Mr. Payne's house, of the date of 1665, describe that part as the Market Place.

(30) Cuttle Brook was in fact the outer ditch of the Castle on the south side: a portion of Barkhill Street appears to have been on the north side of it, nearer to the Castle.

(31) Cucking-pool. The pool where the Cucking-stool was placed (see p. 223, in note 21) for the ducking of "scolds and unquiet women." The same punishment was anciently inflicted upon brewers and bakers transgressing the laws; who were thereupon, in such a stool or chair, to be ducked or immersed in some muddy or stinking pond. (Cunningham.) The Cucking-stool at Banbury was not removed until after the death of an offender, by the use or misuse of it, more than fifty years ago.

Market Place.³² Hogmarket Street was the present pig-market and Bridge Street North, extending from the eastern end of the Market Place to Myllane, Mylne Lane, Mill Lane, which led, as at present, to Banbury mill. The name "Castle Street" appears to be modern; it is now given to the street or way where anciently the road led from Colebar Street, across the lower part of the Market Place, to the Castle.

The Shampulls, or Shambles, was the present Butchers' Row,³³ being the small street which leads from the Market Place westward, parallel with High Street. The two passages which unite the Market Place with High Street have gone by the names of the Great and Little Ture. Pibble Lane was the present Church Lane, running from High Street into Parson's Street.³⁴ I have not met with the name of Pepper Alley (the lane which runs from High Street into Fish Street) at an earlier date than 1705. Tink-a-tank³⁵ was a very narrow lane leading from Sheep Street into the Church-yard: since it was widened in 1835, it has been named Church Passage.

Some of the old Houses of Banbury afford good specimens of the style of building, called Elizabethan, but more usually pertaining in reality to the period of James the First. Their pointed gables, and enriched verge-boards pierced in every variety of pattern, their finials and pendants, and pargetted³⁶ fronts, give an air of the picturesque contrasting broadly with the stiffness of the modern brick dwellings.

The House in the High Street, of which an engraving is given in Plate 23, is the most perfect: it was probably erected about the year 1600. This house has suffered principally in the first story: it has a fine oak staircase well worth a visit, the newels are beautifully carved and enriched with pierced finials and pendants. In the Market Place there are two good specimens of Houses of nearly the same date: one of them, a portion of which is now the residence of Mr. Strange, and which was probably the ancient front of the Unicorn Inn, still retains a fine pair of wooden gates, having characteristic dressings, and bearing the

(32) As appears from remains of old water-courses at a considerable depth.

(33) In title deeds of the date of 1627 this part is called the "Butcher Row or Shambles."

(34) As appears from the writings of the Star Inn, 1694 and 1722.

(35) The name of "Tink-a-tank" was doubtless given from the noise (well-remembered) which was occasioned by persons walking along the pebbled lane, between two lofty walls which were not more than three feet apart.

(36) An engraving of a portion of the pargetting of a house in the High Street is given in the Glossary of Architecture, edit. 1840, p. 153.

date of 1648. In Parson's Street, at the Raindeer Inn, there is another pair of gates, of earlier but plainer character; these bear the date of 1570, and an inscription rudely cut:—

IHON·KNIGHT ♦ IHONE·KNIGHT ♦ DAVID·HORN

On one part of this Inn is the date 1624. A gable of the same house bears the date 1637; immediately beneath which is the window (large enough for that of a castle) of a very fine room, the expensive and elaborate panelling of the wainscot of which, and the rich plaster ceiling, mark the house as having been a place of consequence. This room is of the style known as the Cinquecento style of Italy. A part of the Old George (formerly the George and Altarstone) Inn bears the date 1614. A considerable number of ancient stone houses which have been taken down of late years would seem, from the fact of coins of Elizabeth's reign³⁷ having been found in the walls and chimneys, to have been erected before the period of the great Fire of 1628.

Besides the Cuttle Brook, and its tributary which flowed down Parson's Street, there was another stream which ran through the town, namely, from Sugarford Bar Street, through the Horse Fair, Sheep Street, Scalding Lane, and Parson's Meadow Lane, into the Cherwell.

The POPULATION of the town appears to have increased very considerably between the years 1547 and 1628. In 1547, it has been estimated (see p. 210) at about 1000. In 1628, the number of dwelling-houses, as appears from two isolated passages in Whateley's Sermon on the Fire (see the next section), was about 310, giving the probable amount of the population as near 1600.

THE GREAT FIRE, MARCH 1627-8.

"Sunday morning the 2. of March, 1627 [1628], whilst the people were at diuine seruice, a great part of the towne of Banbury was burned, which began in a Malt-house, by negligence of a mayde."

Such is the brief account given by the continuator of Stow's Annals.³⁸ Some additional particulars are recorded in William

(37) The houses in which Elizabethan coins have been found were chiefly built of the ferruginous sandstone of the district, the walls inclining a little outward at the top, the roofs of a steep pitch, and slated.

(38) Stow's Annales, by Howes (1631), p. 1043.

Whateley's Sermon on the Fire, which was published May 26th 1628. This is entitled "SINNE NO MORE, or a Sermon preached in the Parish Church of Banbury on Tuesday the fourth of March last past, vpon occasion of a most Terrible Fire that happened there on the Sabbath day immediatly precedent."³⁹ It is stated on the title page, that the Fire "within the space of foure houres was carried from the one end of the Towne to the other, with that fury, as continuing to burne all the night, and much of the next day, it consumed 103 dwelling-houses, 20 kilne-houses, and other out-houses, to the number of 660 bayes and vpwards, together with so much malt and other graine and commodities, as amounted at the least to the value of twenty thousand pounds." "Carelesnesse and negligence of any person," says Whateley, "could not haue produced so lamentable a losse, if Gods prouidence had not so disposed, that such negligence should haue falne out, at such a time, in such a rough and violent winde, sitting in such a point as to driue it vpon you, not from you. The Lord that knew the winds would then bee very boysterous and violent, and that they would sit fitly to carie the flame from house to house, euen til they had passed through al the places which he saw fit to strike, hee I say, he by his good prouidence, did order things so that the heedlesnesse of some or other should then giue occasion, to the breaking out of the fire, when the frosty winde had made each thing as dry almost as tinder to receiue fire, and when the present tempest was ready to scatter and disperse the fire."⁴⁰ The first alarm was given while Whateley was administering the holy sacrament;⁴¹ and the fire "came riding," says Whateley,

(39) 1st edit. "London, Printed for Edward Langham, and are to be sold by him in Banbury, 1628." A second edition, printed in London "for Edward Langham in Banbury," appeared in the same year; and a third edition came out in 1632. Mr. Rusher of Banbury published a reprint of the Sermon in 1824.

(40) 1st edit., pp. 50, 51.

(41) "The cry of fire, fire, came flying in at the church doores euen in that instant, when wee had newly begunne to celebrate the Lords Supper; when some had receiued that holy Sacrament, and the greater number were to receiue, then did God pull vs from his table, and thrust vs out of his house by force, then was I compelled to request all of you (that had strength and ability to do seruice there) to make al haste to the place of danger, and the rest (that could haue but troubled others with their presence and outeries) to stay still at church." (1st edit. of the Sermon, pp. 34, 35.) Whateley goes on moralizing on the circumstances. "Thinke of the place also, where did the burning beginne? At a kilne, I say a kilne, a mault forge, the proper instrument of making that thing, which is the next and immediate worker of drunkennesse, that huge sinne, that fertill broody big-bellied sin, which is (as they say of the first matter) apt to take the formes of all sinnes, which by burying reason, and choaking conscience, and setting loose all passions, doth turne a man into a beast, or rather into a Diuell, which makes a man for the time, a meere Atheist, a very denyer of God, and thrusts out of his brest all remembrance, all feare, all loue of him. * * * The Fire began in a kilne, it consumed twenty kilnes, it left no kilne standing that was within its walke, it leaped from one side of the street to the other, to fetch in kilnes, it spared none it came neere, it spoyled more mault, then of any

"as it were in triumph, through your streetes, disdaining all resistance, till it had passed from end to end of your towne, and could not be restrained."⁴² Of the whole town, he says, "I thinke a third part haue passed thorow the flames. * * * Blessed be God, that a part alone, and not the whole borough, hath bene consumed; and that the greater part remaineth to succour the lesser."⁴³

There is no account which part of the town was destroyed, and we can only now judge from the character of the present houses and other buildings. Conjecture would thus refer to West Bar Street, South Bar Street, Calthorp Lane, Fish Street, and Broad Street, as the scenes of desolation.⁴¹ An inscription which was placed, after the fire, over the (perhaps newly re-erected) Bar in West Street, has been given in p. 208:—"Except the Lord keepe the City the wachman wacheth bvt in vaine. 1631."⁴⁵

It appears from the Journals of the House of Lords that, not

other goods of one kinde (so farre as I can learne) Say what you thinke brethren, Is it not plaine that the Lord doth admonish you of that fault (whereof the liquor of mault is the most common instrument) when he bare so hard an hand against kilnes and against mault."—Pp. 34—36.

(42) P. 36.

(43) Pp. 13, 15. "Had I bene a stranger," he says, "to lodge amongst you for a night alone; or a traveller, to baite in your Towne for an houre, or passe thorow your streets for a moment, yet I could not but haue sadly lamented so heauie a spectacle, the flaming of so many houses at once, the consuming of so much substance, the out-cries of so many persons, the desolation of so great a number of your dwellings; but being an inhabitant, borne, bred, and brought vp amongst you from mine infancie, and neuer absent from you aboue seuen yeares, for learnings sake; and now at last, a Minister amongst you, and Pastor ouer you, for the space of twenty yeares together; I might be iustly charged to haue lost all sense and humanity, if I were not deeply touched with your calamitie. Giue mine eyes leaue therefore, to speake vnto you in the language of teares, and seeing I heard so generall a cry for water, water, the other day; let me also cry water, water; and let all our eyes ioyne together, to powre forth a streame of water, sufficient to quench the remainders of those flames which are yet burning amongst you; yea, to quench the glowing fire of Gods displeasure for our sinnes, which hath iustly kindled all these flames amongst vs. * * * But I beseech you (brethren) let there be none, no not one amongst you, that out of a malicious desire to scourge pietie, so nicke-named, vpon our sides, shall mocke at Puritanisme, vpon occasion of this hand of God which he hath stretched out against vs, whom the world hath pleased, but falsely, to terme Puritans. Or if any man will needs take occasion to laugh at his brethren, whom his father sees good to correct before his eyes, we cannot but be assured that such petulancie and wantonnesse shall much displease that louing Father, which vseth his rods to warne one in anothers sufferings; and leauing him to bee iudged by God, that can take his times of fit corrections for all his sonnes and daughters, wee will pittie his ignorant follie, that doth so misse-interpret the Lords seueritie, comforting our selues with the Apostles saying, that hath told vs, how 'Judgement begins at the house of God,' and that 'the Father correcteth euery sonne whom he receiueh.'" (Pp. 2, 3, 23.)

The sermon must haue occupied about two hours in the delivery.

(44) Whateley dates his sermon from his own "study" in the old Vicarage-house; and includes himself (p. 15) among those who had "only felt the wind of the stroake as it were, and not the smart of it, and some not so much as the wind." Of the parts named above which I have conjectured to have been destroyed, Broad Street (the vicinity of the ancient Colebar Street), and, perhaps, Calthorp Lane, seem to be all in the rebuilding of which the former localities of the streets were not observed.

(45) It is said that a superstitious terrour originated by this Fire prevailed so long in the town that, as late as 1754, many inhabitants used to provide tubs of water on the anniversary of the day of the Fire, to prevent the recurrence of a similar calamity.

many days after the Fire, there was a threat made of a repetition of a similar calamity to the remaining part of the town. This was given by some soldiers, who were quartered in Banbury for the purpose probably of keeping the peace among the houseless sufferers.⁴⁶

THE REIGN OF CHARLES THE FIRST.

James Fiennes Esq., the grandson of Sir Richard Fenys or Fiennes, Baron Saye and Sele, before mentioned (pp. 236—238), and the eldest son of William Viscount Saye and Sele who appeared so prominently in the great Rebellion, was returned to Parliament for Banbury on the accession of Charles the First, in 1625. On a second Parliament being summoned in the following February, Calcot Chambre, or Chambers, Esq., was returned for Banbury.⁴⁷ To the third Parliament of this reign, in 1627—8, John Crewe Esq. was chosen:⁴⁸ he was son of Sir

(46) On the 26th March 1628, the Earl of Devon reported to the House a petition presented the day before "concerning the burning of Banbury which the soldiers billeted there did threaten to fire; and complaining of divers outrages committed by the soldiers there against the constable," and that the mayor and magistrates had not done the constable justice. The constable (George Phillips), and John Haines and Henry Hollead, having been hereupon examined with reference to the allegations, it was ordered that the serjeant at arms should forthwith bring up the bodies of Epiphany Hill mayor, and William Knyte and John Nicholls, justices, to answer the complaint; and also the bodies of the officers and soldiers concerned in the outrage, namely, Henry Reynde, the Auncient; ——— Browne, a soldier; Edward ———, an Irishman; John ———, a Welchman; Lewes Braunch, the serjeant; and Captain Elvenston, the captain of the said soldiers. Accordingly, on the 2nd April, the Mayor, Justice Knyte, Captain Elvenston, and the Auncient and other soldiers, were brought before the House; when, after the examination of evidence and a long debate, their Lordships considered "That though the Mayor and Justices denied justice to the constable, according to the law, for that they mistook and verily believed that they could not punish the soldiers without consent of their Captains, as it was affirmed by them of their first coming; yet the said Justices pacified the quarrel, and took such good order that the place was afterwards kept quietly: Their Lordships also considered, that the outrage of the Soldiers began out of the opinion also that they were not to be punished but by their Captain, which caused the assault upon the Constable; in which assault the soldiers being beaten and wounded, it moved the House to mitigate their censures against them: And first, that the Mayor and Justice should be excused, the Constable admonished to carry himself temperately for the time to come, yet so that he should not neglect to do his duty: That the Captain and Soldiers should be charged to live orderly, and subject to the laws of the land; and that they must not expect to be governed otherwise than by the law of the land, unto which they must submit themselves, as also unto those magistrates and other inferior officers under whom they live. This being agreed upon, the Mayor and Justice were first called, then the Constable, then the Captain and Soldiers; and the Lord Keeper declared the censure of the House upon them severally, one after the other, as they were called; and concluded, that their Lordships did take this mild proceeding against them all, that it might breed love and friendship amongst them." On the 4th April William Knyte the justice petitioned for a mitigation of fees; but his request was not granted.—*Lords' Journals*.

(47) Willis's Notit. Parl. Chambers was an Assistant in the Corporation. (See p. 255.) The decree of 1603 mentions Calcott Chambers as grandson of that Walter Calcott of Williamscoth who left money to the poor of Banbury (see pp. 249, 250).

(48) Willis. John Crewe represented Brackley in 1625, and the county of Northampton in 1640.

Thomas Crewe, of Steane, who was twice speaker of the House of Commons, in 1623 and 1625.

In 1629, the King, by letters patent dated 15th September, granted to William White and others, in fee-farm, the Borough of Banbury and the rents of assise of the free tenants, &c., with certain lands and tenements which are enumerated in a subsequent deed of sale made in 1651.⁴⁹ On the same day the King granted to William Viscount Saye and Sele, in fee-farm, the castle and Hundred of Banbury, as described in the same deed.

An extraordinary appearance of the Aurora Borealis over Banbury in 1631 is, at a later date, superstitiously alluded to by Joshua Sprigge (a Puritan writer who was born at Banbury); and conjectured by him to have been a portent of the wars and troubles which afflicted "that professing place" eleven years after. He says:—"The strange sights that were seen over that Towne sixteen yeers agoe, in the night time, when as the appearance of fighting, pikes pushing one against another, was discerned in the ayre, &c. whereof I was an eye-witnesse, with many others, might portend the portion which Providence hath since prepared for them."⁵⁰

The following are extracts from the accounts of the Corporation:—

1625. "Recevyd for the woolbeame	ijl. xviijs."
1626. "M ^d . There is owing vnto the Company from y ^c towne w ^{ch} Mr Knight paid fourth of the chamber for carriage of Armes to Ox. and for traine Souldiers charges &c.	l. s. d. 1 19 6 "
1628. "Receipts. For Fellons goods horses bridells sad- dels and swords	4 15 0
For Palmers clocke [cloak] & apparrell	1 0 0
For Harp's pistoll	0 4 0
For bloodsheds swearing and oth' disorders	1 11 6
Payements. For sessions dinner supp' and breckfast	3 18 0
For a supp' att the eating M ^r Watsons bucke	3 0 0
A new yeares gift to S ^r Tho. Crewe	2 0 0 "
1629. "For the Lord Says keep's fee	0 10 0
For a dinner att the Sessions and for a supper the Lord Says bucke	3 10 0 "

Sept. 29th, 1629. "The names of those that refuse to paie to the last Seastm^t made for the Const. for moneys laied fourth by them for the Kings Househould—M^r Tustian Richard Hill John Wheately Anthony Hall. It is agreed that the Const shall take cowerse against those that would not paie &c. and to be allowed their charges."

"Januarye 13th, 1629 [1630]. A Note of the Towne Armes.

4 Musketts wth Swordes, rests, bandealers, and belts: one more ould Muskett newly stocked.

3 newe corsletts, 3 head peeces, twoe swords, twoe bellts.

3 ould corsletts newly fashioned wth 3 head peeces w^{ch} Armes were this

(49) See hereafter, in 1651.

(50) Sprigge's *Anglia Rediviva*, 1647, p. 252.

day deli'u'ed by the ould constables vnto the constables for the tyme beinge.
4 pikes whereof 3 of them are armed & one bare."

1637. "The accompt of M^r Franseis Andrewe late Maior" contains the following:—

"Of wch money there is due for the Towne to paie 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* laied fourth by M^r Maior for his charges goinge upp to London about the Shipp Money."

The old Register contains the following:—

March 1632. "Memorandum that m^r William Whately vicker of this parish did give and grant licence to m^r Peregrine Gastrell of his parish to eat flesh on dayes prohibitted to others for that the sayd Peregrin Gastrell is notoriously sicke with the ague in his joynts and other infirmities the wich licenc bereth date the 8 of March 1632 and for that his infirmity contineweth still the same licenc is granted still and according to the lawe provided in that behalfe is entred into the Charch booke this 19 of March 1632."

On the death of the Earl of Banbury in 1632, the Common Council of Banbury elected William, Viscount Saye and Sele, to the office of High Steward of the Borough:—

"To the Right Ho^{bl} Will'm Lord Viscount Saye and Seale.

"Burgus de Banbury" } "Maye it please yo^r good Lo^{rp} After notice
in Com' Oxon' } of vs taken of the death of the right hono^rable
Will'm late Earle of Banbury the late Highe
Steward of our Boroughe, wee have mett in Common Counsell and by
one vnanimous consent made choyce of yo^r Lor^p to be Highe Steward
in hys place p'suming of yo^r hono^rable acceptance Whereinas alreadie
for manye former fauo^{rs} wee acknowledge ourselus in all dutye much
obliged to yo^r Lor^p: Soe shall we account it a further fauo^r that our
Towne maye be honno^d by soe worthie a p'son to be our Patron: And
in Testimonye of this our choyce wee haue subscribed our names and
affixed our Common Seale of our said Boroughe Dated the five and
twentieth daye of June in the eight yeare of the raigne of our Soueraigne
Lord King Charles over England &c Anno Dⁿⁱ 1632

George Robins Maior

Thomas Whateley

Thomas Webb

Thomas Halhed

Robert Russell

Richard Viuers

John Awsten

Epiphan Hill

Will'm Allen

Francis Andrews

John Tustian

} Justic

} Aldr

Nathaniell Wheatlye

Nathaniell Hill

Andrew Annesley

Organ Nicholls

John Webb

} Capital
Burg."¹

On the 8th June 1639, John Howes, M. A., was inducted to the perpetual vicarage of Banbury,² on the death of William Whateley.

After an interval of eleven years from the dissolution of the Parliament, another Parliament (the fourth of this reign) was

(1) Original document in the possession of the Hon. T. W. Twistleton Fiennes.

(2) Parish Register.

convoked by the King, April 13th 1640; to which the Hon. Nathaniel Fiennes, second son of William Viscount Saye and Sele, was returned for Banbury. This Parliament was dissolved on the 5th May, and was succeeded by the fifth and last Parliament of Charles the First, which was convoked in the same year, Nov. 3rd, 1640: Nathaniel Fiennes was again returned for Banbury.³ This was the Long Parliament, which continued until April 20th, 1653, when it was broken up by Cromwell.

THE PURITAN DIVINES OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD.

The feeling of hostility to the government of Charles the First, which prevailed so generally in Banbury and the district around it before and during the great civil conflicts upon which we are now about to enter, has been attributed in great part to the influence of the Puritan preachers, especially the lecturers in the different towns: it will therefore be necessary to record some particulars relating to the chief of these divines.

Of those Puritan Divines who have been already noticed in this volume, Brasbridge, vicar of Banbury, and Prime, vicar of Adderbury, died nearly half a century before the commencement of the Civil War. Nor is any thing known relating to Whateley which appears to implicate him personally with the great struggle of parties which broke out into open rebellion within three years after his decease: although we meet with the name of one of his near relatives, John Whateley, along with those of Tustian, Hill, and Hall, (Banbury Puritans,) who, as early as 1629, refused to pay to the usual assessment for his Majesty's household,⁴ about the time when Hampden set the public example of refusing to contribute in aid of the King's necessities. Of the other eminent Puritan preachers who officiated within this district, Dod and Harris lived to witness all the horrors of war around their own dwellings. JOHN DOD was the youngest of the seventeen children of John Dod Esq. of Shocklach in Cheshire, where he was born in 1555. He was educated at Jesus College, Cambridge, of which college he was elected fellow in 1585: in the same year he was incorporated M. A. of Oxford, and was presented to the rectory of Hanwell by Sir Anthony

(3) Willis, &c.

(4) See p. 281.

Cope. He was a learned, pious, and eminent divine, particularly skilled in Hebrew; and nothing has ever been objected to his character but the fact of his "being a Puritan." He held the living of Hanwell twenty years, to the great satisfaction both of the Bishop and people, preaching and catechising with great diligence, and keeping hospitality at his house, for eight or twelve poor persons, twice every week. Being at length suspended by the new Bishop of Oxford, Bridges, for nonconformity, and consequently unable to continue his ministerial office at Hanwell, he, in or about the year 1605, commenced preaching at Fenny Compton. Soon after, he removed to Canons Ashby, where he was once more silenced: but after the death of James the First (which occurred in 1625) he was again permitted to preach. He was one of five Puritan ministers who kept up a weekly lecture at Banbury. Towards the latter part of his life, being patronised by the Knightley family, he took up his abode at Fawsley; being, in 1637, presented by Richard Knightley Esq. to the vicarage of Fawsley.⁵ It is said that he never meddled with affairs of state during the period of the national troubles: yet he did not escape some share of suffering, being on one occasion severely used by some cavalier troopers, who plundered his house, and, it is said, would have possessed themselves even of his sheets, but that the good old man, who was scarcely able to rise from his chair, had carefully put them under him for a cushion.⁶ He died in 1645, aged 90 years, and was interred at Fawsley on the 19th August. There is a scarce portrait of him, which was engraved for an edition of one of his works published after his decease: beneath it are the following lines:—

"A grave Divine; precise, not turbulent;
And never guilty of the Churches rent:
Meek even to sinners; most devout to God:
This is but part of the due praise of Dod."

Dod's writings are all excellent. In conjunction with ROBERT CLEAVER, the Puritan minister of Drayton, he published a celebrated work, entitled *An Exposition of the Ten Commandments*; which won for Dod the name of "The Decalogist:" but the brief pages which brought him the most fame were his "Sayings." His successor at Hanwell, Dr. Harris, used to say that "if all

(5) Wood's *Fasti Oxon*; Clark's *Lives*; Dod's writings; Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*; Granger's *Biog. Hist.*; Baker's *Northamp.*

(6) Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, v. 3, p. 320.

Dod's apophthegms were collected, they would exceed all that Plutarch in Greek, or others in Latin, have published."⁷ Many of them, on two sheets of paper, were long to be seen pasted on the walls of cottages: Granger says—"An old woman in my neighbourhood told me that she should have gone distracted for the loss of her husband, if she had been without Mr. Dod's 'Sayings' in the house."⁸ Fuller characterises him as "by nature a witty, by industry a learned, by grace a godly divine."⁹

ROBERT HARRIS, the successor of Dod in his rectory of Hanwell, and afterwards President of Trinity College, Oxford, was another celebrated Puritan preacher of this period. He was born, says Durham, "in a dark time and place;" namely, at Broad Campden in Gloucestershire in 1578. He entered Magdalene Hall, Oxford, in 1595; took one degree in arts, and, being driven from Oxford by the occurrence of the Plague, was prevailed upon to preach, in the vicinity of that city, by Mr. Doyley,¹⁰ a gentleman of the ancient Oxfordshire family of De Oily, who resided six miles from Oxford and was "a great friend to the Gospel." Some time after this, there was, the same writer says, "a fearful eclipse upon the Church; a constellation of ministers was at once darkened. Amongst the rest those three shining stars, Mr. Dod, Mr. Cleaver, and Mr. Lancaster. Hereupon Sir Anthony Cope (who had before placed, and now lost, Mr. Dod at Hanwell, and Mr. Cleaver at Drayton,) became suitor to his brother Doylye (so he was by marriage) for Mr. Harris." To Hanwell Harris accordingly went, where "he found that country in this posture, preach he might, and welcome, but pastors they would own none but their old." The conclusion of this affair was that Harris should preach to the congregations of Hanwell and Drayton only until it should be possible to recover the former pastors.¹¹

(7) Durham's Life of Harris, p. 18.

(8) Granger's Biog. Hist., v. 2, p. 74.

(9) It was John Dod who was alluded to in Cartwright's comedy, the Ordinary, in the passage—"Spring up, and Dod's blessing on't." Dod and Cleaver's celebrated work, entitled "A Plaine and Familiar Exposition of the Ten Commandments," was published in 4to. in 1604, and in 8vo. in 1607, dedicated to Sir Anthony Cope. In conjunction with the same Cleaver, Dod published in 1606, and reprinted in 1611, "Ten Sermons, tending chiefly to the fitting of men for the worthy receiuing of the Lords Supper," 4to.; dedicated to the lady Anne Cope, wife of Sir Anthony Cope of Hanwell, and Lady Elizabeth Cope, wife of Sir William Cope of Hardwicke. Dod and Cleaver further published, in 4to. in 1612, "An Exposition of the Proverbs," from chap. 9 to 20, 4to. In 1635 Dod published "A Plain and Familiar Exposition on the Lord's Prayer," first preached in divers sermons ["above twenty years agoe"], 4to. He also published Sermons in 1614, 1618, and 1621. Dod's "Sayings" have been printed in various forms.

(10) John Doyley Esq., of Chiselhampton, co. Oxon, who married Ursula, the daughter of Edward Cope Esq. of Hanwell and the sister of Sir Anthony Cope.

(11) Life of Harris, by W. D. [Durham], 12mo., 1660, pp. 1-12.

This was at the same time that Whateley entered the pulpit at Banbury, where he also was unpopular upon "account of dissent from their ancient teachers." "The truth is," says Durham, "they both had a sad time of it a great while, notwithstanding all the wisdom and moderation of Sir Anthony Cope, and Mr. Dod, to the contrary."¹²

Archbishop Bancroft, finding no compliance in the two silenced ministers (Dod and Cleaver), presented two chaplains to the churches of Hanwell and Drayton upon the ground of a lapse. Sir Anthony Cope now thought it "high time to stir;" and, taking with him one or two members of the House of Commons, he presented his clerks to the Archbishop. The latter gave his consent that Sir Anthony should present; but, as Sir Anthony had spoken in Parliament against insufficient ministers, and made some reflections upon the Bishops, the Archbishop referred both the clerks to his own ablest chaplain to be examined. The chaplain brought in the clerk designed for Hanwell (which place Harris had declined) altogether insufficient, although he is stated to have been "a grave and discreet divine:" the other was returned "*Mediocriter doctus*." Barlow, bishop of Rochester, being present, was then asked to undertake to examine Harris; and this Bishop, being an active and witty man, immediately proceeded to try him in divinity, but more in other learning, particularly Greek, where the Bishop's strength lay: but so long, says Durham, "they both Greeked it, till at last they were both scoted, and to seek of words; whereupon they both fell a laughing, and so gave up." The Bishop then went in to the Archbishop, and there (as Harris expressed it) "set him as much too high" as the chaplain had "set his fellow too low." The Archbishop was thereupon content to admit Harris, upon condition that he should have the rectory of Hanwell; which was easily settled, as Sir Anthony had before offered him the living, and Dod was also present to desire it.¹³

"Well," says the biographer, "now they have a new pastor at Hanwell, which begets a new tumult: withall Drayton is also furnished with one Mr. Scudder, a prudent man. And now there were three united, not only in judgment and Christian affection, but in affinity: Mr. Harris marrying Mr. Whately's own sister; and Mr. Scudder his wife's sister. These three met a while weekly,

(12) *Life of Harris*, pp. 12, 13.

(13) *Life of Harris*, pp. 13—15.

and *alternatim* translated and analysed each his chapter, but their public employments soon took them off this." A domestic affliction visited Harris soon after he was fixed at Hanwell; but this cloud was blown over, and after a time the people began to relish his ministry, and he had great comfort in the proximity of many divines of his own class. Among these are mentioned Cleaver (lately ejected from Drayton) as a "solid text-man;" Lancaster, "a most humble and self-denying man," by birth a gentleman, who, when at Cambridge, is said by Dr. Collins to have delivered himself in lectures in as pure Latin as ever Tully uttered, having no notes but what he wrote upon the nails of his fingers; and, above all, Dod. This last-named divine daily read a chapter with Harris in the original, and much of their time was spent together: but this happiness had its end on Dod's removal into Northamptonshire.¹⁴

In 1614, Harris purchased the 'Spital estate at Banbury of his father-in-law, Thomas Whateley,¹⁵ the father of William Whateley. During his long residence at Hanwell, he had "sundry calls to London, now to the Cross, and now to the Parliament, and sometimes to the Country-feasts; which gave occasion to many invitations to places there." To Hanwell several young students resorted, and his small house there became a little academy. He was a constant preacher in his own church on Sundays, and on such festival days as did not interfere with the Lecture or Market at Banbury: it is said that, on Easter Mondays and Whit Mondays especially, "troops of Christians" came many miles, from all quarters, to hear him; and on the morrow these were in like manner "entertained at Banbury by Mr. Whately." "What a fair of souls," continues Durham, "was then held at Hanwell and Banbury by these two brothers! How did religion flourish! how did professors thrive!" These occasions made Harris not forward to engage in lectures at a distance from home; yet he, with others, kept up a lecture at Deddington; and for some time he was engaged alone in a lecture at Stratford upon Avon once a fortnight.¹⁶

Harris remained at Hanwell long enough to witness the last days of three successive patrons, Sir Anthony, Sir William, and

(14) Life of Harris, pp. 15—20.

(15) Baker's Northamp., p. 749: and see an account of the 'Spital property [Hospital of St. Leonard] in p. 79 of this vol.

(16) Life of Harris, pp. 20—26.

Sir John Cope, baronets; the last of whom died 13th October 1638,¹⁷ only about fourteen months subsequently to the decease of his father, Sir William. Many of Harris's contemporary ministers among the Puritans were also deceased, including his brother-in-law Whateley, who died in 1639. On the 25th April 1642, Harris was presented, among other Puritan divines from various counties, as fit to be consulted by the Parliament "touching the reformation of Church Government and the Liturgy."¹⁸ He was summoned to London to preach before the Parliament¹⁹ on the occasion of an appointed fast, 25th May 1642, a short time before the outbreak of the war: he however returned to Hanwell; and, in the beginning of August following, was by some cavalier troopers turned out of his house, with his family, on a Sunday evening, and made to wander for a lodging. The troopers also took temporary possession of Hanwell Castle, then the abode of Lady Cope, the widow of Sir John Cope and mother of the youthful Sir Anthony.²⁰ "Now," says his biographer, "begin those cloudy times, and his sadder daies; now troops and armies march towards those quarters about Edgehill, where they sit down, and there is fought a bloody battel upon the Lord's Day" [23rd October], "about four miles distant from him; notwithstanding (which he took for a great mercy) hee heard not the least noise of it, till the publick work of the day was over, nor could he believe the report of a fight till a souldier besmeared with blood and powder came to witness it." From this period, Harris's troubles were multiplied. "Now hee was threatned with this, now with that garrison: here hee was a Roundhead, and there a Malignant; still oppressed with a succession of souldiers quartering upon him, yet still hee kept his standing. In his family some of his [military] guests would joyn with him in family duties, wherein hee was alwaies constant, albeit his devotions were by some entertained, and by others scorned, because not mingled with book-

(17) It would appear, from the following notice which occurs in an abstract of the inquisition taken 28th December 1638, that Sir John Cope died a violent death:—"John Cope bar. fil. & hæ. vul." [*vulneratus*, wounded] "11 Oct. 1638, ob. 13 Oct. 1638." (Harl. MS. 760, fol. 276.) His remains were interred at Hanwell on the 25th October. (Register of Hanwell.) Sir John Cope's eldest son and heir, the second Sir Anthony Cope bart., was at this period only six years of age.

(18) 4to Tract of the period in my own possession.

(19) Which he did from the text—"Shall not God avenge his own Elect, which cry day and night unto him." (A Sermon, &c. by Robert Harris, 1642.) This sermon was published by order of the House, and is then dated "From my poore Study. Iune 13. 1642."

(20) "Proceedings at Banbury," &c., a 4to. tract preserved in the King's Collection in the British Museum. This Lady Cope was Sir John Cope's second wife, the Lady Elizabeth, daughter of Francis Earl of Westmorland. She died in 1669.

prayers." In his church he kept up his usual course on Sundays; and most of the soldiers who were quartered upon him, being leaders and officers, were civil towards him and his: yet on one occasion the company were so "outrageously blasphemous" that he could not forbear using the text, James v. 12; which so "nettled" some of them, that, with the most horrible imprecations upon their own heads if they failed herein, they vowed to shoot the preacher if ever he handled that text again. The next day he went on upon the same text, whereupon a soldier took up his carbine and "fumbled" about the lock; but the preacher went through his discourse without any further interruption.²¹

Although invited to the Assembly at London, Harris continued at Hanwell, until, his tenements in the neighbourhood (perhaps the 'Spital property at Banbury) being fired, the wood and nurseries of wood destroyed, and himself threatened, and at last enforced by a Scottish commander to shift for quarters, while some of his neighbours were ready to betray him, he went to London "a sad man;" and at the Assembly is said to have found "much more undone than done." Such of his books and notes as remained at Hanwell, together with all his goods left behind, were seized,²² and the living was given to another. He now attended the Assembly, but was careful to "hear all and say little."²³

He soon after received an appointment to St. Botolph's Church in Bishopsgate Street. In 1645, he was named one of the "tryers" of those who were to be ruling elders. The Committee of Hampshire, about the year 1646, gave him the rich living of Petersfield; and about the same time, he, with four other divines, was commanded to go to Oxford, then under suspension. There a paper was put out against him, containing an account of his livings and revenues; which seems to have much annoyed him, notwithstanding that he is stated to have "stood clear in his own and others' consciences;" and he felt compelled to resign Petersfield. The Chancellor (the Earl of Pembroke), coming to visit Oxford in 1648, conferred upon Harris the degree of D. D.; and in the same year he became president of Trinity College, Oxford, and, consequently, rector of Garsington. In 1654, he, with Dr. John Owen, Dr. Thomas Goodwin, Samuel Wells the

(21) Life of Harris, pp. 30—32.

(22) It is entered in the register of Hanwell that the said Register Book was carried away by the soldiers in 1642, and missing till 1649, when it was found at Oxford.

(23) Life of Harris, p. 32, 33.

then Puritan minister of Banbury, Taylor of Broughton, and others, was appointed assistant to the commissioners of Oxfordshire for ejecting "scandalous and ignorant ministers and school-masters," a definition which was generally made to include such as were inclined to the Royalist cause. In his old age, Harris experienced severe affliction from the circumstance of his wife (the sister of Whateley), with whom he had lived nearly fifty years, being given up (Durham says) "to Satan's buffetings, to such horrors of minde, and hellish temptations, as smote a grief and terrour into all spectators." Dr. Harris died in 1658; his last words signifying to his son "that he lived and died in the faith which he had preached and printed, and now he found the comfort of it." He was buried in the chapel of Trinity College.²⁴

ROBERT CLEAVER, the Puritan rector of Drayton who was contemporary with Dod, has been already mentioned in pp. 284—287. The succeeding rector of Drayton, HENRY SCUDDER, (who has also been noticed in pp. 267, 286,) in conjunction with the learned Sir Edward Leigh published in 1640 the "Prototypes" of William Whateley; with a Life of Whateley prefixed, written by Scudder. Scudder was subsequently minister of Coltingbourn Ducis in Wiltshire.²⁵

(24) Bliss's Wood's Athenæ; Life of Harris. The latter work is entitled "The Life and Death of that judicious Divine and accomplished Preacher, Robert Harris, D.D., late President of Trinity College in Oxon. Collected by a joint concurrence of some, who knew him well in his Strength, visited him often in his Sickness, attended him at his Death, and still honour his Memory. Published at the earnest Request of many, for the Satisfaction of some, for the Silencing of others, and for the Imitation of all. By W. D. [Durham] his dear Friend and Kinsman." Lond., 1st edit. 1660; 2nd edit., 1661; 12mo.

Harris's works are:—1, S. Pauls Confidence; delivered in a Sermon before the Ivdges of Assise, 1628.—2, Davids Comfort at Ziklag; a plaine Sermon made in time of dearth and scarcitie of Corne and Worke, 1628.—3, Samuels Fvnerall: or, a Sermon preached at the Funerall of Sir Anthonie Cope, knight, and baronet; 1618, 1622, & 1626. Dedicated to his widow, Lady Anne Cope. Dated from Hanwell, July 11. 1618, four years after the funeral.—4, Absaloms Fvnerall. Preached at Banbvrre by a Neighbvrr Minister. Or, The Lamentation of a loving father for a rebellious childe; 1617 & 1626. Dated 25 August 1610.—5, The Drynkards Cvp: 1619 & 1626. Dedicated to Justices of the Peace near about Hanwell.—6, Gods Goodnes and Mercie. Laid open in a Sermon preached at Pauls-Crosse on the last of June, 1622. Printed 1626.—7, Hezekiahs Recovery [2nd edit., 1626].—8, Peters Enlargement vpon the Prayers of the Chvrch: with certain Queries and Cases concerning Prayer [6th Edit. 1629].—9, The Blessednesse of a Sovnd Spirit: with the Misery of a Wovnded Spirit, 1628.—10, Judas his Miserie. A Sermon preached at the Vniversitie of Oxford, 1628.—11, A Sermon preached to the Honorable Hovse of Commons assembled in Parliament, at a Publike Fast, May 25, 1612. Published by Order of the House. Lond. 1642.—12, Saint Pauls Exercise.—13, Two Sermons on a Good Conscience.—14, Barzillai, preached at Saint Marie Aldermanburie.—15, The Way to True Happinesse, in Twenty four Sermons on the Beatitudes.—16, A Treatise of the New Covenant.—17, A Remedy against Covetousnesse.

(25) Scudder wrote and published "The Christian's Daily Walk," in 8vo. Also, in 1644, "God's Warning to England," a sermon preached before the House of Commons, 4to.

THE GREAT CIVIL WAR.

BANBURY: THE FIENNES FAMILY.

We are now entering upon a period when the local history of Banbury occupies a conspicuous place in our National annals. The immediate neighbourhood was the scene where those secret consultations were carried on amongst the Chiefs of the English malecontents, which led to open resistance to the Court: and, when the rebellion actually broke out in 1642, the town and its Castle became, and, until 1646, continued to be, involved in hot and furious conflict. Of the strength of the Castle we have hitherto learned but little: perhaps its long possession by the Bishops of Lincoln may have been the cause why in stormy times, the town was often, apparently, in peace. Now, however, the Castle was held by one of the first agitators and leaders in the Rebellion, WILLIAM, Viscount SAYE AND SELE. This influential nobleman was the son of Richard, Baron Saye and Sele: he was born at Broughton in 1582; received his grammar learning in Wykeham's school near Winchester; became a fellow-commoner of New College, Oxford, in his fourteenth year; and afterwards travelled abroad. In 1612 he succeeded to the barony of Saye and Sele on the decease of his father; and was afterwards, in 1624, advanced by James the First to the dignity of a Viscount. The first mention of this nobleman in connection with Banbury (beyond that of his holding the Castle under the lease granted during the life of his father) is in 1629, when some expenses are recorded as having been incurred by the Corporation on account of a supper on "the Lord Says bucke."²⁶ In 1632, he was appointed High Steward of the borough.²⁷ With reference to the intimate connection of this nobleman with Banbury, it was written by a friendly pen, that he "sparkled many glimpses into the consciences of all that were near him, and enlightened more places besides Banbury."²⁸

(26) See p. 281.

(27) See p. 282.

(28) *Mercurius Britannicus*, No. 59.

His eldest son, James Fiennes, represented Banbury in Parliament in 1625. His second son, Nathaniel Fiennes, a popular and talented young nobleman, was chosen representative of Banbury in both the Parliaments of 1640, and was, like his father a counsellor and leader in the Rebellion.

NATHANIEL FIENNES was born at Broughton in 1608; educated in grammar learning in Winchester school; and admitted perpetual fellow of New College, Oxford, (at his first entry therein, he being a founder's kinsman,) in 1624. He remained at Oxford about five years, when he departed, without a degree, and went to Geneva; where, and among the cantons of Switzerland, he increased the feeling of disinclination to the Church of England which he had imbibed from his years of infancy. Returning from his travels, he passed through Scotland at the time when the rebellion there was in the bud: and when, in 1640, he was found in the "Long Parliament" as the member for Banbury, he at once, by his bold yet wary counsel, and his great powers of language, shewed himself fit to be a leader in that assembly. Noble says that Nathaniel Fiennes had so great a dislike to monarchy and episcopacy, that, from the moment of his entering Parliament, he was one of those called "root-and-branch men." His opponent, Lord Clarendon, admits him to have had "very good parts of learning and nature;" and, next to Hampden himself, he was regarded as most possessing the confidence of the House of Commons.

There is reason to believe that Banbury Castle was greatly strengthened soon after this period. Heath (writing after the Civil Wars) says, it had "recovered itself from the decays of a long antiquity."²⁹ Dr. Stukeley, writing in 1712, says:—"in the Civil Wars it received new additional works, for there are plain remains of four bastions, a brook running without them."³⁰ Joshua Sprigge, a Banbury Puritan, writing immediately after the siege of the Castle in 1646, says:—"This Castle, though old through time, yet was recovered and revived by art and industry unto an incredible strength, much beyond many places of greater name and reputation."³¹ Lord Saye was not only the keeper of this stronghold, but also, in affairs of state and religion, the chosen leader of almost the entire population of the district around Ban-

(29) Heath's Chronicle, p. 108.

(30) Stukeley's *Itin. Curios.*, p. 48.

(31) Sprigge's *Anglia Rediviva*, p. 253.

bury. We have seen, as early as 1629, several persons of respectability in Banbury refusing to pay to the assessment made on account of the King's household,³² nearly at the period when Hampden set the example of refusing to contribute in aid of the King's necessities. There is another record, in 1637, of money laid out by the Mayor of Banbury for his charges of going to London concerning the Ship Money.³³ This tax had been demanded in some maritime places and in London in 1634: but it was not until 1636 (at which date Ship Money was first levied on all counties, cities, and corporate towns,) that Hampden and Lord Saye made their celebrated stand against the impost; and it appears, from the date of the above memorandum, that the people of Banbury were thus early concerned in the like resistance.³¹

In the southeastern parts of Warwickshire, adjacent to Oxfordshire and Northamptonshire, Lord BROOK³⁵ was the chosen leader of a population who also were decidedly opposed to the measures

(32) See p. 281.

(33) See p. 282.

(34) From a copy of one of the schedules of Ship Money which has been preserved at Stowe and published by Lord Nugent in his *Memorials of Hampden*, the following items are taken, shewing the amount of this tax claimed from this neighbourhood. The entries for some other places are added for the sake of comparison:—

	<i>Tons</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
"Oxfordshire one shipp of . . .	280	112	3500	0	0
City of Oxforde			100	0	0
Towne of Burforde			40	0	0
Burrough and Parish of Banbury			40	0	0
Burrough or Towne of Chipping Norton			30	0	0
Burrough of Woodstocke			20	0	0
City of Coventrie			266	0	0
Towne of Northampton			200	0	0
Burrough and Parish of Buckingham			70	0	0
Burrough of Stratford upon Avon			50	0	0
Burrough of Daventry			50	0	0
Burrough of Brackley			50	0	0

It must be borne in mind that this schedule was made not long after the destruction of one third of the town of Banbury by fire.

(35) Clarendon. Robert Grevile, Lord Brook, was descended from Sir Fulke Grevile, second son of Sir Edward Grevile of Drayton and Milcot who lived in the reign of Henry VIII.

Lords Saye and Brook, a few years before the Civil War, at a time when the hopes of their party were low, were among those who meditated a settlement in New England. By them, a little town, called SAYBROOK, was built in 1635; and it is now a flourishing place in the province of Connecticut. To this wild and distant settlement, these two peers of England had at that time, says Lord Nugent, "determined to retreat, in failure of their efforts for justice and peace at home; and there they were jointly to become the founders of a patriarchal community. Of this new settlement liberty of conscience was to be the first law, and it was afterwards to be governed according to their darling scheme of a free commonwealth." (*Memorials of Hampden*, v. 1, pp. 253, 254.) How "free" the new commonwealth might have proved, we cannot judge: but Lord Saye, who, but a few years after, appears prominently as the persecutor of the Quakers on his estates at Broughton, can hardly be supposed likely to have long secured "liberty of conscience" within his commonwealth.

Lords Saye and Brook were the only members of the English nobility who refused their concurrence to the Protestation that all men should profess their loyalty to his Majesty, and disclaim holding any correspondence with the Scottish rebels. Clarendon says:—"No man imagined it possible that any of the English would refuse to make that protestation;

of the Court. The neighbouring parts of Northamptonshire were equally disaffected. The borders of Buckinghamshire, on the side towards Oxfordshire, were wholly under the guidance of Hampden. The strong Castles of Banbury, Warwick, and Northampton, and Lord Saye's castellated house at Broughton near Banbury, were all in the keeping of the malecontents.

On the other hand, Oxford was the head quarters of the King's adherents: and the Earl of NORTHAMPTON, the powerful, the beloved, the bold, the uncompromising friend of Royalty, had a defensible seat at Compton Wynyate, within eight miles of Banbury. Spencer Compton, Earl of Northampton, had lived until this period in indulgence and luxury: but, being now aroused in the cause of his Sovereign, he immediately devoted all his energies to its support. He levied, at the first, a regiment of foot and a troop of horse at his own charge, and dedicated all his children to the service. It is said that at the first great battle, that of Edgehill, he brought into the field two thousand of the best disciplined men in the army. He bore the hardships of war as though he had never known profusion or ease: and, in the spirit of a hero who threw away the scabbard when he drew the sword, he would often say "that if he outlived these wars he was certain never to have so noble a death."³⁶

Such were the elements and indications of the gathering storm which was soon to burst over the devoted town of Banbury.

BROUGHTON: FAWSLEY.—THE ARMING.

The first Parliament of 1640 was precipitately dissolved on the 5th May: and, on the following day, warrants were issued for

and they who thought worst of the Scots, did not think they would make any scruple of doing the same, and consequently that there would be no fruit, or discovery from that test; but they were deceived: the Scots indeed took it to a man, without grieving their conscience, or reforming their manners. But amongst the English nobility the Lord Say and the Lord Brook (two popular men, and most undevoted to the Church, and, in truth, to the whole government), positively refused, in the King's own presence, to make any such protestation. They said:—'If the King suspected their loyalty he might proceed against them as he thought fit; but that it was against the law to impose any oaths or protestations upon them which were not enjoined by the law; and, in that respect, that they might not betray the common liberty, they would not submit to it.' This administered matter of new dispute in a very unseasonable time; and though there did not then appear more of the same mind, and they two were committed, at least restrained of their liberty, yet this discovered too much of the humour and spirit of the Court in their daily discourses upon that subject; so that the King thought it best to dismiss those two Lords, and require them to return to their houses."—*Clarendon's Hist. Rebel.*, v. 1, p. 117.

(36) Lord Clarendon; Nugent's Memorials of Hampden.

searching the lodgings and "pockets" of Lord Brook and the Earl of Warwick, on strong suspicion that they held correspondence with the Scots who were then in arms.³⁷ "How far," says Lord Nugent," it may have been under the advice of the leaders of the popular party in London that the Scottish army was now advanced into England, will probably always remain matter of doubt. That a constant communication was kept up between them by letters and by messengers is certain."³⁸

The retired country-houses of the English malecontents were considered to be the safest places for the grave and dangerous consultations which were carried on at this time between the leaders of that party and the Commissioners from Scotland; and two places were selected, which were eligible both on account of their privacy and their favourable position at no great distance from the northern road. These were, Broughton Castle, and Fawsley.

BROUGHTON CASTLE, the seat of Lord Saye, (which has been already described in this volume, pp. 100—102,) is situated two miles and three quarters southwest from Banbury. It is surrounded with a broad and deep moat, over which there is a stone bridge, defended by the ancient gatehouse, which is yet remaining. (See Plate 24.) FAWSLEY is in Northamptonshire, 13 miles northeast from Banbury; and was at this period the seat of Richard Knightley Esq., whose eldest son, Richard Knightley, had married Elizabeth, the eldest and favourite daughter of Hampden. In these two secluded houses did Hampden, Pym, St. John, Lord Saye, and Lord Brook, and, later in the year 1640, the Earls of Bedford, Warwick, and Essex, Lord Holland, Nathaniel Fiennes, and the younger Vane, hold their sittings; which were sometimes attended by other persons of great rank and property, who were as deeply involved in the general plan of resistance.³⁹ Anthony à Wood describes the secret meetings at Broughton. "For so it was," he says, "that several years before the Civil War began, he [Lord Saye] being looked upon as the godfather of that party, had meetings of them in his house at Broughton, where was a room, and passage thereunto, which his servants were prohibited to come near: and when they were

(37) Parl. Hist. Eng., v. 8, p. 489; Nugent's Memorials, v. 1, p. 311.

(38) Nugent's Memo., v. 1, p. 321.

(39) Nugent's Memo., v. 1, p. 327. The old printing-press established at Fawsley by Sir Richard Knightley in the reign of Elizabeth is said to have been at this time again brought into use for the purposes of the cabal.—*Ibid.*

of a compleat number, there would be great noises and talkings heard among them, to the admiration of those that lived in the house, yet could they never discern their lord's companions."⁴⁰

Before the writs were issued to summon the second Parliament of 1640, the leaders of the malecontent party actively canvassed the country for the return of their friends. The consequence, in these parts, was, that James Fiennes was elected for Oxfordshire; Hampden for Buckinghamshire; Nathaniel Fiennes for Banbury; and Hampden's two sons-in-law, the younger Knightley and Sir Robert Pye, for Northampton and Woodstock. On the 3rd November the King opened the "Long Parliament," which soon gave evidence of the spirit which animated a large proportion of its members. Some proceedings took place respecting Lord Saye and the Vicar of Banbury, which are recorded in the Journals of the House of Lords:—

Dec. 10th, 1640. "The Petition of the inhabitants of the town of Banbury was read, to this effect; That John Howes, Vicar of Banbury, hath shewed himself to be a person ill affected to the State; for, upon the 5th of November 1639, though he had the Statute Book sent to him by the Churchwardens, and was desired to read the Statute appointed to be read that day, to keep thankfully in memory the great deliverance from the Powder Plot, he refused to read the same; nor would he, upon the last 5th of November, read these words in the Prayer appointed to be read that day; viz. 'Whose Religion is Rebellion, and whose Faith is Faction;' nor keep the Fast appointed at the last Parliament: Besides, he hath cast out aspersions upon some of the Nobility, saying, in the hearing of divers, That some of the Lords promised to aid the Scots, when they should come into England; but, now they were come, durst not be seen in it. Whereupon it was ordered, the said John Howes is to be sent for by the Serjeant at Arms, and brought before their Lordships tomorrow morning, to answer the same.

"It was moved, That it may be considered by what right the aforesaid John Howes was presented to the Vicarage of Banbury; whereupon it was thought fit to be committed to these Lords following: videlicet, E. of Bath, E. of Warwick, E. of Bristoll, L. Viscount Say & Seale, L. B^p of Co. & Litchfeld, L. B^p of Exon, L. B^p of Carlisle, L. B^p of Bristoll, D^s Willoughby de Earsby, D^s Wharton, D^s Brooke, D^s Roberts. Lord Chief Justice Brampton and Justice Crawly Assistants. To meet tomorrow in the afternoon, at two o'clock, in the Painted Chamber."

Dec. 11th, 1640. "This day Mr. Howes, Vicar of Banbury, was brought to the Bar as a Delinquent, to answer the Petition of the Inhabitants of

(40) Wood's *Athenæ*. And see the same facts asserted in *Persecutio Undecima*, 1641. Lord Nugent says, that a room in Broughton Castle which is surrounded with thick stone walls and casemated is reported by tradition to have been the place used for the secret sittings of the Puritans. He adds,—"It seems an odd fancy, although a very prevailing one, to suppose that wise men, employed in capital matters of state, must needs choose the most mysterious and suspicious retirements for consultation, instead of the safer and less remarkable expedient of a walk into the open fields." V. 1, pp. 327, 328.

A vulgar opinion also remains, that a cave, which exists in the enclosure called Bretch (about sixty yards from Broughton tollgate), although nearly a mile from Broughton Castle, was a place of secret entrance thereto. This cave is a series of irregular chambers naturally formed in the rock, succeeding each other for about 150 or 170 feet. No part of the cave is so high as 5ft. 10 in. The floor, if such it may be called, is covered to the depth of about two feet with rubble stones which have fallen from the roof.

Banbury against him; and these witnesses following were sworn and examined in open Court, videlicet, John Webb, Tho. Holled, Robert Vivers, Tho. Robins, Jo. Wamsley, Ann Vivers, Mary Holled. And after a full hearing of what the witnesses could say touching the proof of the matters charged in the Petition, the House did conceive, that there was not a sufficient proof made, whereby to censure Mr. Howes upon those particulars; but concerning the words which Mr. Howes did speak concerning the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Say and Seale, though they were not mentioned in the Petition, yet, because they were proved by one witness, and confessed by Mr. Howes himself, the House did think fit that he should be committed; whereupon the Lord Viscount Say did desire the House, That, if their Lordships did not think it fit to censure him upon the charge in the Petition, that the House would be pleased to remit what did concern himself in particular; which motion the House commended, as proceeding from his noble disposition, yet thought it fit that some exemplary punishment be shewn therein. It was therefore Ordered by the House, That Mr. Howes should be forthwith committed to the Fleet, there to remain until he make his humble submission for his foul and scandalous words against the Lord Viscount Say and Seale."

Dec. 12th, 1640. "The Petition of John Howes, Clerk, was read, *in hæc verba* :

"To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in the High Court of Parliament assembled.

"The humble Petition of John Howes, Clerk, Vicar of Banbury, now a Prisoner in the Fleet,

"Humbly Sheweth

"That your Petitioner doth most humbly, and with all thankfulness, acknowledge your Lordships' most Honourable and full hearing of him, and your Gracious proceedings upon the Petition to this most High Court against him.

"And he doth humbly acknowledge his great offence against a very Honourable Person, a Peer and member of this High and Honourable Court of Parliament; and that therein likewise he hath (to his exceeding great grief) given offence to your Lordships, for which he is sorry from his heart, and doth confess he hath been justly and deservedly committed for it to the Fleet.

"He therefore most humbly beseecheth your Honourable good Lordships, That, upon this his most humble and hearty submission (in all humility herein presented to your Honours), he may, by your good Grace and Favours, be now enlarged from this his Imprisonment, and repair to his Cure. And, as he is bound, shall pray, &c.

"Hereupon it was Ordered by the House, That the said Mr. Howes shall be released of his Imprisonment upon Monday next, and first brought to this Bar to make his humble submission to this Honourable House, and to the Lord Viscount Say in particular."

Dec. 14th, 1640. "This day Mr. Howes, Vicar of Banbury, was brought to the Bar, according to an Order of this House, made the 12th of this instant December, to make his humble submission and acknowledgment to this Honourable House, and in particular to the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Say and Seale; which accordingly he did. After this, the Lord Viscount Saye desired their Lordships to pardon the said Mr. Howes, and rendered their Lordships thanks for the care they have had in reparation of his honour; whereupon it was Ordered by the House, upon the suit and request of the Lord Viscount Say and Seale, that the said Mr. Howes should be pardoned for this offence, and be released of his Imprisonment for this particular."

April 28th, 1641. "Ordered, That the Lords' Committees formerly appointed by this House, in a business concerning John Howes, Clerk, are to consider of the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of the Vicar of Ban-

bury, being a Peculiar, and belonging to the Dean and Chapter of Lincolne; and whether the Bishop of Lincolne or the Bishop of Oxford is to give Institution, and a Mandate for Induction, unto the Vicarage of that place; And that the said Lords' Committees are to meet on Friday next, at Two of the Clock in the afternoon, in the Painted Chamber, at which time all parties interested in the said Cause are hereby enjoined to attend their Lordships."

The dispute between the King and the Parliament arrived at a crisis in the beginning of 1642. The House of Commons, on the 9th February, proceeded to nominate and recommend persons whom they desired to be entrusted with the militia of the kingdom; Lord Saye being named for Oxfordshire, Lord Brook for Warwickshire, and Lord Spencer for Northamptonshire.⁴¹ On the 5th March (the King having refused every demand of the Parliament to limit or suspend his own powers over the militia), the Parliament published their celebrated Ordinance, appointing lieutenants of the several counties to array and arm the militia. This was considered a declaration of war, and wherever it was obeyed the King's authority ceased of course. The King's Commission of Array followed, and the summer was employed by both parties in making preparations for war.

The Commission of Array for the county of Warwick was entrusted by the King to the Earl of Northampton; who, by the aid of the trainbands and other loyal persons whom he assembled under him, speedily attempted to disperse the Warwickshire forces which were gathering under Lord Brook, and to secure the chief places of that county to the King's interest.

A minute and graphic account of the first military proceedings at Banbury, written by one of the Puritan party, occurs in an original pamphlet of the period which is preserved in the British Museum. It shows, even ludicrously, how utterly unprepared the place and people were for war in the face of such an opponent as the Earl of Northampton; whose activity afforded a strong contrast to the want of energy prevailing amongst most of the other adherents of the Royalist cause:—

"My Lord Brooke having sixe pieces of Ordnance⁴² granted him from the Parliament to strengthen his castle at Warwicke, they were conveyed safe to Banbury upon Friday the 29. of July, 1642. My Lord Brooke

(41) *Parl. Hist. Eng.*, v. 10, pp. 287, 288.

(42) One of the accounts describes them as being "six small pieces of iron ordnance." The original newspapers and pamphlets, relating to the period of the Civil Wars, which are quoted in the following pages, are contained in the King's Library or general Library at the British Museum; the Bodleian, Ashmolean, or Christchurch Libraries; or in my own collection; unless where otherwise specified.

comming from Warwicke, riding all Friday night, came to Banbury by foure of the clock on Saturday morning, bringing with him about a hundred men to guard them to his castle, and going out of Banbury about nine of the clocke that morning, divers of Banbury gentlemen and others thereabouts going out with them; they had not gone above foure miles, but (according to their suspition, and some intelligence) the Earle of North-hampton appeared to them accompanied with about 150 or 200 horse, and about 200 musketeers and pikes; the news thereof being carried backe to Banbury, and townes adjoyning, presently the Lord Brooke was assisted with more men and munition, the countrey came in very thick to his assistance, and but few to the Earle of North-hamp-ton; but my Lord Brookes company increasing in a few houres to the number of a thousand at least, women also to his company bringing in Beere and Victuall in abundance, and six or seven cartload of harrowes to welcome their horses: the Earle of North-hampton seeing their forces increase so unexpectedly and the love of the countrey brought in so fast; he curse and swore bitterly that he was come into the mouth of all the divels and round-heads in the countrey; he desired a parley with my Lord Brooke, and produced his commission of array, and demanded the Ordnance; and said he must have them, the Lord Brooke affirming that he should not have them; on either side their forces standing upon their guard were ready presented to give fire upon the first word of command, the Lord Brooke his souldiers would faine have been at it, to make their way through them; but after three parleys between them, and many propositions desired and refused, they concluded, That the Ordnance should be returned to Banbury, and my Lord Brooke to give the Earle of North-hampton notice three dayes before he intended to remove them, and likewise that he should doe the like to my Lord Brooke before he should attempt any force for them, and ingaged their honours hereunto; to which conditions the Lord Brooke was perswaded and induced to, rather then to make that County the seat of warre, and to begin the Civill warre there upon that occasion, till he had made the Houses of Parliament acquainted therewith. In the *Interim* of this parley, the Lord Brooke his men had so beset and hemb'd in the Earle of North-hamp-ton's men that they were glad they were out of their danger, for most of them knew nothing of this designe, but they should goe see a piece of Ordnance, and thought they should have onely trained, but when they saw themselves in that strait said afterward, before they would come upon such a designe againe with him they would be hanged at their doores, for had the word been but given, the Lord Brook having his ordnance ready to give fire, and they none, they might easily have cut them off. But these conditions being concluded on, the Ordnance were returned to Banbury that night, and put into the Castle, and men to keep them; and my Lord Brooke came up to the Parliament; In the meane time Banbury men doubting the worst and hearing rumours of the Earle of North-hampton comming to fetch the Ordnance, prepared and fortified their towne as well as they could, in which course had they persisted, we are confident the Ordnance had beene there still: But those they tooke for friends after-

ward betrayed them, as you shall hear by and by. The Castle on the one side of the towne being double moted, they thought it indifferently secure, and where the towne was naked of defence, they fortified it with Harrowes and other devises to keep off the horse, and placed musketeers to play upon them: The countrey hearing of their feares and dangers divers came in thereabouts, and about 1500 out of North-hamptonshire with their armes, Colours and Captaines came in freely on Thursday night the fourth of August, and being welcomed and feasted next day by Mr. John Feines,⁴³ and the towne also; some of the men not thinking the danger so neere, they having urgent occasions went home, promising to come againe at an houres warning, and bring others with them; And on Saturday [August 6th] the rest were drawne away by a plot of the Cavaleers, who gave out and sent some to North-hampton, to make as if they would then besiege it; North-hamptonshire men hearing this, had no mind to stay, but home they must, to defend their own countrey, wives, children, &c. Banbury after this sending out for ayde, and some in comming from Buckinghamshire, and other parts, the Cavaleers who kept the wayes, and began to draw neerer Banbury, sent scouts about to meet them and turn'd them back, telling them they came too late, there was nothing to doe at Banbury, all was quiet, and they had yeilded up the Ordnance, and all was well; and some they disarm'd, and tooke away their horses who were peremptory to come; neither could any thing be done in the town, but (doe what they could) their enemies knew it presently. And sending some of the countrey cunningly to tell them, who came as friends to advise them, and willed them to fortifie themselves very strong, for their enemies would come upon them with an overpowering multitude, thousands comming this way, and thousands that way, and so many thousands another way; their ayde being then withdrawn when they had most need: they hearing every day thousands were comming from London, yet none came, though all hast was here made that could be devised. They maintain'd their former fortifications of the towne till Sunday night [August 7th]. And then being out of hope of helpe, and they at the weakest; and the Earle of North-hampton having planted three Ordnance on Crowtch hill to command the towne, supposed themselves not able to hold out two houres fight. Then was there also a plot beyond all the rest:

“A Commander, one Captain Austin, who they had lately intertained to help and instruct them in their martiall affairs, and made great boasts what he would doe, and counselled them to those fortifications, and what an Army they could keep out with them, making a plausible speech perswaded them, that seeing now there was such a mighty force coming against them, and their aide was weak, so that it was not possible to keep the town, he therefore advised them, it was the best way to get the best of their things into the Castle, and so secure themselves and children, and some of their goods, which after some debate they were most unhappily perswaded to, and on Sunday night removed their fortifica-

(13) John Fiennes was the third son of Lord Saye.

tions about the town and gates, and drew them to the Castle to fortifie that more; which when the rest of the men, the women and children knew thereof, their was on a sodain such a lamentable schreeking and crying out throughout the town not to be exprest with pen, whereby the whole town were in such a maze, distraction, and confusion they knew not what they did, they were all maskerd: Help gone, no forces to aide them, they had weakned themselves, their enemies coming in upon them; for their *Perdu* had inform'd them so, whom they had privily sent out to lie by a lane side to hear of their coming. At which time also those few neighbours of the adjacent towns that were left and stayed to assist them, fled also: then also the women and children of the towne at the privat-est wayes they could find ran out of the town, carried and lug'd away their children and goods all night, and every one cast about which way to shift for themselves: And those also who had brought much of their best goods and children into the towne before from adjacent villages, (supposing they would be safer there then in their own townes, they looking to be presently ransanckt and pillaged) came hurrying all night into the town as fast to fetch away what they had trusted there. Their Captaine also formerly mentioned, when they were brought to this passe, run likewise out of the town, and at his departure very early by break of day on Munday morning [August 8th] was met flying and taking no other leave, but bid the party remember him to Colonell Feines (then in the Castle) and to Captaine Vivers, and to tell them he was gone to call in the country to aide them; which businesse with many other circumstances then made the town think and say, of a certain they were betrayed. And now let the reader judge, though we have no prooffe but these deep conjectures, whether it was not so or no; and whether tampering and feeling had not brought this about. In this strait, their Pastours and Ministers lookt to be severely dealt with above all, either by forcing them if they could to burthen their conscience, or in some other way as bad, having example newly acted since this businesse was first in agitation, of one Mr Sutton, a neighbour minister, being taken by them, would have forced him upon his knees to drink a health to the confusion of all the Round-heads, but their liquor for the present failing, he got away out of their hands; and also to sweare that he should never preach, but would amply read the Common Prayer, nor never preach any more factious sermons: And the chief man in this businesse no lesse then a Lord. And also grave & reverend Mr. Harris (of Hanwell neer Banbury) who preacht lately at a fast before the Parliament, they outed him and his family, took possession of his house on Sunday night, and made him wander for his lodging, and took possession of the Lady Copes house there, and of all the armes, and ammunition they could meet with in the town. Their enemies greatest force coming down Hardwick lane neer adjoyning to the towne, on Sunday night the 7th of August, very late, and very silent and still, and were heard by their scout to say not a word, but softly *Troup along, Troup along*; But the night growing extreme dark, they forbore all that night, and being verily expected the next morn by break of day being Munday; the Cavaliers sent and desired

a parley, and being met they told them many base lyes, perswading them to deliver up the ordinance, why should they hazard and lose their lives for that which was none of theirs, they came but for the King's goods, and the Parliament regarded them not, and the Lord Brooke would not owne them, nor come at them, and how weak they were, and how many would come against them, they could not hold out, but were all dead men if they resisted, with many other affirmations and perswasions, the same also being used by the aforesaid Captaine a little before his departure, and counselled them to yeeld up and save their lives and goods, they were but small peeces, and could not advantage their enemies much, beside the same perswasions was used to one Mr. Wheatly, who being acquainted at the Earle of Northhamptons was sent by the towne on Sunday morning to them, coming as of his own accord, that so he might learn what he could by them, who kept him all the day till night till their designes were ripe, and in conclusion told him, they must either deliver the Ordnance, or they would fire the towne, with mortar pieces and firebals which they had there for that purpose, then dismissing him he returned. The town being in a sad case, not knowing how they would deal with them, exposed themselves and town on Munday morning [the 8th], and in a while after they came in with about 5 or 600 horses, but 300 good ones, and the rest sorry jades, any thing [they] could get from the poor countrey men, some at work; and as beggarly riders set on them, though for the present they flourished with money, yet their cloths bewrayed them to be neither gentlemen nor Cavaliers. And having fil'd the town with horses the chief of them came to the Red Lion Inne, and desired to speak with Colonell Feines and Captaine Vivers, who were in the Castle, to whom reply was made, they should, if they would send two as considerable men in lieu which they did, then they produced the Commission of Array, and required them to deliver the Ordnance, otherwise they would take them by force, and fire the town. And having obtained that they came for, the ordnance and ammunition thereunto belonging they clear'd the town again, and were all departed before night, who carried them to the E. of Northhamptons house [Compton Wynyate], and it was thought they intended to goe to Warwicke castle the next day, but the Lord Brooke had noe notice from the Earle of three dayes warning, as was agreed between them; There was also Colonell Lunsford, and divers Lords too long to name; There was the Lord Wilmot, who kept backe the town of Atherbury from coming in to aide Banbury, and threatned he would hang up the men and send the souldiers to their wives and children; There was also the Lord Dunsmore."⁴⁴

(44) "Proceedings at Banbvry since the Ordnance went down for the Lord Brooks to fortifie Warwick Castle," 4to., 1642. Among the King's Pamphlets in the British Museum.

It is remarkable that the Earl of Northampton did not secure the Castle of Banbury as well as the ordinance. A letter, dated 20th August, from "John Golbee," styled a "gentleman of good worth" who had been in all the oppositions to the Earl of Northampton's proceedings, states that, after the Earl had taken the ordinance from Banbury, he went with it to besiege Warwick Castle, where he lost some of his men, and, by a bullet, a part of his own lip: that he, being afraid to oppose Warwick Castle further, purposed

A newspaper of the same date says (9th Aug. 1642) that the Commission of Array had been put in execution in Northamptonshire: also "that the Troopers do threaten to burne Banbury, if it bee not delivered up to them with the magazine: Vpon debate of which businesse, it was ordered that the Deputy Lieutenants for the county should forthwith goe down to settle the Militia, and to preserve the peace of the county against all such trayterous practizers, and to haue such aide from the Lord Generals forces as shall be needfull. Also ordered that the horse and foot appointed for the Lord Brook for the reliefe of Banbury and Warwick Castle be forthwith sent downe."⁴⁵ The Collegians at Oxford now thought it high time to put themselves in a posture of defence, on the report that the Parliament's soldiers were moving down to strengthen Banbury.⁴⁶ The following occurs from the King to Sir William Dugdale (the Warwickshire historian), Rouge Croix pursuivant in ordinary:—

"To our trusty and welbeloved William Dugdale, Rouge Croix, one of our Officers at Armes.

"CHARLES R.

"Trusty and welbeloved wee greete you well. Whereas wee are certainly informed that the Lord Brooke, with divers others his Adherents, have in a warlike manner assembled themselves together in the Castles of Banbury and Warwick, to the great terrour of our peaceable subjects in those parts, contrary to the Lawes of this Kingdome, and to the manifest breach and disturbance of the peace thereof. We doe therefore charge and command you, according to the duty of yo^r place, that you forthwith repaire unto the said Castles, and there require the said Lord Brooke, and all his Adherents, to lay downe all their forces, as well horse as foote, and to deliver up all Armes and Amunition to the Comission^{rs} of Array, and to such others as are by us authorised for that purpose, and to disperse themselves, and to returne every man to his owne home, in a peaceable manner; w^{ch} if they shall refuse to do, wee doe then hereby charge and comaund you to proclayme the said Lord Brooke, and all his Adherents, to be Traytors against us, our Crowne and Dignity. And wee doe further command you to Declare our pleasure, that whosoever shall thereupon deliver up the said Lord Brooke, S^r Edward Peto, or any other his Adherents, or shall come themselves away and submit themselves, shall receive our gracious Pardon. And hereof you are not to faile as you will answer the contrary at yo^r utmost perill. And for doing thereof this shall be yo^r sufficient warrant and Authority.

returning to Banbury: that on the preceding Thursday (the 18th) the Royalists had again assaulted Banbury with 200 horse and foot, but were beaten off: that on the Saturday another attack on Banbury was looked for, no aid being come from London; and that Parliamentary parties from the neighbourhood of Warwick were gone to Banbury, resolving "rather to die" than that the remaining arms and ammunition there should fall into the hands of the Royalists; "for the Cavaliers swear they will possess themselves of Banbury Castle again, because they cannot get Warwick, but we hope so soon as the army comes down to deal well enough with them."—*True & Exact Relation of the most Remarkable Passages at Warwicke and Banbury.* Aug. 20. 1642.

(45) Perfect Diurnal.

(46) Anthony Wood.

Given under o^r signe manuell at o^r Co^{rt} at York, the fourth day of August, in the eighteenth yeare of our Reigne."⁴⁷

In the midland counties the King's Commission of Array was published only partially, and generally with very little success. Very different was the progress of the Parliamentary party. Lord Nugent gives the following spirited picture of the raising of the militia. "It was under the woody brows of his own beauteous Chilterns that Hampden first published the ordinance to marshal the militia of his native county. The parishes and hundreds, often with their preachers at the head, mustered at their market-houses to march forth to training. In the dearth of all the ordinary implements of war, arms and accoutrements of the most grotesque fashion now left the walls where, from the times of the civil wars of the Two Roses, they had hung as hereditary trophies in the manor-houses, the churches, and the cottages of the yeomen. In the returns of arms, particularly of the levies of the northern parts, at the first outbreak, the long-bow, the brown bill, and the cross-bow, resumed their place among the equipments of a man-at-arms. It was not till some months after, when the stores of Hull, and Newcastle, and Plymouth, and of the Tower of London, were distributed, that the matchlock and pistol found their way into the hands of the 'ordered musqueteers and dragoons' in the country parts; and, even to the end of the civil wars, large bodies of men, besides the regular pikemen, were furnished only with rude lances; and, on the King's part, many thousands, particularly of the Welshmen, went to the battle with staves and Danish clubs."⁴⁸

The Parliament's regiments of infantry, as their clothing became more complete, assumed the colours of their respective leaders. Among those that first gathered to the conflict were Hampden's Green-coats, Lord Saye's Blue-coats,⁴⁹ Lord Brook's Purple-coats, and Holles's London Red-coats. Lords Saye and Brook, Nathaniel Fiennes, John Fiennes, and Francis Fiennes,

(47) Hamper's *Life of Dugdale*. Hamper adds, that all this was duly performed by the said Mr. Dugdale, in his coat of arms, with trumpets sounding before him.

(48) Nugent's *Memorials of Hampden*, v. 2, pp. 171, 172.

(49) The Officers of Lord Saye's regiment were :—*Col.*, William Lord Saye; *Lieut.-Col.*, Geo. Hutchinson; *Serg.-Major*, Jas. Atchason; *Capt.*, Geo. Marrow, Christo. Burgh, Jam. Temple, Walter Lloyd, Morgan Tinne, Robert Blowe, Bussy Basset; *Quart.-Mast.*, Humph. Dix; *Lieuts.*, John Rainsford, Luke Weekins, Jam. Hannam, Hoare, Langford, Tho. Haynes, Wil. Howard, Jon. Newcomin, Edw. Carwardine; *Ensigns*, John Butcherfield, Joseph Farnes, Jo. Kelly, Corby, Ben. Lee, Tho. Gollodge, Gittings, Tho. Sweeper, Prue Prideaux. The Colonel's company consisted of 200 men, the Lieutenant-Colonel's of 160, the Serjeant-Major's of 140, and the seven Captains' companies of 100 men each: total 1200 men, besides officers.—*4to. Tract of the period in my own collection.*

raised troops of cavalry also, at their own charge.⁵⁰ The officers all wore an orange scarf over their armour, that being the colour of the lord-general, the Earl of Essex, and now worn by his body guard. Each regiment carried a small standard, bearing on one side the device and motto of its Colonel, and on the other the watchword of the Parliament :—"God With Us."⁵¹

On the 20th August the King appeared before Coventry ; but, notwithstanding that the Earl of Northampton was then in the town, the citizens mounted Lord Brook's colours and resisted the entrance of the Royal troops. The Earl of Northampton attempted to muster a force around him, but was unable to raise more than 400 men ; and was at length obliged to make his escape, which he did out of the back door of the Black Bull Inn, where the barracks now stand.⁵² Lord Brook, Hampden, Col. Fiennes, and other Parliamentary leaders, were on their march from Banbury with all speed towards Coventry, and the King therefore retired to Leicester⁵³ and Nottingham.

On the 22nd the King erected his standard at Nottingham ; the erection of the Royal Standard being the olden signal that the Sovereign demanded the extraordinary aid of his subjects. From Nottingham he despatched three troops of horse, under the command of Sir John Byron, to the defence of Oxford. These reached Brackley on the 28th August : but they had been so closely pursued by the country people, who had armed themselves for the encounter with pikes, bills, and pitchforks, that, before they could quit Brackley, they lost more than 60 horses and 60 or 70 men, and much gold and silver and other valuables, estimated as being worth £6,000 or £8,000. In the confusion, Sir John Byron had sent away a cabinet and packet of writings, and other things of great value, by a servant to Oxford ; but he, losing his way, hid the treasure in a field of oats near "Pimlico

(50) The officers of the troops raised by the Fiennes family were :—

Lord Saye's Troop,—Capt., Lord Saye ; Lieut., Henry Atkinson ; Cornet, John Croker ; Quarter-Master, Robert Parin.

Nathaniel Fiennes's Troop,—Capt., Nath. Fiennes.

John Fiennes's Troop,—Capt., John Fiennes ; Lieut., Jo. Carmichaell ; Cornet, Edw. Walley ; Qu.-Mast., Wil. Bugslock.

Francis Fiennes's Troop,—Capt., Fran. Fiennes ; Lieut., James Moore ; Cornet, Henry Fiennes ; Qu.-Mast., Geo. Malten.

Each troop consisted of 60 horse, besides 2 trumpeters, 3 corporals, a saddler, and a farrier. (4to. Tract in my own collection.) Francis Fiennes was the son of James Fiennes, Lord Saye's eldest son.

(51) Nugent's Memo., v. 2, p. 200.

(52) Information from Wm. Reader Esq., the historian of Coventry.

(53) A Famous Victory obtained by the Citizens of Coventry, 4to., 1642 ; Nugent's Memorials of Hampden.

House" (half way between Souldern and Cottisford), and wandered to Croughton, where he was taken. Some forces from Banbury going that way, he was forced to discover all, and the treasure was captured and taken to Banbury.¹ The following letter occurs from Sir John Byron respecting this affair:—

"To Master Clarke at Craughton neere Brackley in Northamptonshire.

"SIR,

"In my way to Oxford, I made some stay at Brackley to refresh my selfe, and my Horses, after a long march, where I was unexpectedly assaulted by sundry Troops of Rebels that came (as I am since informed) from Northampton, and the adjoyning places, and withall most treacherously set upon by the Towne of Brackly, so that I was forced to make a speedy retreat to the Heath to resist them, had they had the courage to come forth of the Town. In this confusion one of my Grooms who had charge of my baggage was surprized in the Town; another who had a Box, wherein was money, apparell, and other things of value, left it in a land of standing corn, which since hath been found, and as I heare brought to you; I have therefore sent this Messenger to require the restitution of it; which if you doe, I shall represent it to His Majesty as an acceptable service, if not, assure yourself I will finde a time to repay my self with advantage out of your estate; And consider, that as rebellion is a weed of a hastie growth, so it will decay as suddenly, and that there will be a time for the Kings loyall Subjects to repaire their losses sustained by Rebels and Traitours; So I rest in expectation of a speedy answer by this Bearer.

Your Friend and Servant

JOHN BIRON.²

Oxford, 2 Sept. 1642."

Sir John Byron's troop was the first that took possession of Oxford: but, on Hampden's proceeding thither, joined by Lord Saye with his Blue-coats from the neighbourhood of Banbury, Sir John Byron departed into Gloucestershire.³ On Thursday,

(1) King's Pamphlets; Baker's Northamptonshire, p. 572.

(2) Husband's Collection, p. 611. This letter having been conveyed to the Parliament, a declaration was ordered (13th September) and published, that whereas Sir John Biron, knight, on the 28th of August, had marched into the county of Northampton in a traitorous and warlike manner, whereupon divers of his Majesty's well-affected subjects according to their duty did assemble themselves together and pursue the said Traitors, &c. &c.; and whereas the Lords and Commons have been since informed that the said Sir John Biron, in a presumptuous and insolent way, wrote a letter to one Master Clarke of Craughton a gentleman of quality in the said county of Northampton, whereby most falsely and impudently he presumes to style the faithful and dutiful service of his Majesty's good subjects by the name of treachery and rebellion, endeavouring to transfer that odious crime and title due unto himself to them, and using divers menacing speeches against Master Clarke &c.; the Lords and Commons, taking the same into their consideration, do declare that the assembling together of the said inhabitants of the county of Northampton, and pursuing, apprehending, and chasing the said rebels, was according to the laws of the land and the duty of good subjects, and very acceptable to both Houses of Parliament, who will take them and all others that shall follow their good examples into their care and protection.—*Husband's Collection*, pp. 610, 611.

(3) Exceeding Happy Newes from Oxford. London, 4to, Sep. 1642.

the 8th September, Nathaniel Fiennes and John Fiennes, with their troops of horse, came into Banbury: on the following Saturday "they had intelligence that the Cavaleers in Oxford" [Sir John Byron's three troops of horse] "were removing from thence toward Worcester, whereupon they marche forth towards Chiping Norton unto Chappell of Heath, which place it was supposed they would come over. The country arose and went along with them, so that they were (as I suppose) six hundred strong, where they continued most part of the day; but the Cavalleers having warning of us came not, onely we tooke eight of them that were sent out for scouts. * * * The day being far spent we returned all home, and the troops unto their quarter to Banbury."⁴ On Saturday night Sir John Byron's forces were at Stow. "The news of their coming to Stow & Broadway was brought to Banbury upon Sunday" [11th September] "by one of the clocke in the afternoone, and the trumpet sounded presently for the 2 troops of horse to make ready presently to pursue them; they set forth from Banbury about 3. of the clocke, great store of the towne going with them." After a long march, extending beyond Evesham, the troops returned to Banbury "without doing any thing." "This day," the account goes on, "Collonell Browne with 500 dragoneres came to Banbury, and the 2 troopes of horse went forth."⁵

On the 23rd September, letters were received in London from Oxford, stating that Lord Saye had settled the peace of that county, had put the militia in execution, and was marching towards Worcester,⁶ whither the lord-general was directing his forces. On the 15th October, "a great butt filled with plate and money was brought into the Guildhall of London from Banbury, for the Parliament's assistance."⁷

PROGRESS OF THE CAMPAIGN: BATTLE OF EDGEHILL.

The reluctance with which the country round Nottingham answered to the King's summons, rendered it necessary for him to remove to a part of the country more favourable to his cause.

(4) Good News from Banbury [signed S. R.], 4to., Lond., 20th Sep. 1642: among the King's Pamphlets.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Perfect Diurnal.

(7) England's Memorable Accidents.

Accordingly, he marched to Shrewsbury; where, from the neighbouring counties and from Wales, he was enabled to collect an army not inferior in numbers to that which the Parliament had placed under the command of the Earl of Essex. The latter general joined his forces at Northampton, and then marched into Worcestershire. On the 22nd September, he sent forward Colonel Nathaniel Fiennes and Colonel Sandys in command of a party of horse, to prevent, if possible, the coming up of some of the forces from South Wales to join the King at Shrewsbury. This advanced party of horse, falling in, at Powick Bridge (four miles from Worcester), with a body of the King's horse commanded by Prince Rupert (who had joined there with Sir John Byron), was utterly routed, and Colonel Sandys was mortally wounded.⁸ Essex however made good his advance upon Worcester.

The object which the King was desirous to accomplish was to break up the Parliament; in order to effect which it was necessary either to defeat Essex in battle, or to out-flank him, and so march upon London. Charles chose to attempt the latter course. On the 12th October he left Shrewsbury, and, on the 16th, reached Kenilworth, which lies midway between Warwick and Coventry. Here the difficulties of his march commenced. He had reached the confines of the hostile country in which Lords Brook and Saye were the chosen leaders of almost the entire population:⁹ the walls, and the spirit of the citizens, of Coventry, prevented the King's entering that city; and the castle of Warwick was also held by a brave and sufficient garrison; while the Earl of Essex, who had quitted Worcester on the 14th, was pressing towards him by forced marches. The King had therefore no course left but to cross the Avon at one of the fords between Warwick and Coventry, and so advance to Southam. The flank of Essex's army was now turned: but, Hampden and Lord Brook having entered Stratford upon Avon on the 18th, the entire length

(8) Heath's Chronicle, pp. 39, 40; Clarendon's Hist. Rebel., v. 2, p. 25. The troops both of Nathaniel and John Fiennes were engaged in the action at Powick. (State Trials, v. 1, p. 770.) Lord Nugent says that Nathaniel Fiennes behaved with great valour, and, with his own hand, pistoled an officer who commanded a portion of the King's horse. (Nugent's Memo., v. 2, p. 266.) On the subsequent trial of Nathaniel Fiennes, in 1643, for surrendering Bristol to Prince Rupert, his valiant conduct at Worcester was pleaded; where, it is said, "He and his brother, when the forces were there routed, were some of the last officers that came off the field."—*State Trials*, v. 1, p. 769.

(9) In the district of which Edgehill is the centre, the Parliamentary troops had every necessary thing brought to them without the least trouble to themselves; whereas the people were so disaffected to the King that they carried away, or concealed from his foraging parties, all their provisions; and the smiths hid themselves that they might not be compelled to shoe the horses.—*Clarendon's Hist. Rebel.*, v. 2, p. 46.

of the Avon lay open for the unmolested passage of Essex's army in pursuit of that of the King.

On the 20th, the King's advanced guard was before Banbury. On the 21st, he himself slept at Southam; and on the 22nd he came, with his two sons (afterwards the second Charles and James), to the mansion-house at Edgcot (then the seat of Toby Chauncy Esq.¹⁰), situated five miles and a half northeast from Banbury. The continuator of Dugdale records that the King, on his march towards Edgcot, observing a gentleman near Shuckburgh amusing himself with a pack of hounds, inquired of his followers who it was that could hunt so merrily when his Sovereign was going to fight for his crown and dignity; and Mr. Richard Shuckburgh being introduced, the King prevailed on him to forego his sport and return home and raise his tenantry; which Mr. Shuckburgh did with such expedition that he joined the Royal army with a troop of horse the next morning, and was knighted by his Majesty on the battle-field of Edgehill.¹¹

On the night of the 22nd, the main army of the King lay encamped on the southern side of the Cherwell, between Edgcot and Cropredy: this latter village is four miles north from Banbury. Prince Rupert, who commanded the rear, took up quarters on the same night at Lord Spencer's seat at Wormleighton, four miles north of Cropredy. The main body of the Parliament's army reached their quarters the same night at Kington, or Kington, a small market town situated in the Vale of Red Horse, about ten miles northwest from Banbury, and within seven miles of Prince Rupert's quarters at Wormleighton.

The King held a council of war at Edgcot; at which, no intelligence having been then received of the near vicinity of Essex, it was determined that the army should halt on the next day (Sunday), while Sir Nicholas Byron with his brigade should attempt the taking of Banbury Castle,¹² which the Parliamenta-

(10) Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, purchased the manor and advowson of Eggecot in 1535 (26th–27th Henry VIII.), and built a portion of the old manor-house there. On the Earl's attainder in 1540, Edgcot escheated to the crown. In the 32nd Henry VIII. the manor was included in the dower or grant for life to the *ci-devant* queen Anne of Cleves, who demised her life interest to William Chauncy gent. In the 37th Henry VIII. this William Chauncy obtained a grant of the reversion in fee.—*Baker's Northamp.*, v. 1, p. 494.

(11) Subsequently to the taking of Banbury Castle and the King's retirement from these parts, Sir Richard went to his own seat and fortified himself on the top of Shuckburgh hill. Being attacked there by some of the Parliament's troops, he defended himself till he fell with most of his tenantry about him; but, being taken up, and life perceived in him, he was carried prisoner to Kenilworth castle, where he lay a considerable time, and at last purchased his liberty at a dear rate.—*Thomas's edit. Dugdale's Warwickshire*.

(12) Clarendon, v. 2, p. 44.

rians had now garrisoned with the Earl of Peterborough's regiment, 600 strong, and other forces; amounting in the whole to 800 infantry, besides some horse.¹³ An account, printed at Oxford immediately after the events it describes, states that the King, on the 22nd October, had given orders for the summoning of Banbury, and, in case of refusal, the besieging of it with 4,000 foot and four pieces of cannon: that on the same evening intelligence was brought of an intention of relieving Banbury, though the news was not so certain as to occasion any change of the orders: but that, upon Sunday morning, at three o'clock, certain intelligence was brought that the Parliament's army was approaching with all expedition, and was then quartered for the night at Kineton. Whereupon the King gave orders for all his army to march immediately to Edgehill, which was five miles distant from his nearest quarters, and within three miles of Essex's army.¹⁴

EDGEHILL is situated seven miles from Banbury, and near the southern extremity of the county of Warwick. It is the face, or edge, of the table land of the north of Oxfordshire, which is elevated high above the vale of Warwickshire. (See the Map, Plate 25.) The hill has two faces, one to the northwest, and the other to the northeast, the salient angle being at the part called Bullet hill (see the Map), where the present turnpike road winds up the hill from Kineton. When seen from the Warwickshire vale beneath, Edgehill has the appearance of a steep ridge, with a remarkably well-defined edge, whence probably its name. The outline of the figure of a horse, cut in the red loam on the side of the hill, in the lordship of Tysoe, (near the inn called the Sun Rising, see the Map,) gives the name of the "Vale of Red Horse" to the plain below.¹⁵ From the brow of the hill is to be seen the great midland plain of England, extending from the Malvern Hills on the borders of Herefordshire to the hills of Charn-

(13) Dugdale's Short View; Clarendon; and "Relation of the Bataille" quoted hereafter.

(14) A Relation of the Bataille lately fought between Keynton and Edgehill; printed at Oxford by Leonard Litchfield, Printer to the Vniversity. 1642.

(15) The figure of the Red Horse was anciently of colossal dimensions: it is said to have been originally cut in commemoration of Richard Neville, earl of Warwick; who, at the battle of Touton, which was fought on Palm Sunday in 1461, plunged his sword in the breast of his horse when he found the army in imminent danger, and vowed to share that danger with the meanest of his soldiers. The battle was won, and the event was long afterwards commemorated at Edgehill by cleaning out the figure of the horse annually on Palm Sunday, some lands in the lordship of Tysoe being at one period held by this service. (Smith's Warwickshire.) The same ceremony is still occasionally observed. In allusion to the circumstance of the battle of Edgehill being fought in the Vale of Red Horse, a Parliamentary writer says, "The Lord made the Red Horse of his wrath (mentioned Rev. vi. 4,) ride about most furiously to the ruin of our enemies."—*Viccars's God in the Mount*.

wood Forest in Leicestershire. Considered in connection with the great battle fought on the 23rd October 1642, the hill has the advantage of giving a birds-eye view of the places of the leading events which preceded it. On the west, until lost in the distance, is seen the country surrounding Worcester, the towers of which city may be perceived on a clear day. Thence, sweeping to the northward, are the coal and iron districts of Staffordshire, the smoke of whose furnaces, said to be sometimes seen from Edgehill, points out the route of the King's advance from Shrewsbury towards Kenilworth. In the foreground runs the Avon, at an average distance of ten or twelve miles; its course being marked, almost from its source to its termination, by the rising mists of the summer evening, or by the hills of Dunsmore, the spires of Coventry beyond the river, the tower of St. Mary's church at Warwick, the spire of the collegiate church of Stratford upon Avon, and by Bredon Hill in Worcestershire. A walk to the angle of the hill places within view the country about Edgcot and Cropredy; Edgcot being situated seven miles and a half, and Cropredy five miles and a half, east from the hill. Towards Wormleighton, at the distance of two miles northeast from Edgehill, is the serrated range of the Dasset hills, which projects far into the Vale of Red Horse, (see the Map, Plate 25,) and on which the beacon was fired by the Parliamentarians after the battle of Edgehill, to give notice to the Parliament of the battle and the claimed victory.

The singular and interesting Beacon-house is situated on the extreme northwestern point of the Dasset hills, and appears to be an erection of the 15th century. (Plate 19.) It is a circular building of stone, measuring sixty-two feet in girth at the base, and fifteen feet four inches in height to the top of the parapet. It has a conical roof, formed entirely of faced stone, rising from within the parapet, and on which the burning materials could be placed so as to produce a great blaze of light with even a scanty supply of fuel.¹⁶ From this point the view is not confined to the

(16) The ancient doorway has been built up (see Plate 19), but the building is otherwise in nearly a perfect state. There is a small window on the W.S.W. side. Some years ago, there was an iron cresset, or fire pan, preserved in the adjacent Church of Burton Dasset, which had been often used for giving signals from the Beacon hill: this is described as having been a circular pan of iron about three feet in diameter, and one foot deep in the middle. So late as the close of the seventeenth century, Beacons appear to have been placed near the principal roads: they were generally merely an iron cresset elevated on a stout pole, with a spar-ladder to ascend them. The Beacons had watchmen appointed; and also horsemen, 'called hobbelars, to give notice of an enemy in the daytime when the fire could not be seen.

Vale of Red Horse and the distant hills which bound it; but, the adjacent hills opening behind, the prospect is clear southeastward, in the direction of Ivinghoe at the eastern extremity of Buckinghamshire; where, at the distance of forty miles in a direct line, there was a corresponding Beacon. Other Beacons, communicating with this on Burton Dasset hill, were at Church Bickenhill and Monks Kirby in Warwickshire, the former twenty-four miles northwest, the latter twenty miles and a half N.N.E., in a direct line, from Dasset. The villagers of Burton Dasset assert that their Beacon corresponded also with one on Nettlebed hill in Oxfordshire, at the distance of forty-five miles, in a direct line, S.S.E.

The commanding stations afforded by the Dasset hills for picquets were not likely to be overlooked by Prince Rupert, whose quarters, on the night of the 22nd, were at Wormleighton (only three miles distant); and from these the fires of the Parliament's picquets were seen in the vale. Immediately on this intelligence being forwarded by Rupert to the King at Edgeot, with the information that it was in the King's power, if he thought fit, to fight a battle the next day, the orders for the attack on Banbury were countermanded, and the army ordered to rendezvous on Edgehill. This was at three o'clock on the morning of Sunday the 23rd October. The main body of the army therefore recrossed the Cherwell at Cropredy bridge, taking the road which leads through Mollington and Warmington to Edgehill. Some of the horse from Prince Rupert's quarters at Wormleighton reached Edgehill before eight o'clock in the morning, and, by their appearance on the brow, gave the first intelligence to Essex that he had an enemy to encounter. The foot did not arrive until some hours after. The line of battle was formed along the brow of the hill: the right resting on Bullet hill (the angle of Edgehill where the road comes up from Kineton; see the Map); the centre over the village of Radway, where the King's tent was pitched and his Standard displayed near where the Round House now stands: and the left where the road runs up from Stratford upon Avon to the lone inn on the top of the hill, then called, as now, the Sun Rising. The two flanks were protected by the difficult ground on the right of Bullet hill and on the left of the Sun Rising. A stronger position cannot easily be imagined.

At the time when the Parliament's army was thus unexpectedly placed on the brink of action, some of their strongest and best regiments of foot (including those of Hampden and Grantham), in all 3,000 men, under the command of Hampden, were a day's march in the rear, in charge of the greater part of the ammunition and artillery. In this difficult situation the Earl of Essex is admitted to have performed the part of a wise general. The Parliament's force in the field, ready to engage, consisted of ten regiments of foot, forty-two troops of regular horse, and about seven hundred dragoons, in all between 12,000 and 13,000 men.¹⁷ The Earl placed a detachment of guns on the right, among the enclosures on a rising ground commanding that part of the field (then open) which is now known by the name of "the Two Battle Farms," or Battleton and Thistleton. The right wing was composed of three regiments of horse, under the orders of Sir John Meldrum, Sir Philip Stapleton, and Sir William Balfore, with Colonel Richard Fielding's regiment and some guns in reserve, and supported by musketeers lining a long hedge at a right angle with their front. Next to these were the Lord Roberts's and Sir William Constable's infantry. In the centre were the Lord-General's own regiment, and Colonel Ballard's, and Lord Brook's, with Holles's (also infantry) in reserve. The left wing consisted of five regiments of infantry; Lord Wharton's, Lord Mandeville's, Colonel Cholmley's, and Colonel Charles Essex's, with Sir William Fairfax's in reserve. On the extreme left flank were a few guns, with twenty-four troops of horse commanded by Sir James Ramsay, a Scot. Preachers were seen riding along the ranks, exhorting the men to do their duty and fight valiantly.¹⁸

The King is said to have taken breakfast, on the morning of this eventful day, at a cottage in the village of Radway immediately below the present Round House. A small mount or hillock of earth, situated about a quarter of a mile due west from Radway church by the side of an ancient road leading to the Battle Farms, is reputed to have been the spot to which the King

(17) Nugent's Memo., v. 2, p. 284. The dragoons were distinct from the regular horse. They acted with the regular cavalry, but often on foot, and sometimes mounted behind the horsemen in advance or retreat. They were armed with long swords, and also with matchlocks: and are supposed to have derived their name from the locks of the carbines of the first dragoons having the representation of a dragon's head, with the lighted match borne in its jaws.

(18) Nugent's Memo., v. 2, pp. 284, 293, 294.

advanced and with his prospect-glass took a view of the enemy.¹⁹ A hasty council of war was summoned. The King's army was superior in numbers to that of the enemy on the field by at least 2,000 infantry and sixteen troops of horse, and was in sight of a plain where cavalry might act with eminent advantage. His soldiers were high in spirit, and impatient of any delay in coming to an engagement with an adversary whom they despised. Prince Rupert commanded the cavalry, on whom the greater share of the promised day's glory in the plain of Kineton was likely to rest; and he, by his adventurous courage, had obtained an influence over the mind of the King which he had no other quality to justify. Under all the tempting incentives to an immediate engagement, it was no wonder that the prudent counsel of the general, the Earl of Lindsey, and that of several experienced officers, was rejected; and that, instead of awaiting the battle in position, it was determined to push forward the two first lines and meet the attack half way.²⁰ The King first rode along the lines, clad in steel, and wearing his Star and Garter on a black velvet mantle over his armour, and a steel cap covered with velvet on his head. He had already addressed his principal officers, in his tent, in spirited and eloquent language: "Come life or death," he said, "your King will bear you company." He also spoke twice at the head of his troops. The brave Lord Lindsey's prayer, immediately before the advance, is said to have been as follows:—"O Lord! thou knowest how busy I must be this day. If I forget thee, do not thou forget me. March on, boys!"²¹ It was nearly two o'clock when the army advanced.

The order in which the army descended the hill was as follows:—Prince Rupert, at the head of the Prince of Wales's regiment, led the cavalry of the right wing, and Lord Byron the

(19) Traditions of the neighbourhood. The cottage at Radway in which his Majesty is stated to have breakfasted is the one nearest to the Round House. The hillock from which the King gazed has been since planted and preserved in memory of the event.

I have not heard of there being any tradition relating to the spot where the "King's Barn" is marked in the map. The name is taken from the Ordnance Map.

(20) The strongest argument that could be adduced against the proposition for an immediate battle, would be the great importance of not delaying the march of at least a portion of the Royal forces on London. Yet, for the King to have maintained his position, with the other portion of his forces, on the heights of Edgehill for many days, would probably have been impracticable, in a part of the country which was altogether hostile to him, and when many of the troops, Clarendon says, had "scarce eaten bread" for forty-eight hours. Besides, Hampden's brigade and the Parliament's artillery were coming up to the support of Essex; and Banbury Castle lay immediately in the King's rear, well garrisoned, and a rallying point for the Parliamentarians.

(21) Nugent's Memo., v. 2, pp. 285—293.

reserve; on the extreme right of which Colonel Washington's dragoons, supported by six hundred regular horse, took possession of some bushes and enclosures. On his left were eight regiments of infantry. The infantry of the centre, in column of six lines, was led by General Ruthven and Sir Jacob Astley; the Earl of Lindsey, with his son Lord Willoughby, at the head of the Royal Foot Guards, the red-coats; and Sir Edmund Verney, carrying the King's Standard. Behind these, and a little to the right, the King took post with his guard of pensioners. The cavalry of the left wing was commanded by Lord Wilmot, and consisted of the regiments of Lord Goring and Lord Fielding. These were supported by Lord Carnarvon at the head of six hundred pikemen and a small body of musketeers. The reserve was commanded by Lord Digby; and Sir George Lisle's and Colonel Ennis's dragoons lined the hedges and broken ground in advance of the extreme left, as Washington's did on the right. In the rear of these were the ill-armed and almost totally undisciplined levies from Wales.²² "It was near three of the clock in the afternoon," says Lord Clarendon, "before the battle begun." The action was commenced by the Parliament's guns, which opened from their right flank, and were instantly answered by the whole park of the King's artillery from the centre, the cannonade continuing briskly for some time. The first charge was made by the King's cavalry from his left, and was repulsed; the musketeers who supported them being also driven back to take refuge behind the second line of pikes. But on the other wing their success was very different. The Parliament's line had been weakened here, by extending itself to avoid being outflanked. And, at the commencement of the conflict on this part, Sir Faithful Fortescue, an Irishman, who commanded a troop of the Parliament's horse, ordered his men (who appear to have been quite indisposed to the service in which they were engaged) to fire

(22) Nugent's Memo., v. 2, pp. 291, 292. A few days before this engagement, Prince Rupert, on receiving a message delivered by Lord Falkland, had declared that he would acknowledge no orders, in march or in battle, but from the King himself. This unmanageable disposition of Rupert now forced on the King a very inconvenient arrangement; since the Earl of Lindsey, the King's lieutenant-general, saw that the Prince had disclaimed his control also. For the King to allow the line to be commanded by Rupert was impossible; and a sort of compromise was therefore attempted. The King proposed that the order of battle should be formed by General Ruthven, who had served for some time in the same army with Rupert in Germany. To this Lindsey consented, putting himself, on foot, at the head of the King's Guards, in the centre of the first line; and thus remaining answerable for the fate of an army drawn out by another, and the whole right wing of which was commanded by a rash man who would take no orders from him.—*Nugent's Memo.*, pp. 286, 287.

their pistols into the ground, and then galloped with them into Prince Rupert's lines.²³

"And now Prince Rupert, charging with the whole of the cavalry of the King's right wing, broke through and entirely routed Sir James Ramsay's horse, who, enfeebled and dismayed, were making an irresolute attempt to gain the advantage of the hill. Even Colonel Essex's regiment, who had moved up to support them, also broke and fled. The battle, on that part, soon became a chace, though Essex did all that he could to rally the flying troops, and Holles and Ballard advanced gallantly from their right to cover their ground."²⁴ The plain was soon covered with nearly the whole of the Parliament's left wing in complete disorder, and Rupert's horse in close and unsparing pursuit. "The Lord Mandeville's men," says an eye-witness, "would not stand the field; though his lordship beseeched, nay cudgelled them. No, nor yet the Lord Wharton's men."²⁵ Sir William Fairfax his regiment, except some eighty of them, used their heeles."²⁶ "Nor did Cholmley's behave better. Cavalry endeavouring to force their flight through the infantry who were ordered to support them, the infantry scarcely better disposed to stand, but unable to fly before the rapid torrent of Rupert's charge,—all were in one confused mass, and not a face of a private soldier fronted that of his enemy, except Lord Brook's purple-coats, Colonel Ballard's grey-coats, and Denzil Holles's gallant red-coats, who, again opposed to superior numbers, and under the severer trial of witnessing the cowardice of their comrades, had nobly rushed across the advancing enemy. But the King's cavalry had already swept by with an impetuosity which infantry, forming hastily, and from a flank, could not withstand. But these brave regiments, although

(23) Nugent's Memo., v. 2, p. 294. Accident punished the desertion of Sir Faithful Fortescue's troop; for, being mistaken for enemies, they received from Rupert's men a fire which laid twenty-five of them dead. Clarendon states that they had neglected to throw away their orange tawny scarfs which they wore as the Earl of Essex's colours, and that they were killed by mistake in the charge which immediately followed. The troop of Sir Faithful Fortescue had been raised for the Irish wars: and whether they were pressed or deceived into their present service, or whether they wilfully marched with the Parliament's forces with the intention to desert them in the day of battle, cannot now be ascertained. The reception they met with proves that their desertion had not been preconcerted with Rupert.

(24) Nugent's Memo., v. 2, p. 295.

(25) Anthony Wood says that Lord Wharton, "after all his men had run away, hid himself in a sawpit." (Wood's Athenæ.) Lord Wharton, in his speech to the citizens of London four days after, owns—"there were that ran away, Sir William Fairfax's regiment, Sir Henry Cholmley's, my lord Kimbolton's, and, to say the plain truth, my own."—*Parl. Hist. Eng.*, v. 11, p. 475.

(26) "Special Newes from the Army at Warwicke since the Fight; sent from a Minister of good note." In the collection of W. Staunton Esq. of Longbridge House near Warwick.

overborne, rallied, and at once engaged and checked the whole infantry of the King's right and centre. Meanwhile, the pursuit lasted across the open fields for three miles, up to Kineton itself, with tremendous slaughter. But here Rupert's triumph ended; and he incurred the reproach of allowing himself to be detained in an inglorious work of plunder for upwards for an hour, while the King's infantry was engaged, and worsted for lack of his support. The principal part of the baggage of the Parliament's army was lying in waggons in the streets of Kineton. Few were left to guard it, and the horses had been all moved forward to assist with the artillery, which was in action. The pillage of these now wholly fixed the attention of the Prince, who thus delayed his return to the battle, and gave his soldiers an example of insubordination which it was one of his most urgent duties to discountenance and repress.²⁷ The alarm was given to him, while thus employed, that the enemy was again forming, reinforced by fresh troops, on the outskirts of the town. The ground on which he rallied and drew up his cavalry to charge them again, is still known as 'Prince Rupert's Headland,' and gives its name to a farm about a mile to the northeastward of Kineton. But it was now too late. Hampden, who had left Stratford on Avon the evening before, had pushed on with Colonel Grantham's regiment and his own green-coats, and five guns, with which the men had all night toiled through the deep roads, leaving behind Colonel Barkham's and Lord Rochfort's regiments to bring up the rest of the artillery and great store of ammunition, which did not arrive till the day after. And now the two regiments, led by Hampden, were seen hastening across the enclosures to support the mangled squadrons of flying horse. Dragging their guns out of the lanes along which they had advanced, they formed between the pursued and the pursuers, and opened their fire upon Rupert, killing several of his men and horses, and, though unable to pursue, obliging him, in his turn, to recross the plain in great confusion."²⁸ One account states that, in the flight, Rupert cast away his beaver and feather that he might not be a mark for the pursuers.²⁹

Meanwhile, Holles's, Ballard's, and Brook's regiments, having made good the ground which was abandoned by the fugitives,

(27) It is said of the Prince, that, on his return to the field of battle, finding the Royal army in confusion, and the King himself in great danger, he told them that he "could give a good account of the enemy's horse." "Ay, by G—," exclaimed a cavalier, "and of their carts too!"—*Nugent's Memo.*, v. 2, p. 297.

(28) *Nugent's Memo.*, v. 2, pp. 295—298.

(29) *Perfect Diurnal*.

had poured in "from the flank upon the main body of the King, which at the same time was charged in front by the rest of the Parliament's infantry headed by the Earl of Essex in person. The gentlemen and officers of the cavalry, instead of flying with their men, had joined to strengthen the centre. And Colonel Charles Essex, having striven in vain to rally his craven regiment, returned to die bravely as a volunteer in more honourable company. He and the Lord St. John met their death in this charge.

"The Lord-General's lifeguard of gentlemen, to whom these gallant persons had joined themselves, first broke the King's guards, who were afterwards 'abundantly smitten down by the orange-coats, by Sir William Constable's blue-coats, the Lord Roberts's red-coats, and the Lord Saye's blue-coats, led by Sir John Meldrum.' And the cavalry from the Parliament's right, under Balfore, Stapleton, and the Lord Willoughby of Parham, and composed of the troops of Hazelrigge, Lord Brook, Lord Grey, Gunter, Draper, Temple, Long, Fiennes, Luke, Cromwell, Hunt, and Urrey, now rushed in furiously.³⁰ At this time was slain Sir Edmund Verney; and the royal standard, which he bore, was

(30) Lord SAYE'S blue-coats and FIENNES'S troop of cavalry are thus recorded as having bravely shared in the dangers of this eventful day. Nathaniel Fiennes is subsequently stated (in his defence on his trial in 1643 for surrendering Bristol) as being "one of the next to Sir William Balfore," charging "up to the cannon of the enemy, when the horse killed the cannoneers as they lay under the carriages." (State Trials, v. 1, p. 769.)

Although the troop of CROMWELL is enumerated by Lord Nugent among those above who rushed in under the command of Balfore, yet in no account which I have met with is Cromwell himself recorded as being present; and indeed a charge of cowardice has been made against him for absence. In "A short View of the late Troubles in England," said to have been written by Sir William Dugdale, it is said that "Oliver Cromwell was one (if some of the most eminent persons of his own party, who were in the fight, bely him not,) who, being captain of a troop of horse in the General's regiment, came not into the field, but got up into a steeple within view of the battel, and there discerning by a prospective-glass the two wings of their horse to be utterly routed, made such haste to be gone, that instead of descending the stairs by which he came up, he swing'd down by a bell-rope, and ran away with his troop." The church alluded to is traditionally said to have been that of Burton Dassett, which, seen from Bullet hill, stands close on the right of the Beacon-house and beneath it. On the Parliamentarian side, Lord Holles, six years after the action, says:—"Oliver Cromwell was as arrant a coward as he was notoriously perfidious, ambitious, and hypocritical. This was his base keeping out of the field at Keinton battle, where he with his troop of horse came not in, impudently and ridiculously affirming, the day after, that he had been all that day seeking the army and place of fight, though his quarters were but at a village near hand, whence he could not find his way, nor be directed by his ear, when the ordnance was heard 20 or 30 miles off." (Gleig's Military Commanders, v. 1, p. 227.)

In defence of Cromwell it must be added, that the account of the battle which was sent to the Parliament was signed by five of the leaders, of whom Holles was one. He therefore must be supposed to have had full knowledge of the facts, and the power to criminate Cromwell by those facts if he were guilty. Holles certainly did not want the inclination to do so. But he deals only in general statements; and the piteous excuses said to have been pleaded by Cromwell are not in keeping with his known character. Had Cromwell asserted that he "was seeking the Lord," the story would have told better. It may be, however, says Gleig, "that here, as well as elsewhere, Cromwell permitted affairs to take their course, because he saw that the whole merit of a victory which it rested with him to secure would

taken by Mr. Young, one of Sir William Constable's ensigns, and delivered by Lord Essex to his own secretary, Chambers, who rode by his side. Elated by the prize, the secretary rode about, more proudly than wisely, waving it round his head. Whereupon, in the confusion, one of the King's officers, Captain Smith of the Lord John Stewart's troop, seeing the standard captured, threw round him the orange scarf of a fallen Parliamentarian, and, riding in among the lines of his enemies, told the secretary that 'it were shame that so honourable a trophy of war should be borne by a penman.' To which suggestion the credulous guardian of this honourable trophy consenting surrendered it to the disguised cavalier, who galloped back with it amain, and, before evening, received knighthood under its shadow."³¹

Clarendon admits that, when the Standard was taken, the King was in great personal danger, he being, with fewer than one hundred horse, and those without an officer, within half musket shot of the enemy. The brave old general, the Earl of Lindsey, received a shot in the thigh, when on foot at the head of his regiment; on which he fell and was immediately surrounded by the enemy: his son, Lord Willoughby, who bravely and piously attempted to rescue his father, was taken prisoner with him. When Rupert returned to the field he found this great alteration, and the hopes of a day of victory completely vanished.³² For the Royal army was now so severely pressed in front and on its left, menaced also on its right by a body of horse which had regained that rising ground from which Ramsay's brigade had, early in the fight, been driven, that Charles was vehemently importuned to leave the field. But this his ardent courage, and the pledge which he had given to his troops to abide with them for life or death, would not permit. He would have charged in person with his reserves of two regiments and his band of pensioners; but from this his household officers withheld him.³³ Tradition points out the ascent of the present turnpike road from Kinton towards the brow of Edgehill as one of the hardest fought points

be awarded to another; and if so, then is his conduct strictly in agreement with that deep and resolute selfishness, for which we have already given, and shall again find ample cause to give, him credit."—*Gleig's Milit. Commanders*, v. 1, p. 227.

(31) Nugent's Memo., v. 2, pp. 298—300. The rank which Smith received was that of knight banneret, that is, one knighted by his Sovereign on the field of battle. Sir Edmund Verney, who thus fell while bearing the King's Standard, had long sided with the malecontent party in Parliament; and expressed doubts of the justice of the King's cause even when he became engaged in it; but gave as a reason that "he had eaten the King's bread," and was therefore bound to his service in personal honour.—*Nugent's Memo.*, v. 2, pp. 191, 192.

(32) Clarendon's Hist. Rebel., v. 2, p. 48.

(33) Nugent's Memo., v. 2, pp. 300, 301.

of the day ; and the number of balls found there, and the name "Bullet Hill" which is given to this part at the steepest ascent, serve to confirm the tradition ; and seem to point out this part as the rising ground which had been regained by the Parliament's horse. If so, the situation of the King's army was extremely critical. But now the evening was setting in, and the darkness made it difficult to distinguish friends from foes.³⁴ "Night," says Clarendon, "the common friend to wearied and dismayed armies, parted them ; and then the King caused his cannon which were nearest the enemy to be drawn off ; and with his whole forces spent the night in the field, by such a fire as could be made of the little wood and bushes which grew thereabouts."

When the day dawned, a portion of the Parliament's troops were seen standing in the same posture and place in which they had fought. But the ill success of both parties on the preceding day had been so nearly balanced, both had suffered so severely, and the condition of each was so perilous, that neither side was eager to renew the combat. Both sides claimed the doubtful victory : it appears, however, upon the whole, that the advantage lay with the Parliament. Their horse on the field were victorious ; their infantry were proved superior ; and they had been reinforced by the energetic Hampden with his green-coats, and Grantham's regiment also, the best in the service. Essex called a council of his principal officers, and he listened mainly, as he had ever done, to the advice of the cautious Dalbier. "Resolute under difficulty and repulse, it was when success was to be improved that Essex was timid and indecisive. In vain did Hampden, Grantham, Holles, and Brook, urge him to renew the attack. Hampden was for instantly pressing forward, and endeavouring to force the King's position ; and so to relieve Banbury, and throw himself at once on the contested line of the great London road. And Ludlow and Whitelocke assert, and Warwick and Clarendon confess, that if this course had been adopted, the King's condition might have become hazardous in the extreme."³⁵

The slaughter at Edgehill was very great, but has been much misrepresented and overrated. According to one of the accounts sent to the Parliament, and published "to prevent false informations," the King lost in slain about three thousand, the Parliament

(34) It being the 23rd October, old style, the sun would set at about half past four o'clock.

(35) Nugent's Memo. v. 2, p. 303.

three hundred. According to that which issued from the King's press at Oxford, the amount of the King's loss is doubtful, but "this is certain, that the Royal army slew five Parliamentarians for every one slain of theirs." Of course none of these conflicting accounts are to be depended on. Clarendon states that "the number of the slain, by the testimony of the ministers, and others of the next parish, who took care of the burying of the dead, and which was the only computation that could be made, amounted to above five thousand, whereof two parts were conceived to be of those of the Parliament party, and not above a third part of the King's." But others give a far less number. Gibson says that, by a survey taken by Mr. Fisher, vicar of Kington, who was appointed by the Earl of Essex for that purpose, the list of the slain was thirteen hundred and odd.³⁶ The Warwickshire historian, Dugdale, who was present at the battle, visited the battle-field again in the following February in company with a "skilful surveyor;" and, noting all the positions and the graves where the slain were buried, and judging from these and from the information collected, he computed the whole number of slain as being less than a thousand men.³⁷ The Parliamentarians seem to have lost more in private soldiers; the King's certainly most in persons of distinction. The King lost, of superior officers, the Earl of Lindsey (who died of his wounds within a few hours after the battle³⁸), Lord Aubigny, Sir Edmund Verney, and Colonel Munro. Lord Willoughby, and Colonels Lunsford, Vavasour, Stradling, and Rodney, were taken prisoners. Sir Jacob Astley, Sir Nicholas Byron, Colonel Gerrard, and Sir George Strode, were wounded. On the side of the Parliament, the principal persons killed were Lord St. John of Bletzo and Colonel Charles Essex: Sir William Essex was taken prisoner.³⁹ The roads were covered with the wounded of both armies. "It would be a charitable worke," says "a minister of good note" in a letter to an Alderman of London, "if some rich citizen would drop the silver oyle of his purse into the wounds of the sick and maimed souldiers who have soe freely hazarded their lives for the gospell."⁴⁰ The same merciful wish is not breathed

(36) Gibson's *Camden's Brit.*, v. 2, p. 598.

(37) Wood's *Fasti Oxon.*

(38) "Lindsey died in the lord-general's coach, on the way to Warwick Castle, under whose portcullis his corpse entered side by side with that of his youthful and gallant enemy, Charles Essex."—*Nugent's Memo.*, v. 2, p. 304.

(39) Lord Clarendon; Heath's *Chronicle*; Nugent's *Memorials*.

(40) Tract in the possession of W. Staunton Esq., being No. 12 in the following note (45).

for the wounded Royalists; and Clarendon asserts that such of them as straggled into the villages for relief were knocked on the head by the common people.

Since the enclosure of the field of battle, the principal ground of contest and the neighbouring lands have been laid out in two farms, called the "Battle Farms," and distinguished from each other by the names of Battleton and Thistleton. Between the farm-houses, but in the last-named farm, are two grounds, one arable and the other pasture, called the "Grave Grounds." (See the Map, Plate 25.) Here a great portion of the slain were buried; and thus the site of the main battle is identified.

After so minute an account of the battle, a summary one, given about eight years ago by an aged labourer residing on the spot, will not be unacceptable. "The King" (said the narrator, who was standing on the road on the top of the hill, near the Round House) "was on the hill here; the others came Kinton way. They fought in two companies; one along the hill at Bullet Hill, where the road comes up; but the main in the vale at Battleton and Thistleton. They on the hill drove the others down into Kinton; while they at Battleton and Thistleton made head, and forced the King back to the hill."⁴¹ Thus oral tradition agrees with historical testimony, and clearly points out the exact ground of combat.⁴²

Amid the alarm on the outbreak of the war and the King's advance towards London, the Parliament had given orders for firing the nearest Beacon whenever the Earl of Essex might overtake the King and arrest his progress. The light by night, or the smoke by day, was to be the signal, which the country people, on the heights, up to London, were by proclamation di-

(41) Communicated by Mr. Francillon of Banbury.

(42) The Prince of Wales and the Duke of York, then of the ages of twelve and ten years, were on Edgehill during the battle. A plantation of firs subsequently marked the place where the two Princes were left under the care of the celebrated Dr. William Harvey, physician in ordinary to the King. It is said that, during the action, the Doctor, forgetful alike of his danger and his charge, and sensible only of the value of time to a philosopher, took out a book and sat on the grass to read, till, warned by the sound of the bullets around him, he rose and withdrew the Princes to a securer distance. (Nugent's Memorials; Smith's Warwickshire.)

William Walker, who was born in 1613, was, at the age of twenty-nine years, one of the combatants in this battle. He had witnessed the progress of the discontents which brought about the Civil War; and he afterwards lived to witness the downfall of monarchy, the subsequent restoration of Charles the Second, the Revolution of 1689, the glory of the reign of Queen Anne, the accession of the House of Hanover, and the beginning of the reign of George the Second. He died in 1736, aged 123 years. (Caulfield's Portraits.)

Richard Baxter was preaching within hearing of the cannon on this eventful Sunday. He says:—"On October 23, 1642, little knowing what was doing at Edgehill, I was preaching in his [Samuel Clark's] pulpit at Alcester, on those words, 'The kingdom of heaven

rected to repeat. After the Sunday's fight at Edgehill, when the darkness had set in, a small party of the Parliament's troops, who had gained the summit of the Beacon hill at Burton Dassett, gave the signal. Tradition says that some shepherds, on a part of the high ridge over Ivinghoe, on the borders of Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire, (forty miles in a direct line from Edgehill), saw a twinkling light to the northwestward, and, upon communication with their minister, "a godly and well-affected person," fired the Beacon there also, which was seen at Harrow on the Hill; and thence the intelligence was at once carried on to London.⁴³ There also came up a post to the Parliament, bringing information "that the King with his army had been at Banbury, but was bravely resisted by the townsmen, who stood upon their guard and fortified the town upon the sudden by stopping up the passage with logs of wood, cutting down trees, and laying them in the way with carts, harrows, &c." In less than half an hour after this came another post, bringing an account of the meeting of the King and Lord Essex at Edgehill on Sunday morning.⁴⁴ On the 25th, messengers from the army arrived in London; followed by a letter from Holles, Stapleton, and others, claiming a complete victory. It was however impossible to conceal the fact that the King's army was still between Lord Essex's army and London, and, in consequence, the alarm was extreme. The people thronged to the barricades, the trainbands beat to arms; and directions the most positive were forwarded by repeated expresses to the lord-general, to throw himself at all hazards upon London. Lord Saye delivered a speech in the Guildhall on the 27th, exhorting the city to raise more money to carry on the war. At this critical time, the indecision of the Royalist commanders came to the relief of the citizens and the Parliament.⁴⁵

suffereth violence.' My voice hindered me, but the auditors heard the cannon: that night was passed by us in sad watching, with the noise of fugitive troops: the next day (such spectacles being rare, and sad) Mr. Clark and I rode to the field to see what was done, where we saw the dead bodies of Englishmen slain by one another."—*Prefixed by Baxter to Clark's Lives.*

(43) Nugent's Memo., v. 2, pp. 311, 312.

(44) Speciall and Remarkable Passages informed to both Houses, 4to., 1642.

(45) The following Tracts relating to the Battle of Edgehill are in the collection of Wm. Staunton Esq. of Longbridge House near Warwick:—

1. A Relation of the Battaille lately fought between Keynton and Edgehill by his Majesties army & that of the Rebels, &c. &c. 4to., Oxford 1642.

2. A True Relation of a Great & Happy Victory which it hath pleas'd God to give to his Excellency the Earl of Essex & his Forces over the Kings army. In which Battell his Majesty lost six colours & his Standard, 5 Waggonns laden with ammunition & Plate, a Coach, 8 Pieces of Ordnance and 3000 men, all which the Parliaments Forces obtain'd with the losse of 300 on their side. Also they have taken the Lord Lindsey, Generall of the Field,

THE KING TAKES BROUGHTON AND BANBURY.

After the battle on Sunday, the greater part of the Parliament's army was ordered for the night to Kineton; but a brigade of observation was left on the advanced position which they had won at the eastern extremity of the field. The next morning both

Sr Thomas Lunsford, Sr Edward Stradling & Col. Vavasor, &c. &c. Oct. 27th. London, printed for John Wright. 1642.

3. An Exact & True Relation of the Dangerous & Bloody Fight, between His Majesties armie, and the Parliaments, neere Kyneton in the Countie of Warwick, the 23^d of this instant, Oct., &c. &c. 4to., London, printed for Francis Wright.

4. An Exact & True Relation, &c. (This seems to be a reprint or duplicate of the former.) Printed by John Field. 4to., London, Oct. 28th, 1642.

5. A More True & Exacter Relation of the Battaille of Keyton than any formerly, Written by T: C. one of the Chaplains in the Army, &c. &c. Printed for Edward Blackmore at the Angel in Pauls Churchyard. 4to., Nov. 26th, 1642.

6. A most True & Exact Relation of both the Battells fought by his Excellency & his Forces against the bloody Cavelliers. The one on the 23^d of October last, neer Keynton below Edge Hill in Warwickshire, the other at Worcester by Col: Brown, Captain Nathaniel & John Fiennes, and Col: Sands, and some others. Written by a Worthy Captain Master Nathaniel Fiennes, &c. &c. 4to., London, printed for Joseph Hunscomb, Nov. 9th, 1642.

7. A most True Relation of the present state of His Majesties Army, Wherein also the Truth of that Declaration publish'd by the Parliament of their happy Victory in the Battaille at Keyton, is both justly asserted and abundantly prov'd, &c. &c. Large 4to., London, printed for I. E. at the Eagle and Child in Pauls Church, 1642. (At the end of this Tract is bound up a "Prayer of Thanksgiving for his Majesties late Victory over the Rebels.")

8. His Majesties Declaration to all his Loving Subjects after his late Victory, against the Rebels on Sunday 23^d of October. Printed by his Majesties command at Oxford, by Leonard Lichfield, Printer to the University. 4to., 1642.

9. His Majesties Declaration to all his loving subjects after his late victory against the Rebels on Sunday the 23^d of October. Together with a Relation of the Battell fought between Keyton and Edge Hill, by his Majesties Armie, and that of the Rebels. With other successes of his Majesties Armie happening since. Printed by his Majesties command at Oxford by Leonard Lichtfield Printer to the Universitie, 1642. And now reprinted at London. Large 4to.

10. A Declaration of the Lords & Commons assembled in Parliament in answer to his Majesties Declaration intitl'd: His Majesties Declaration to all his loving Subjects, after his late Victory against the Rebels on Sunday the 23^d of October, 1642, &c. &c. London, Printed for Edward Husbands, and John Franke. Large 4to.

11. Three Speeches made by the Kings Most excellent Majesty, the first to divers Lords & Colonels in his Majesties Tent, the second to His souldiers in the field, the third to His whole army, immediately before the late Battell at Keinton neer Banbury, &c. &c. 4to. London, printed for Richard Johnson.

12. Speciall Neues from the Army at Warwicke since the Fight, sent from a Minister of good note to an Alderman here in London, wherein is related the names of such that are slain & taken prisoners on both sides, &c. &c. Also a most pious passage utter'd by His Excellency to Master Marshall, upon their discourse of the Battle. 4to., London, printed for Henry Overton, at his Shop in Popes Head Alley, Oct. 29th 1642.

13. The last true intelligence from Warwick, being a certain Relation of the death of the Earl of Lindsey, Lord General of the Kings Army, who was sorely wounded upon his being taken prisoner in the late battell neer Banbury. 4to., London, Oct. 31st.

14. A Great Wonder in Heaven. (See p. 334.)

15. The New Yeares Wonder. (See p. 337.)

Mr. Staunton also possesses a humorous Tract, entitled "The Welshmans new Almanack and Prognostication for this present yeare 1643, likewise giving notice to all good peoples to beware of the danger that will befall them; if they take not heed in good time: wherein if there be found any one lye, her will be content to lose all her credite, and also her other Legge and Arme, as her did at Kenton Battailles. Withall Her doe forbid to have any red letters to be printed in her Almanacke, because her do not love the red colour never since her lost so much of her bloud at that time as her did at Edge-hil." London, printed 1643, in black letter.

armies were drawn up in order of battle; but the King kept the hill, and Essex durst not attack him there. Hampden indeed repeated the bold advice to Essex, to press forward and force the King's position, and so to strengthen Banbury and throw the Parliament's army at once on the London road; and he volunteered to lead the advance in person with his own fresh and eager brigade. But Dalbier's more cautious counsel prevailed.⁴⁶ About sunset, "for what reason," says Ludlow, "I know not," Essex commanded a retreat on Warwick.⁴⁷ The direct road to London remained open to the King, with no other obstruction than that which Banbury might afford; yet Charles did not avail himself of this advantage. Did not other circumstances forbid the conclusion, the retirement of Essex to Warwick, and that of Charles, soon after, to Aynho and Oxford, would seem to have been the result of compromise: but there are some facts recorded which throw light on the conduct of both parties. It is stated, in the original papers of James the Second, that the King's march on London was opposed on this occasion by the advice of many of his council, who were afraid that the King should return to his capital by conquest:⁴⁸ it is no wonder therefore that his movements from this period became disconnected and dilatory. As regards Essex, it appears that, on the eighth day after the battle of Edgehill, an action took place at Aylesbury, in which Sir William Balfour, who had commanded the cavalry of the Parliament's right wing at Edgehill, with six troops of horse and part of Hampden's and Grantham's regiments which had been in the rear at Edgehill, took a part, and defeated Prince Rupert;⁴⁹ and while this occurred, Essex was pursuing the somewhat circuitous route towards London by Northampton. Might not, then, a knowledge of the state of the country have warranted Essex in the belief that he could place himself in front of London before the King could approach it?⁵⁰

After the return to Edgehill of parties of the King's horse who had been sent to hover on the retreat of Essex, the King directed his army to retire to their old quarters about Edgcote. On Wednesday morning he appointed General Ruthven general of his

(46) Nugent's Memo., v. 2, pp. 306, 309.

(48) Nugent's Memo., v. 2, p. 307.

(47) Ludlow's Memoirs.

(49) Nugent's Memo., v. 2, p. 322.

(50) It is certain that, as the event fell out, Essex was enabled to do so; and that the Parliament were satisfied with his conduct is evident from their vote of thanks to him and the reward of £5,000.

army, and then marched to Aynho.⁵¹ (See the Map, Plate 25.) In the direction to Aynho, the way led by Chacombe and Middleton Cheney, between which villages, and in the parish of Chacombe, is a field (adjoining the Banbury Lane) called the King's Stile, on which Charles is traditionally stated to have rested while he took refreshments of cake and wine furnished from the Priory house of Chacombe,⁵² then the property of Michael Fox Esq.

On this day, Wednesday the 26th October, the King took a view of Banbury, (which he had ample opportunity of doing from the hills along which he was advancing to Aynho,) and designed to attempt the siege of the Castle on the following day.⁵³ Many of his officers were of opinion that the task of reducing the place was one to which the army was not equal, under the present circumstances, and at the approach of winter;⁵⁴ but the King resolved on making the attempt, and accordingly, on the same day, he sent Sir William le Neve,⁵⁵ Clarencieux King at Arms, with a summons. The King then proceeded against BROUGHTON, the castellated mansion of Lord Saye, which was garrisoned with a troop of horse. There was some show of resistance at Broughton; the place holding out for that day, and consuming a portion of another day in settling the articles of capitulation.⁵⁶ Slight as was the real advantage of having taken Broughton (beyond that of obtaining possession of the supply of arms there⁵⁷), the affair might be regarded as of present importance, since the taking of "Lord Saye's Castle" would be hailed as a great event in the distant parts of the kingdom.

On Thursday, the King, from Aynho, sent the following letter to the Lord Willoughby (now Earl of Lindsey), prisoner at Warwick Castle:—

"To the Earl of Linsay, Lord High Chamberlain of England.

"LINSAY,

"You cannot be more sensible, as I believe, of your Father's loss than myself, his death confirming the estimation I had of him. As for yourself, the double sufferings you have had for my sake, both in your father's person and your own, puts upon me the strictest obligation, not only to

(51) Clarendon, v. 2, p. 57.

(52) Information from Mr. Matthew Jessop, of Banbury.

(53) Clarendon, v. 2, p. 57.

(54) Ibid.

(55) Anthony Wood's copy of the "Relation of the Battaile" (which is preserved in the Ashmolean Library); and MS. note therein.

(56) Nugent's Memo., v. 2, p. 315. Portions of the Castle are yet pointed out where woolpacks were hung up to receive the shot of the enemy.

(57) Clarendon, v. 2, p. 57.

restore you to your liberty, now unjustly detained from you, but also to shew to the world by my actions, how really I am

Your assured and constant friend,

CHARLES R.¹

“Ayno, 27 Oct. 1642.”

On the same day, the King marched to BANBURY. The cannon were planted against the Castle; and the first brigade of the Royal army, commanded by Sir Nicholas Byron, was drawn out before the fortress. Although the accounts given by different writers do not agree, it is quite plain that the Castle was on this occasion surrendered in a cowardly if not in a treacherous manner. “Upon the first shot made,” says Lord Clarendon, “the Castle sent to treat, and upon leave to go away without their armes, they fairly and kindly deliver’d the place; and half the common soldiers at the least readily took conditions, and put themselves into the King’s army, the rest of the armes came very seasonably to supply many soldiers of every regiment, who either never had any before, or had lost them at the battle” [of Edgehill].² “After the firing of one small drake,” says another authority, “the Parl. forces submitted to His Mai. mercy, which were in number about 800 foot of the Earle of Peterboroughs and Lord Says regiments, with ten colours and a troupe of horse.”³ “Though about a thousand of our men were in the town,” says a writer on the Parliamentary side, “yet pretending it not to be sufficiently provided for a siege, they surrendered it.”⁴ Burton says the town and castle were surrendered without a blow, and that two regiments of foot and a troop of horse took arms under the King.⁵ May and Sir R. Baker say there were 1,500 stand of arms in the Castle.

It is however elsewhere stated, that Sir William Compton, the gallant son of the Earl of Northampton, on this occasion led his men to three attacks on Banbury Castle, and had two horses shot under him.⁶ Still the brief resistance which was offered by the Castle accords ill with the judgment given by some of Charles’s officers on the preceding day, and with the formal array of the numbers which composed the garrison. The explanation of the case is found in the fact (arrived at from the statements above given by Clarendon and Burton) that there was a disposition on the part of a very large portion of the garrison in

(1) Dunkin’s *Oxfordshire*, v. 1, p. 114.

(3) *Micro-Chronicon*, 1647.

(5) Burton’s (R.) *Wars of Charles the First*.

(2) Clarendon’s *Hist. Rebel.*, v. 2, p. 57.

(4) Ludlow’s *Memoirs*.

(6) Chalmers’s *Biog.*

favour of the King. Probably this defection existed in the Earl of Peterborough's regiment, of which Sir Faithful Fortescue, who deserted with his troop of horse from the Parliament's lines at Edgehill, was lieutenant-colonel.⁷ But if the surrender is to be accounted for otherwise than by treachery, how different a defence (if it may be called one) was this from those of 1644 and 1646! The garrison deposited their arms; and the King took possession of the Castle and town, and "sent some of his principall officers to discover and bring away all such Armes and ammunition as were found in the Towne, and to take upon tickets all the wollen cloath, stockings, shooes, and victualls for the accommodation of his souldiers, forbidding all manner of plundering, and permitting only one regiment to enter and remain in the Town that night."⁸

On Monday the 31st, information was communicated to the Parliament that Banbury had been yielded on Thursday; that the "1,500 men" who were placed there by the lord-general had quarter given them to leave the town, but that their arms were taken from them; and that the Cavaliers had plundered the town, and utterly undone the greatest part of the inhabitants; having taken the cloth in the mercers' shops to their own uses, saying that his Majesty would pay for it hereafter.⁹ A later account, dated Nov. 5th, says:—"It is certaine that Prince Robert [Rupert] hath plundered the Lord Say his house, Master Fynes his house, Master Whitlockes house, members of Parliament, and taken away all his cattle, and destroyed his deere, and such as they could not kill, they brake down the parke pales to let them out: And that when the Maier of Banbury shewed Prince Robert the King's hand and seale that the towne should not be plundered, for that his Maiestie had accepted of a composition, Prince Robert threw it away, and said, my Unkle little knowes what belongs to the warres, and so commanded his men to plunder, which they

(7) The officers of this regiment were:—*Col.*, John, Earl of Peterborough; *Lieut.-Col.*, Sir Faithful Fortescue; *Serj.-Major*, Francis Fairfax; *Captls.*, Sir Edw. Payton, Phil. Dutton, Bevill Prideaux, Robt. Knightley, Jo. Butler, Hen. Lovell, Geo. Blunt; *Lieuts.*, Geo. Rouse, Rich. Orfice, Jo. Rice, Wil. Thorp, Hen. Case, Ornell Fountain, Tho. Treist, Jo. Balstone, Geo. Hartridge, Jam. Grimes; *Ensigns*, Goldsborough, John Apew, Alex. Thory, Jo. Bridges, Jam. Harrison, Bevill Cruttenden, Rich. Lidcoat, Tho. Laharn, Jo. Pew, Cha. Harrow.—*4to Tract in my own collection.*

(8) Relation of the Battaile. The Court periodical (*Mercurius Aulicus*) afterwards says, of this second capture of Banbury, that Banbury was "taken first in August 1642, when Mr. John Fiennes wept at his departure thence; at which time his Majesties forces having taken the Ordnance, armes and ammunition, left the towne upon promise of future loyalty; but they behaving themselves like my Lord Says neighbours, his Majesty took it againe in October after, with 800 souldiers, whereof the Lord Say's regiment were part."

(9) Perfect Diurnal.

did to the purpose and had no respect of persons, for the Malignants suffered more than the honest men of the Towne, whom they called Roundheads: But that which startles us most is a warrant under his Majesties owne hand for the plundering of the Lord Say his house, and demolishing of it, and invites the people to doe it, with a grant unto them of all the materialls of the house; wee had thought till this warrant was produced that the King had not beene accessary to these horrible pilfering courses; there is a Banbury man gone up to the Parliament with the warrant, who informes of most wicked and divellish outrages committed by Prince Robert his forces, yet to put a colour upon the businesse it is given out it is against the King and Prince Robert's mind to plunder; they hanged a man but yesterday, and yet they plunder the more: This warrant under the Kings owne hand is an undoubted truth, and fit to be made knowne to all the kingdom, that they may see what they are like to expect."¹⁰

In consequence of the capture of the important fortress of Banbury, the army of the King was now regarded as victorious. A strong garrison was placed in the Castle, and the command given to the Earl of Northampton: and the King, on Friday the 28th October, marched to his palace at Woodstock, whence on the next day he proceeded with his whole army to Oxford.

SUBSEQUENT EVENTS IN 1642.

The CASTLE of BANBURY was henceforth in the keeping of those who shewed themselves more brave and faithful than its former possessors. From this period, until the close of the Civil War, it continued to be a stronghold of the Royalists, though situated in the midst of a district ardently attached to the Parliament.

On the 3rd November, the King, at Oxford, put forth a declaration of pardon to all persons in Oxfordshire who had taken arms against him, excepting Lord Saye, Nathaniel Fiennes, Sir William Cobb [of Adderbury], and John Doyley Esq.¹¹ Meanwhile the Earl of Essex, hastening on towards London by the road through Northampton, secured the metropolis against any

(10) Speciall Passages, &c. informed to both Houses, No. 13.

(11) Broadsheet preserved in the British Museum.

danger from the now irresolute and dilatory movements of the King. The latter took up his quarters for the winter at Oxford; and, having forces quartered at Banbury, Brill, Wallingford, and Abingdon, he had the whole of Oxfordshire under his command, with most of Berkshire, and a part of Northamptonshire and Buckinghamshire.

On the 16th November, Lord Saye was by the King formally deprived of his office of Master of the Court of Wards, and was proclaimed a traitor.¹² The Parliament took a different view of his services, and rewarded him with £10,000 and a part of the estate of the Earl of Worcester.

The following occurs from the King to Grevill Verney Esq. of Compton Verney:—

“CHARLES R.

“Trusty and Welbeloved We greete you well, Whereas Wee haue constituted Our Right trusty and right Welbeloved Cousin Spencer Earle of Northampton Our Governour and Commander in Chieff in our Towne of Banbury for the safety and security of Our sayd Towne and the Countyes adiauent; And haue required him to move you to contribute what in you lyes towards Our Assistance and Defence, and the Preservation of Our kingdome; Wee doe hereby desyre you forthwith to furnish Us with such Horse, Armes, Amunition, Plate, money or other Provisions as yo^r Love to Us and your Country shall persuade you to. And to deliuer the same to our sayd Cousin, whome Wee haue intrusted to receiue it of you; And that you persuade all yo^r Neighbours, Tenants, and Friends to the lyke contribution. And Wee promise you on the word of a King to repay the same as soone as God shall enable Us. And of this service Wee cannot doubt, since if you should refuse to give Us the Testimony of yo^r Affection, you will give Us too great Cause to suspect yo^r Duty and Inclination both to Our Person and to the Publique Peace. Given at our Court att Oxford this 20th of December. 1642.”

“To Our trusty and Welbeloved

Grevill Verney Esq^r

And to the Ladie Verney his Mother

These ”¹³

Towards the close of December there came letters from Banbury to London, stating that the Parliament's forces in North-

(12) The instrument states that—“The said lord viscount Say and Sele hath been ayding and assisting comforting and abetting unto the said Robert Earl of Essex and other the trayters and rebells aforesaid and hath taken part with them in the said warr against us and himself in his own p'son in our cittie of Oxford and our towne of Banbury in our county of Oxford and elsewhere hath leavied warr against us; for which causes” &c.—*Original instrument in the possession of the Hon. T. W. Twistleton Fiennes.*

(13) For the permission to print this family document, which is remaining at Compton Verney, I am indebted to the Right Hon. Lord Willoughby de Broke. In the original, the second numeral of the day of the month is blurred and nearly illegible. The date may be the 24th.

Northamptonshire had pursued a party of the Earl of Northampton's troops, who had gone from Banbury to Byfield, back to Banbury, passed the bridge there "for all their great and small shot, set upon the towne, and valiantly overcame them, with the losse of one man, killing seven of the enemies;" and that they were then attacking the Castle, in which there were "300 Cavaliers poorly provided, as it is conceived."¹⁴ An account given in the *Perfect Diurnal* states that the Northamptonshire troops were headed by Sir John Norris and Mr. Crew, and that twenty of the Earl of Northampton's men were slain.¹⁵ Another account says that the Parliament's troops forced the Castle to a parley, in which the garrison desired that six of the chief of them might retire to Oxford, and all the rest yield themselves prisoners [a not very probable story]. This account goes on, that the Northamptonshire forces, being unwilling to let any escape, and being confident of gaining the Castle, refused to grant the terms proposed; but, not long after receiving notice of a great party coming against them from Oxford, they on Friday left the town.¹⁶ Another copy of the *Perfect Diurnal* adds that four scouts sent from Banbury fell in, about two miles from the town, with some scouts of the King's army; and that, killing one of them, and wounding the rest, one who was brought a prisoner to Banbury, finding kind usage, confessed that Prince Rupert was coming with great strength and was within four miles of the town: which information being found to be true, the Northamptonshire forces quitted.

A better account of these proceedings is contained in a letter sent from Banbury, which is as follows:—

"BROTHER,

"My desire is to let you understand the state and condition that our countie is in at this present. It was true that you heard, that Northamptonshire men came into Banbury, but they stayed not, for the Major having yeelded the towne before unto the King, would not shew them any countenance, and so they left the towne presently, and went away againe the same day that they came in. And my Lord of Northampton came in upon the morrow, and tooke possession of the towne and Castle, where he hath continued ever since, untill it was Tuesday night last 22 day [December], and then drew all his forces out of the towne towards Oxford in the night, but onely his foot, and they went all into the Castle, and carryed in all the provision that they could come by in thither, and left the towne open. Northamptonshire men kept themselves together

(14) *Special Passages*, No. 20.

(16) *Contin. of Special Passages*, 26th to 30th Dec.

(15) *Perfect Diurnal*, No. 29.

all this while, and came againe to Byfield, a towne six [nine] miles from Banbury, where they lay for a weeke: but so soone as they heard that my Lord of Northampton was gone out of Banbury, they presently advanced forward, and made for Banbury againe, and came before the towne upon Wednesday in the afternoone about three of the clock, and came into the towne over the bridge. They in the Castle having foure peeces of Ordnance, shot at them as fast as they could all the time that they came in, but yet it pleased God to preserve them, that they came all safe into the towne, only one horse kild, and a man hurt, and one man kild with musket shot after they came into towne. They continued in the towne that night and all day, on the morrow they were as was supposed about foure thousand, all countrymen, but one hundred of seamen: among them they brought two small peeces into the towne with them, and sent to Northampton for one more bigger, which came in upon Thursday about twelve a clock. They shot at the Castle with their musketiers all day Thursday, and it was supposed they kild some that were upon the walls; and likewise they shot from the walls all day, and with the ordnance from the Castle, but kild none, but hurt two or three. And upon Thursday night they planted their great peece against the Castle wall, and the two smaller peeces against the gate, but could not force it to make any entrance at all. In the meane time, my Lord of Northampton brought all the Kings strength of horse from Oxford, and came to Dedington, within foure [six] miles of Banbury, on Thursday night, where they lay all night in the field: which Northamptonshire men hearing and seeing they could not doe any good at the Castle, left the towne againe, and marched away about foure a clock in the morning with their ordnance, and the King's army of horse came in on Fryday, and quaild all the countrey over on Fryday night, but returned towards Oxford againe in the morning, onely leaving some to keepe garrison in Banbury; and so now our condition is worse than ever it was: for many shewed themselves forward to joyne the Northamptonshire men, And now they being gone againe, wee are in more feares then ever wee were. I pray God in mercie look upon us, and put it into the heart of our King and Parliament, that there may be an accommodation for peace, for otherwise our countrey will be wholly ruined in a short time: Wee cannot enjoy any thing that is our owne. The towne of Banbury, for the most part the chieftest men, are wholly undone all already, and wee in the countrey cannot long subsist: For wee have great Taxes layd upon us, and if wee will not pay them, our selves and goods are both taken away. I prayse God I have my libertie yet, but doe not know how long I shall enjoy it, for I am in great feare of my selfe.

"I rest your Brother to command,

S. R." 17

"29 Decemb. 1642."

During the winter, six regiments of the King's horse were

(17) "Exact and Full Relation of all the Proceedings between the Cavaliers and the Northamptonshire forces at Banbury." 4to. Lond. 1643. In the Brit. Mus.

quartered upon this county. These consisted of twenty-eight troops of eighty men each, or 2,240 men and horse. The charge was estimated at seven shillings each horse and three shillings and sixpence each man per week; in the whole £1,176 weekly. At a meeting at Christ Church on the 21st December, a number of the gentry and freeholders of the county apportioned the tax upon the different hundreds: namely:—upon Banbury Hundred, weekly, £73. 10s. 0d.; upon Bloxham Hundred, weekly, £73. 10s. 0d.; and upon the rest in proportion.¹⁸

The parish Register of Banbury is carried on with great regularity from its commencement in the first year of Elizabeth until the 30th May in this year 1642; after which there is a blank till the 25th December in the same year. In the old paper copy, a memorandum made against the date June, July, &c. 1642, says:—"In those 7 months here recited in the first beginninge of the warrs the ages of those that were baptized were burnt & could not possible be recovered any more to be set downe." The earliest effects of the war, as regards Banbury, are therefore not to be gleaned from the Register; but the records which im-

(18) Agreement betwixt His Majesty and the Inhabitants of the County of Oxon, 4to., 1642: in the collection of Anthony Wood. The amounts apportioned to the different Hundreds were to be subdivided by the high-constables of Hundreds among the several townships, and the collections were ordered to be made by the petty-constables, and paid by them to the high-constables, who were to hand over the money to receivers appointed. Sir Thomas Pope knt. was appointed receiver for the Hundreds of Banbury and Bloxham, and the monies therein raised were apportioned to Sir Thomas Byron, towards the maintenance of the six troops of the Prince's Regiment.

Those who paid the tax in provisions, or who had horses quartered upon them, were allowed after this rate:—

"For Hay by the Todde.....	5d.
For Oates by the Bushell.....	20d.
For Beanes by the Bushell.....	2s.
For Straw to make Litter, by the load.....	6s. 8d."

And every one who paid his part of this weekly loan, and also of the Free Contribution of £1,800 a month, was to be free from all other extraordinary payments whatever, and to enjoy his horses, cattle, and goods quietly. No other troops were to be quartered on the county, unless in case of necessity; and for such the inhabitants were to receive payment. This agreement to continue three months; and the King to give security to six or more gentlemen for the repayment of the money. (*Ibid.*)

Sir Thomas Pope, knt., mentioned above, was the second son of William first Earl of Downe. He was knighted in 1625, and appears from Warton to have borne arms in the Royal cause. Thomas, the second Earl of Downe (who was the son of this Sir Thomas Pope's elder brother William), suffered severely for his activity as a Royalist during the Rebellion, and was compelled to sell his house and estate at Cogges and to leave the kingdom about the time of Cromwell's coming into power. In his distresses, Trinity College, Oxford, granted him sums of money, as appears by a schedule in the College treasury:—"Mem. A. D. 1647, Given to the Earl of Downe, post finitum Computum, by order of Mr. President and Officers, £145. 13s. 4d." In the following year the College gave a present to his uncle, the forenamed Sir Thomas Pope knt., who was also a considerable sufferer in the Royal cause. Sir Thomas became a baronet, and third Earl of Downe, on the death of his nephew the second Earl in 1660; he died in 1667. (*Warton's Life of Sir T. Pope*, pp. 443—450.) Warton adds, "One is surprised at these donations [by Trinity College], under the government of Dr. Robert Harris, Cromwell's Presbyterian President. But Harris was a man of candour, and I believe a majority of the loyal old fellows still remained."

mediately follow, compared with those which precede, this date, sufficiently and terribly point out the consequences of the war. From the amount of deaths in former years, varying from thirty to ninety-eight, the numbers rise in 1643 to 255, and in 1644 to 297: and these without including such soldiers as fell in any numbers in combat, whose burials are not alluded to. But the Plague had followed in the train of war; and the mortality does not diminish until the close of strife in 1647, when an equally awful fact is elicited; the depopulated state of the town at once reduced the annual number of deaths to twenty-six! Well might the biographer of Whateley, in a passage already quoted, say:—"God took him away a little before the Civil Wars began, and before the sad desolations that fell upon the town of Banbury in particular."

In the collection of W. Staunton Esq., of Longbridge House near Warwick, there are two very curious pamphlets relating to this period. One is entitled "A GREAT WONDER IN HEAVEN, shewing the late Apparitions and prodigious Noyses of War and Battels, seen on **EDGE-HILL**, neere Keinton:" and the contents are "Certified under the hands of William Wood, Esquire, and Justice for the Peace in the said Countie, Samuel Marshall, Preacher of Gods Word in Keinton, and other Persons of Qualitie."¹⁹ The date of this pamphlet is exactly three months after the battle of Edgehill. The contents are as follows:—

"That there hath beene, and ever will be, Laruæ, Spectra, and such like apparitions, namely, Ghosts and Goblins, have beene the opinion of all the famousest Divines of the Primitive Church, and is, (though op-pugned by some,) the received Doctrine of divers learned men at this day, their opinion being indeed ratified and confirmed by divers Texts of Scripture, as the Divells possessing the Swine, and the men possessed with Divells in the Acts of the Apostles, that came out of them, and beat the Exorcists, by which it is evidently confirmed, that those legions of erring angels that fell with their great Master, Lucifer, are not all confined to the locall Hell, but live scattered here and there, dispersed in the empty regions of the ayre as thicke as motes in the Sunne, and those are those things which our too superstitious ancestors called Elves and Goblins, Furies, and the like, such as were those who appeared to Machbeth the after King of Scotland, and foretold him of his fortunes both in life and death. It is evident, besides, that the divell can condense the ayre into any shape he pleaseth; as hee is a subtill spirit, thin and open, and rancke himselfe into any forme or likenesse, as Saint

(19) London: Printed for Thomas Jackson, Jan. 23, Anno Dom. 1642 [1643].

Augustin, Prudentius, Hieronimus, Cyril, Saint Basil the Great; and none better then our late Sovereigne King James of ever-living memory, in his Treatise de Demonologia, hath sufficiently proved: but to omit circumstance and preamble, no man that thinkes hee hath a soule, but will verily and confidently believe that there are divels; and so consequently such divels as appeare either in premonstrance of Gods Judgements, or as fatall Embassadours to declare the message of mortality and destruction to offending Nations; and hath in Germany and other places afflicted afterwards with the horror of a civill and forraigne warres notoriously manifested.

“But to our purpose. Edge-Hill in the very confines of Warwickshire, neere unto Keynton in Northamptonshire [Warwickshire], a place, as appeares by the sequele, destined for civill warres and battells; as where King John fought a battell with his Barons, and where in the defence of the Kingdomes lawes and libertie was fought a bloody conflict betweene his Majesties and the Parliaments forces, who under the conduct of his Excellence the Earle of Essex, obtained there a glorious victory over the Cavaliers; at this Edge-Hill, in the very place where the battell was stricken, have since, and doth appeare, strange and portentuous Apparitions of two jarring and contrary Armies, as I shall in order deliver, it being certified by the men of most credit in those parts, as William Wood Esquire, Samuel Marshall Minister, and others, on Saturday, which was in Christmas time, as if the Saviour of the world, who died to redeeme mankinde, had beene angry that so much Christian blood was there spilt, and so had permitted these infernall Armies to appeare, where the corporeall Armies had shed so much blood; between twelve and one of the clock in the morning was heard by some Shepherds, and other countrey-men and travellers, first the sound of Drums afar off, and the noyse of Souldiers, as it were, giving out their last groanes; at which they were much amazed, and amazed stood still, till it seemed by the necnesse of the noyse to approach them, at which too much affrighted, they sought to withdraw as fast as possibly they could, but then on the sudden, whilst they were in these cogitations, appeared in the ayre the same incorporeall souldiers that made those clamours, and immediately with Ensignes displayed Drums beating, Musquets going off, Cannons discharged, Horses neyghing, which also to these men were visible, the alarum or entrance to this game of death was stricke up, one Army which gave the first charge, having the Kings colours, and the other the Parliaments in their head or front of the battells, and so pell mell to it they went; the battell that appeared to the Kings forces seeming at first to have the best, but afterwards to be put into apparent rout; but till two or three in the morning in equall scale continued this dreadfull fight, the clattering of Armes, noyse of Cannons, cries of souldiers so amazing and terrifying the poore men, that they could not believe they were mortall, or give credit to their eares and eyes, runne away they durst not, for fear of being made a prey to these infernall souldiers, and so they with much feare and affright, stayed to behold the successe of the businesse, which

at last suited to this effect: after some three houres fight, that Army which carryed the Kings colours withdrew, or rather appeared to flie; the other remaining, as it were, Masters of the field, stayed a good space triumphing, and expressing all the signes of joy and conquest, and then, with all their Drummes, Trumpets, Ordnance, and Souldiers, vanished, the poore men glad they were gone, that had so long staid them there against their wils, made with all haste to Keinton, and there knocking up Mr. Wood, a Justice of Peace, who called up his neighbour, Mr. Marshall the Minister, they gave them an account of the whole passage, and averred it upon their oaths to be true. At which affirmation of theirs, being much amazed, they should hardly have given credit to it, but would have conjectured the men to have been either mad or drunk, had they not knowne some of them to have been of approved integritie; and so suspending their judgements till the next night about the same houre, they with the same men, and all the substantiall Inhabitants of that and the neighbouring parishes, drew thither; where about halfe an houre after their arrivall on Sunday, being Christmas night, appeared in the same tumultuous warlike manner, the same two adverse Armies, fighting with as much spite and spleen as formerly; and so departed the Gentlemen and all the spectatours, much terrified with these visions of horror, withdrew themselves to their houses, beseeching God to defend them from those hellish and prodigious enemies. The next night they appeared not, nor all that week, so that the dwellers thereabout were in good hope they had been for ever departed; but on the ensuing Saturday night, in the same place, and at the same houre, they were again seene, with far greater tumult fighting in the manner afore-mentioned for foure houres, or verie neere, and then vanished, appearing againe on Sunday night, and performing the same actions of hostilitie and bloudshed; so that both Mr Wood and others, whose faith it should seeme was not strong enough to carrie them out against these delusions, forsook their habitations thereabout, and retired themselves to other more secure dwellings; but Mr Marshall stayed, and some other, and so successively the next Saturday and Sunday the same tumults and prodigious sights and actions were put in the state and condition they were formerly. The rumour whereof comming to his Majestie at Oxford, he immediately dispatched thither Colonell Lewis Kirke, Captaine Dudley, Captaine Wainman, and three other Gentlemen of credit, to take the full view and notice of the said businesse, who first hearing the true attestation and relation of Mr Marshall and others, staid there till Saturday night following, wherein they heard and saw the fore-mentioned prodigies, and so on Sunday distinctly knowing divers of the apparitions, or incorporeall substances by their faces, as that of Sir Edmund Varney, and others that were there slaine; of which upon oath they made testimony to his Majestie. What this does portend, God only knoweth, and time perhaps will discover; but doubtlesly it is a signe of his wrath against this Land, for these civill wars, which He in his good time finish, and send a sudden peace between his Majestie and Parliament.—FINIS."

The other Tract in Mr. Staunton's collection (and which is believed to be the only copy in existence) relates to the same strange story, and bears this title:—"THE NEW YEARES WONDER being A most certaine and true Relation of the disturbed inhabitants of KENTON And other neighbouring villages neere unto Edge-Hil, where the great battaile betwixt the Kings army, and the Parliaments forces was fought. In which place is heard & seene fearfull and strange apparitions of spirits as sounds of drums, trumpets, with the discharging of Canons Muskies, Carbines pettronels, to the terrour and amazement, of all the fearfull hearers and beholders. Certified under the hands of William Wood, Esquier, and Justice for the Peace in the said Countie, Samuel Marshall, Preacher of Gods Word in Keynton, and other persons of qualitie. Printed for Robert Ellit, lodger neere the old Rose in Thames-street, who was an eye witnesse unto this." A wood-cut on the back of the title-page represents a standardbearer between a drummer and fifer, and a file of halberdiers. The contents are as follows:—

"Not altogether disallowing of old folkes similys and saying that winters nights' thunder presageth events of sumars strange wonders, which is greatly to be feard & doubted if it begin before sumar and ushers in the new yeare amoungst us with such care terour and strange eye optick appearance, as is by divers affirmed and related.

"To which avoydance therefoer, wee ought every hopefull and beleeing christian to put on new obedience unto Heaven, and begin with the new yeare, a newness of life & conversation, with the endeur of continuance till the nihgt of our death comes.

"With love feare & obedience contineu in prayers to Almighty God, that he would be pleased to call back his destroying Angell from amongst us, and with the hand of his mercy sheath up the sword of his venganc, which his wrath by our multiplying sinns caus'd him draw against us, unto our feares and terours.

"Still apearig a prodigious meteor or the fearfull head of this distracted Kingdome, and that this little Ile that was but late the admiration of lergar Christendme, for selfe accomodation and comerce for plenty and for every thing besides, with such a largnes of abundancy, that it almost needeth noe affinity with any neighbouring nation but its owne.

"And now to see the change times heere hath made, and with it made us a laghter to the world to see our selues divided against our selves, doing ourselues that ill, which forain nations would but could not doe.

"Which Heaven of his mercy grant a period that both the offended sides no more may sheath their wraths in one another, but be freinds.

and brandish palmes insted of polaxes and that these apparitions I am entring in Relation of, beget no farther Sumer feare amongst us.

“As famine from euasion and utter reuine that may enter in that gap we open our selves, and that no more such fields as Kenton, may be fought nor Edge-Hill sharpened to cut us more.

“Whose troubles peete of earth plastred with English goare and turned unto a golgotha of bones is now become the plot of feare and horreur, whose earth now groning with the weight of lives whose last beds there were maid to sleepe upon, rests in

“Whose dying grones a second time reuiues breking the cauerns of the couring earth, and sends both feare & horour round about to terifie the living with dead soules, which first amasing wonder began his shadowing apparitons on the first of January, as neere as the relatours gest in the afternone betwixt three and foure of the clocke which was beheld by three Countrymen rideing a long the way in the likenesse of a Troope of horse posting vp to them with full speede, which caus'd the Countrymen to make a stop as fearfull of their euent.

“But coming neer unto them they of a sudaine sunke into the earth which turned to their more greater feare and amaizement then at there first aduancing.

“But seeing some certain heards-men atending on cattell in the fields they rode up to them who related the same story which thay were eye witnisses unto them the horsemen at the heards-mens confermation of what themselves had senee ware so affrighted that they resolved to goe no farther then Kenton that night, where the on being glad of eithers human sositie a companyes each other.

“Where having taking vp there nightly habitation they began to relate it unto the Townesmen, the on confirming the words of the other both strangers and there townes dweling heardsmen, which soone was spred abroad but few or none that had belife unto't.

“On the morning the strangers departed & thought al the towne heard the relation of it, yet they made slight of it, this passed on till the forth of January nothing more heard or seene, which made the poore heardsmen the more derided for it.

“But the forth of January being come many of the towne went to the heardsmen grased there cattell, jeering the poore men, when should they heard more wonders from them.

“But the day being spent, and all the Towne at rest within there beds, about the midle season of the night, that which apeard to them rediculus, gaue them a Testimony of their owne belife.

“For why the dolfull and the hydious groanes of dying men were heard crying revenge and some againe to ease them of their paine by friendly killing them, this waked many in the towne, and sent they trembling agues in there beds.

“But their to amplifie the noyse of Drumes and Trumpets sounded a sudaine alarum as if an eninye had entred in their towne to put them to a sudaine exicution and plunder all their estates.

“Some hid themselves in corners, some over-head and eares lay sweat-

ing and halfe smothered in their beds, and some of better courage looke through the winddowes where they to there apearing visibly saw armed horsemen riding one againe the other and so vanisht all.

"Many women feare made them miscary, and the stoutest hearted man amoungst them all could not denye but that then he feared death.

"Next night they set strong watch every where and from there niehboursing townes gathered more assistance the crosse heyway and every place besides was strongly warded neither would women or children that were able keepe either house or beds.

"But they expected hover of twelue being come, Drumes and Trumpets gave againe to sound a larum to fight and all the spirit horse and foot appeared and stood in battleray, the foot againe the foot and horse against the horse discharging of M. peeternell and Carbines the one againe the other, falling to the ground on either side apace, and Ordinance playing on against the other as plainly visable to the behoulders view as if the reall action had bin there.

"All night it lasted in this hidious maner, but at the break of day all as they formarly in the twinkling of an eye did vanish.

"But since hath no more bin seene which caus'd the Inhabitants of Kenton to forsake their Towne and get new habitations for themselves.

"But some learned men have since delivered their opinions, that there may be yet unburied kackasses found, so dilligent search hath bin made and found it so.

"Which God of his mercy cease these warrs and blesse our Land with peace.

"Mr. Marshall the Minister of Kenton, went to Oxon to the King, and did informe him of the apparitions of all the aforesaid proceedings of the spirits.

"The King presently sent to Edge-Hill Colonell Lewis Kirke, Captaine Dudley, Captaine Winman, and three other Gentlemen of worth who heard of this sad fearful and hidious sight which Mr. Marshall, related to his Majesty and then departed wonderous fearfull amaized and afrighted, & saw divers to their apperance that were there slaine as Sir Edmund Varney, with divers others: Thus have you heard the sad relation of the apperance of these vgly fiends Upon which was made oath to his Majesty, which the Lord in his mercy inlighten his Majestys heart, that those eveill counceles which are about him may be put ever far from him and that wee may have peace. Amen.—FINIS."²⁰

(20) For accurate copies of these two scarce pamphlets, and the permission to publish them, I am indebted to Mr. Staunton. The first pamphlet has been reprinted (incorrectly) by Lord Nugent in his "Memorials of Hampden." His lordship says of it:—The world abounds with histories of preternatural appearances the most utterly incredible, supported by testimony the most undeniable. * * * A well-supported imposture, or a stormy night on a hill side, might have acted on the weakness of a peasantry in whose remembrance the terrors of the Edgehill fight were still fresh; but it is difficult to imagine how the minds of officers, sent there to correct the illusion, could have been so imposed upon." (Vol. 2, pp. 304, 305.)

It cannot for a moment be supposed that appearances such as are described in the two foregoing Tracts are attributable to the atmospherical phenomenon called the "Mirage." Such an explanation would require that the respective armies seen in the heavens should be at that time actually engaged in the vale, although out of the direct view of the spectator

THE YEAR 1643.

On the night of January 5th, Hampden's regiment, while employed on the Parliament's outposts near Brackley, had their picquets attacked by a body of the Earl of Northampton's horse from Banbury: but Hampden, having suspected such a design and reinforced himself with some dragoons brought in from the Buckinghamshire side after dark, repulsed the assailants and pursued them till after daybreak; with the loss of his lieutenant-colonel, Wagstaffe, who was captured by the Royalists.²¹

A Proclamation from the King at Oxford, dated January 21st, requires the people of DEDDINGTON to deliver up to him the broken bells of the Church there (the tower of which had fallen in 1634):—

"To our trusty and well-beloved subjects, the Parson, Churchwardens, Constables, and Officers, and others, the parishioners of Dadington.

"CHARLES R.

Whereas information is given us that by the fall of your Steeple at Dadington in this our County, the Bells are made unserviceable for you

of the image; and a degree of light falling on the real objects which could not be the case at the hour of midnight and in winter. The only natural phenomenon which can be supposed to have occurred on so many nights, and to have given rise to these marvellous stories, is the Aurora Borealis; concerning which it is even now made a matter of doubt by many whether some audible sounds do not accompany its appearance. The rest of the strange story must be presumed to be made up from the imagination of the country people; except where it may be traced to the natural exaggerations of the relators, and the venality of those persons who published the above accounts. These accounts are unconfirmed (as far as I can trace) by any tradition, or by any allusion contained in the various newspapers which were issued at the period.

Lord Nugent appears to allow to the whole of the first tale the credit of "testimony the most undeniable." It is however worthy of notice, that Bishop Gibson (in his edition of Camden's Britannia, v. 1, p. 598.) has recorded the name of the vicar of Kineton at this period, namely, Fisher, not "Marshall." (See p. 321 of this vol.) The principal pretended witness to the story may therefore be after all merely a "man of straw;" although the name Marshall certainly occurs in another pamphlet relating to the battle of Edgehill (see p. 324, Tract, No. 12). I have not yet met with any certain evidence of the existence of such a person as Wood, the justice of Kineton: and as for Ellit, who sets himself up for a witness in the second Tract, his intimation of the place where his strange story is to be purchased (at a great distance from the spot where the events are stated to have occurred) is enough to suggest an opinion that he was (as Jackson, the publisher of the other Tract, might also be) a retailer of pamphlets in those times, who could well dress up a popular story in order to bring cash into his till.

Jackson's pamphlet describes Kineton as being in "Northamptonshire," a proof that the writer of the account personally knew little of the place. The appearances are described as occurring on Saturdays and Sundays only, in the night, from Saturday the 24th December 1642 to Sunday the 15th January 1643. Ellit's pamphlet on the contrary states that they were first seen on Sunday the 1st January, between three and four o'clock in the afternoon; and subsequently on Wednesday and Thursday the 4th and 5th January. The discrepancies in the two tales are not such as would be likely to occur in the testimony of persons whose object it was to relate merely the plain truth. I conclude that both Jackson and Ellit dressed up a popular story of the day, for sale among the superstitious and the wonder-mongers of the age; and that the asserted testimony of the King's officers sent from Oxford is a fabrication altogether.

(21) Nugent's Memo., v. 2, pp. 362, 363.

till that shall be rebuilt, and they are new founded; and that the metal of them may be fit for present use, both for our own and public occasion, we hereby require you to send the same to our Magazine here in New College, and some such trusty persons with them as may see the just weight, and the nature of them taken by our Officers there, to the end that we may restore the same in materials or monies to your Church, when you shall have occasion to use the same; and to the end we may the better effect this, we hereby command the commissioners of our train to remember us hereof when it shall be opportune: and for full assurance hereof to your whole parish, we are graciously pleased to confirm this by our own royal signature. Oxford, at the Court, January the one-and-twentieth, in the eighteenth year of our reign." ²²

On the 28th February, the Parliament applied for safeconduct for Lord Saye, the Earl of Northumberland, and others, to treat with His Majesty at Oxford; which safeconduct was granted (except to Lord Saye, respecting whom exception was taken on the ground of his having been excluded by name from the King's declaration of pardon on the 3rd November), but there was no result from the negotiation.²³ The Earl of Northampton was at this time seeking further for adventure. Lichfield had been taken possession of by the Royalist gentry of that vicinity: whereupon Lord BROOK, with his forces from Warwick, assisted by Sir John Gell from Derby, undertook to reduce the place into submission to the Parliament. This being made known to the Earl of Northampton, the latter proceeded with a strong body of horse and dragoons from Banbury in aid of the Lichfield Royalists. Before these succours could arrive, the place had capitulated; but Lord Brook, while directing the attack, from a window, had been killed on the 2nd March by a musket shot fired from the Cathedral tower hitting him in the eye.²⁴ The Earl of Northampton took up quarters at Stafford. On Sunday the 19th March, was fought, near that town, the battle of Hopton Heath, where, a few days after his great rival Lord Brook had been borne to his grave, the Earl of NORTHAMPTON was slain. His horse had fallen with him among the rabbit burrows: but, thus unhorsed, and surrounded with enemies, he scorned to take quarter. Clarendon says:—"What his behaviour was, and their carriage towards him, can be known only by the testimony of the rebels; who confessed, that after he was on his feet, he killed with his

(22) Skelton's *Antiq.* Oxf.

(23) Husband's *Collection*, p. 925, &c.

(24) Clarendon, v. 2, p. 149; Nugent's *Memo.*, v. 2, pp. 385, 386.

own hand the colonel of foot who made first haste to him; and that after his headpiece was stricken off with the but end of a musket they offered him quarter; which, they say, he refused, answering that he 'scorned to take quarter from such base rogues and rebels as they were.' After which he was slain by a blow with a halbert on the hinder part of his head, receiving, at the same time, another deep wound in the face."²⁵

The Earl's eldest son, James Lord Compton (who now succeeded to his father's title), was present on the field and received a shot in the leg. Three days after the Earl's death he wrote the following to the widowed Countess, his mother:—

"DEARE MOTHER,

On Sunday last we got the day of the Rebels, but our losse (especially your Honours and mine) is not to be expressed. For though it be a generall losse to the kingdome, yet it toucheth us nearest. But Madam, Casualties in this world will happen, & in such a cause who would not have ventured both life and fortune? 'pray'e Madam, let this be your comfort, that it was impossible for any to do braver then he did, as appears by their owne Relation. I sent a Trumpeter to know what was become of my Father, hee brought me a Letter from Sir John Gell and Sir William Brereton, assuring mee of my Fathers death, making strange demand for his body, such as were never before heard of in any warre, as all their Ammunition, Prisoners, and Cannon which we had taken. I sent them word backe, that their demands were unreasonable, and against the Lawes of Armes, but desired them to give free passage to some Chirurgeons to embalme him, or to let their Chirurgeons doe it, and I would satisfy them for their paines. Their last Answer I have sent in Philip Willoughby's Letter which is, that they will neither send the body nor suffer our Chirurgeons to come to embalme it, but will see their owne Chirurgeons doe it. Their Relation was, that He was assaulted by many together, and with his owne hand killed the Colonel and others also, but was unhorsed by the multitude, his horse being shot: But his Armour was so good that they could not hurt him, till he was downe, and had undone his head-peece.

'Pray'e Madam, be comforted, and think no man could more honourably have ended his life (fighting for his Religion, his King, and his Country) to be partaker of heavenly joies. We must certainly follow

(25) Clarendon, v. 2, pp. 150, 151; &c. Lord Brook and the Earl of Northampton were the first of any rank or note who were personally engaged in the Wars. (May's Hist. Parliament; and see pp. 298 &c. of this vol.) Lord Nugent says of Lord Brook:—"He was, indeed, of a spirit so pure, pious, and brave, that while he was revered by the Parliamentarians, as one whose reputation added glory and power to their cause, his enemies could find no ground of censure against his motives." Baxter has placed him in heaven, together with White, Pym, and Hampden. Lord Clarendon owns that they who were acquainted with Lord Brook believed him to be well-natured and just.

The Poet Cleveland wrote some verses to the memory of the rival hero:—

"So here Northampton, that brave hero, fell;
Triumphant Roman, thy pure parallel!" &c.

him, but can hardly hope for so brave a death. Thus humbly craving your blessing, I shall remaine till death

Your obedient Sonne

NORTHAMPTON."²⁶

"Stafford, March 22 1642 [3]."

The young Earl was appointed to succeed his father in the command of Banbury. While the foregoing events were occurring at a distance, scenes took place at Banbury which shew in full force the character of some of the firmest of the stern Puritans of those times. WILLIAM NEEDLE was a youth of Banbury, scarcely twenty years old, and in somewhat humble circumstances; but said to be virtuous and religious, and endowed with no mean gifts of mind. It had chanced that Captain Trist, one of the King's officers of horse, had been severely wounded and made prisoner by Lord Brook in a skirmish which occurred at Stratford upon Avon some little time before; and was left at Stratford (as being thought unfit to travel), under an engagement to be forthcoming a prisoner on demand. A party of Royalists from Banbury however fetched away their comrade, and carried him, first, to Banbury, and then, for safety, towards Oxford. Hereupon one Mrs. ELIZABETH PHILLIPS (the wife of a magistrate of Banbury who had fled from the town long before by reason of the danger), sent William Needle as her messenger to the Parliament's forces then lying at Bicester, in order that Captain Trist might be apprehended "as an enemy to the state and the grand disturber of the peace of that county." Needle was, however, himself taken by a scouting party of the King's; who, affecting to be soldiers of the Parliament, drew from him the nature of his errand, and carried him prisoner to Banbury. Being examined there by Colonel Hunks, the Governor, Needle also confessed by whom he had been sent on the errand: whereupon Mrs. Phillips (who is represented as having been found "playing the good huswife at home," where she had ten children), was brought up; and she, acknowledging that her wish was to have had Captain Trist taken, was also committed to the Castle, and her house and shop were "ransack'd." This took place on the 10th March. On the 11th, a council of war passed sentence of death on both the prisoners, who had made themselves amenable to military law as spies; and on Tuesday the 14th they were brought from

(26) Battaile of Hopton Heath, 4to, 1643. In the Ashmolean Library.

the Castle to be executed in the Market Place. It being demanded of Needle, as he stood upon the ladder, why he sought to surprise Captain Trist, he answered that he considered Trist to be an enemy to the church of God, the peace of the kingdom, and the quiet of the place where he was. In answer to a remark of Lieutenant Poultney (an Irishman), that he was "a traitor to the King," Needle declared that he never had an ill thought of the King, but that he constantly prayed for his Majesty's preservation, and for the Queen's conversion: that, assenting to his Majesty's proclamation that whosoever plundered or pillaged should be prosecuted according to law, he, knowing Captain Trist to be notoriously guilty of both, had sought to have him punished by law. Then, casting his eyes about him, with the rope round his neck, and espying some dejected countenances and weeping eyes, he said:—"I would not have God's people discouraged, nor think the worse of this cause wherein I suffer; nor mourn nor grieve for my death: for as I have testified to the world I lived God's child, so I declare to you I die his servant."

Being about to remark that the enemies of God's people would laugh at this cause and rejoice at his death, he was interrupted by Poultney, who asked him if he thought the council of war were the enemies of God's people? Needle answered,—“Those that are enemies to God are enemies to God's people.” A Bible being sent for, for Needle to “sing and pray in before he died,” and which Bible had not the Common Prayer Book in it, Poultney cursed the people that there was not one Bible out of ten “that had the Common Prayer or Apocrypha in them.” The executioner, being now about to do his last office, was stopped by Poultney while the latter went to the council: meanwhile Needle took half-a-crown from his pocket, and called to one of Mrs. Phillips's children, and gave it her to “keep in remembrance of him.” Poultney, on returning from the council, bade the executioner do his office upon Needle, who did not “shrink nor shiver,” but “bid the world heartily adieu, and so was turned off.” Some time after death, he was cut down by the sword of a gentleman, one of the King's soldiers, who said he was persuaded that Needle's soul was gone to Heaven, and that, he being unjustly executed, his innocent blood would be required at their hands.

Mrs. Phillips standing with the halter about her neck, a soldier would have put it under her handkerchief; but she would not suffer

him, saying she was not ashamed to suffer reproach and shame in this cause. But, her children being about her and lamenting their mother's fate, the brutal Poultney exclaimed,—“Ye are bound to curse your mother.” He then caused Mrs. Phillips to be led about the Market Place in derision, and afterwards returned her to prison in the Castle.²⁷

On Wednesday the 3rd May it was stated, by letters received in London from Banbury, that the commander-in-chief thereof for the King had maliciously set on fire and burnt great part of the town, “even at a time when no enemy approached it.”²⁸ On the next day an account states that “upon occasion of his Majesties summoning all his forces to Oxford, the garison of Banbury left the towne and went to Oxford, and upon their departure in a barbarous cruell manner fired the towne, whereby neere upon 100 dwelling houses (some say 200) were burnt downe to the ground before the fire could be quenched.”²⁹ This account as regards the burning must be a gross exaggeration. A few days after, letters from Northampton to London stated that the Northamptonshire men were so much incensed at this cruelty of the Cavaliers, that they resolved to do their utmost to relieve the oppressed inhabitants of Banbury and to be revenged on the Cavaliers: and for that purpose they advanced on Friday, with 500 or 600 men and one small drake, towards Banbury, but before they could obtain the town they were surprised by a great party of the enemy's horse and put to flight.³⁰ The following is the account given by the Royalists of this skirmish:—

Saturday, 6th May. “About twelve of the clocke to day my lord [the Earl of Northampton] had certaine notice of the Rebells being at Culworth, whereupon my Lord drew out his forces towards Bodicot within a mile of Banbury, where he saw the enemy (being about 700 foot and 4 or 5 tropes of horse) on the other side of the river; his Lordship sent a party commanded by Cap. Trist to face them, and keep them in action; which the Cap. performed so well & souldierlike that he put the enemy into a posture of retreating: then my Lord drew up all his horse, being about 10 or 12 troops (for his regiment of foot was at the Lea-guer) & found the enemy in a close body in MIDDLETON CHENY

(27) Perfect Relation of the apprehending &c. of W^m Needle and Mistris Phillips, 4to., 1643. In the possession of W. Upcott Esq. of Islington.

(28) Speciall Passages, No. 39.

(29) Perfect Diurnall, No. 47.

(30) Continuation of Speciall and Remarkable Passages, 4th to 11th May.

towne field, where they made a stand & gave fire upon his Lordship with their brasse peece 3 severall times, & then gave him a very hot volley of musket shot: which done, his Lordship charged them on the front, Sergeant Major Daniel on the right wing, & Cap. Trist on the left: some of my Lords horse pursued theirs, killed & tooke many of them, yet the rest were so fleet that they escaped in small companies into by-lanes and hedges and ranne to Northampton to tell the newes to their brethren. But to avoid former errorrs of overhasty pursuing their fugitive horse, his Lordship charged their foot, & wholly routed them, killed 217 upon the place, and tooke above 300 prisoners, tooke their brasse peece, all their ammunition, 416 muskets, 150 pikes, and almost 500 sword: his Lordship lost but 3 men and none of any note, nor any officer so much as hurt save onely Major Daniell had a slight hurt in the legge, the prisoners that were taken say they were commanded to march towards Banbury by the Committee, which as farre as we can gather was upon some treachery to be practiced in Banbury Towne and Castle being my Lords quarters, for there were Banbury men amongst these Rebels, & many of them lay dead in the field; there were divers Captaines and commanders taken, Captaine Martin, Captaine Melvin a Scottish man, with others whom we shall know better to morrow when they are examined. The reader may see here His Majesties exceeding mercy, & clemency, that hath not burned to the ground this most wicked rebellious Towne of Banbury, which hath so often provoked him, and will take no warning."³¹

Other accounts, given by the Parliamentarians, and dated Tuesday the 9th May, state that a forged letter as from the lord-general had directed the Northampton forces to fall on Banbury while his Excellency attacked Oxford; and that they in consequence went, 600 strong, or, according to another statement, "500 horse and dragoons and some foot, under Captain Martin, Captain Needham, and Captain Sawyer:" but that they found the Earl of Northampton was ready for them, and learned of three ambuscades of horse which he had prepared. A retreat was therefore commanded by the Parliamentary captains: but the country people, complaining of being thus drawn out to lose their labour, went on, and beat up the first ambuscade of horse, which joined the second, and then both fell upon them; at which "our horse ranne away; and so

(31) *Mercurius Aulicus*.

at the second charge the foote were routed and every man shifted for himselfe, the cannonier shot three shot with his drake, and killed of their men about 30 and unhorsed a gallant sparke whom men suppose to be the young Earle of Northampton; they slew of our men about 20, and tooke 100 and odde of prisoners, for there are so many missing, and 3 captaines and 300 armes." A later account admits 50 killed and 300 prisoners: and adds that it was thought Captain Sawyer was killed, and two other captains taken.³²

On the day following the battle, 7th May 1643, there is a record of forty-six soldiers being buried at Middleton Cheney.³³ Clarendon observes that most of the prisoners were "shrewdly hurt, the young Earl that day sacrificing to the memory of his father."³⁴

The Queen, who before the breaking out of the Rebellion had gone to Holland (partly for her own safety and partly in order to raise supplies), having taken ship for England and landed in the north, sent to Newark about forty cart-loads of arms and ammunition for the King. For the further safe conveyance of these materials of war from Newark towards Oxford, there came twenty-six troops of horse, some dragoons, and 1,000 foot, under the command of Henry Percy, to Banbury; where the charge was delivered up to the Earl of Northampton, who conveyed it to Woodstock on the 13th May.³⁵

Tuesday 16th to Tuesday 23rd May. "Many of the poore men that were prisoners in Banbury, are happily escaped, and got away, little lesse then sixtie in one night, their keepers (as was informed) being then drunke; and these prisoners have reveal'd such inhumane cruelties of the Cavaliers as would make even a souldiers heart to tremble, one for example, (to omit many others) they promised quarter to them that would lay downe their armes, which being done, they so cruelly handled them, that to some, they gave six wounds, to others seven or eight, nay to some of them ten or twelve."³⁶

(32) Perf. Diurnall, Nos. 48 and 49. Another account is that 150 foot were sent on Thursday, as many on Friday, and three troops of horse about 120 in all, the whole commanded by the serjeant-major of Colonel Barkley. On a hill three miles from Banbury they saw troops coming, when the serjeant-major, contrary to the opinion of others, ordered his forces to descend into the valley, where they were defeated, and lost their drake and a load of match, powder, and bullet.—*Speciall Passages*, No. 40.

(33) "Anno Domini 1643. Burialls.

"May 7. 46 Soldiers."

Such is the brief record in the Register of Middleton Cheney. At the end of the year appears the name of Cresswell Whately as Curate of the Parish.

(34) Clarendon's Hist. Rebel., v. 2, p. 245. (35) Merc. Aulicus. (36) Spec. Pass., No. 41.

The Queen was on her way from York towards Oxford, bringing with her more than 2,000 well-armed infantry, 1,000 horse, six pieces of cannon, two mortars, and about 100 waggons.³⁷ The Earl of Essex had been directed to prevent, if possible, the junction of Prince Rupert's forces with those of the Queen; but found it impracticable, as the Prince joined her on Tuesday the 11th July at Stratford upon Avon. The King also marched from Oxford, attended by many of his lords and the gentlemen of his troop. On Thursday, July 13th, he reached Banbury, whence he proceeded to meet Her Majesty below Edgehill;³⁸ Prince Charles and the Duke of York accompanying him, and "riding also forth with most chearfull countenances to receive the blessings of so deare and renowned a mother."³⁹ The meeting of the King and Queen in the Vale of Kinton was commemorated by a medal, struck at Oxford from such silver articles as the King could procure in his necessities. The medal is about the size of a crown-piece; and bears, on the obverse, the figures of Charles and his Queen at full length, seated, and at their feet Python transfixed and pinned to the earth by an arrow; the inscription "CERTIVS PYTHONEM IVNCTI:" on the reverse "XIII · IVL · CAROL · ET · MAREE · M · B · F · ET · H · R · R · IN · VALLE · KEINTON · AVSPICAT · OCCVRRENT · ET · FVGATO · IN · OCCIDENT · REBELLIVM · VICT · ET · PAC · OMEN · OXON · MDCXLIH · æ."⁴⁰ Their Majesties came on the same evening to Wroxton to the house of Sir Thomas Pope, where they slept; and the next morning proceeded, with the Prince, the Duke of York, and the whole army, to Woodstock castle.⁴¹

On Saturday the 15th July, the Earl of Essex mustered his forces about Buckingham. On Monday he advanced towards

(37) Clarendon, v. 2, p. 292.

(38) Mercurius Civicus, No. 8.

(39) Merc. Aulicus. The meeting is said to have taken place about four o'clock in the afternoon, at the foot of Edgehill, in Kinton field. See Hamper's Introduction to "Two Copies of Verses on the Meeting of King Charles the First and his Queen Henrietta Maria, in the Valley of Kinton." 4to., privately printed, 1822.

The verses here alluded to are preserved in manuscript amongst the private papers of Sir William Dugdale at Merevale Hall. They are sad trash, and commence with:—

"Prodigall Fates! what all your grace
And all your blessings on one place?
See how Edge-Hill is growne unruly,
Since the thirteenth day of July:
And proudly lords it over all the crew
Of hills and vales that lye within his view!"

(40) Commemoration medal in the possession of Wm. Staunton Esq., who has had a private plate of it engraved. This medal is considered to be unique, and was sold at the auction of Sir Charles Frederick's coins for £26. 5s. 0d.

(41) Merc. Civicus, No. 8. For some notice of Sir Thomas Pope, see p. 333 of this vol. (note.)

Banbury and Oxford; three companies of pioneers being appointed to go before and throw down the hedges and banks.⁴² In the same week information was conveyed to London that "divers and active malignants had got great store of cattle together and driven them into Lord Saye's pastures, and into some grounds belonging to Master Fynes near Banbury, intending to supply Oxford, which divers of the resolute and well-affected countrymen took opportunity to seize, and returned the stolen ones and kept the others."⁴³

On the 27th July, NATHANIEL FIENNES, who had been appointed Governor of Bristol, delivered up that city and its castle to Prince Rupert's forces, under circumstances which prove Fiennes's entire unfitness for the trust in which he had been placed. In December following he was tried by a council of war, found guilty, and sentenced to be beheaded; but was afterwards pardoned by the Lord-General, through the interest of his father.⁴⁴

The death of one of the Chamberlayne family (of Wickham in the parish of Banbury), in a skirmish which took place on the 4th August 1643, leads to a brief notice of some members of that family. Sir THOMAS CHAMBERLAYNE of Wickham, bart., (who married in the year 1612,) was Justice of the King's

(42) Merc. Civicus, No. 8.

(43) Merc. Civicus, No. 8.

(44) State Trials. Prynne conducted the case against Fiennes. With reference to statements then made of Fiennes's valour aforetime, at Powick Bridge and at Edgehill, (see pp. 308 and 318 of this vol.,) Prynne said:—"that he [Nathaniel Fiennes] and his brother [John Fiennes] were some of the last officers of horse who there came off the field, it might be as well because they were in the rear of all the horse and so could not possibly fly out of the field before the rest, as by reason of any extraordinary valour in them more than others;" and that Nathaniel Fiennes's "valiant charging in Sir Wm. Balfore's regiment at Edgehill, where every man did valiantly, and none turned their backs in all that brigade, can be no special proof of his courage, since every coward will charge in company when no man turneth his back, and where there is greater danger in flying than charging." (P. 770.)

Lord Nugent observes that "the courage of Fiennes was given to him in an unequal measure; and his is one of the instances, not unfrequently met with, which show that courage is a faculty which may materially depend upon the different positions of responsibility in which the man is placed. There is no reason for imputing personal timidity to Nathaniel Fiennes. On the contrary, his valour was often and eminently displayed; nor was there ever, in the most hazardous moments, a bolder politician. Yet there never was a man whose timidity under a great military charge, such as that in which it was his misfortune to find himself when he commanded at the defence of Bristol, gave stronger proof of his consciousness that for such duties he was entirely unfit." (Hampden's Memo. v, 2, p. 35.) Lord Clarendon says that, if Fiennes "had not enumbered himself with command in the army, to which men thought his nature not so well disposed, he had sure been second to none in those [the Parliament's] counsels after Mr. Hampden's death." Hist. Rebel., v. 2, p. 409.) Joshua Sprigge (once of Banbury), a witness partial to Fiennes, when mentioning the re-capture of Bristol by the Parliament in 1645, says:—"Besides the public mercy to the kingdome, in the recovery of Bristol, the vindication of Colonel Nathaniel Fiennes (once governour thereof) seems to have been also particularly designed by Providence. The general, with the lieutenant-general (sitting upon Prior's-hill fort after the storm) and most of the chief officers of the army, upon a view of the place; comparing the present strength of it, with what it was when he delivered it, and other circumstances; freely expressed themselves, as men abundantly satisfied, concerning the hard misfortune that befell that noble gentleman."—*Anglia Rediviva*, p. 119.

Bench, Oct. 8th, 1620,⁴⁵ and Chief Justice of Chester. He was living in 1622;⁴⁶ but probably dead in 1628, when Wickham was the residence of Sir Thomas Dutton.⁴⁷ Judge Chamberlayne was interred in the chancel of Banbury Church; where his tomb also was erected, but was afterwards mutilated by the soldiers during the Civil Wars. Bray, in 1777, says, the remains of two "figures in the chancel, said to be those of Judge Chamberlaine and his wife, shew the folly of fanaticism in the last century."⁴⁸

Of the original mansion at WICKHAM no account appears to have been preserved beyond its embattlement in the 4th year of Edward the Third. (See p. 107.) In the reign of James the First a new mansion was erected by Judge Chamberlayne:⁴⁹ this was for the most part taken down, and another residence subsequently erected. Wickham became the property of the Dashwood family of Kirtlington, by the marriage of Sir Robert Dashwood bart., about the reign of James II., with Penelope, daughter and coheirss of Sir Thomas Chamberlayne.

The officer who was slain in the skirmish above alluded to was Captain James Chamberlayne, the youngest brother of that Sir Thomas Chamberlayne of Wickham who in 1643 was high-sheriff of Oxfordshire. On Friday the 4th August, a party of thirty horse from Banbury, commanded by Captain Chamberlayne, fell in, near Towcester, with about 120 Parliamentarians under the command of Captain Lawson. In an affair which ensued, Captain Chamberlayne was first wounded, and afterwards shot dead. He had been at the battles of Powick Bridge, Edgehill, &c., where "his valour was eminently manifested:" the *Court periodical* adds that he, by this last action wherein he lost his life, added further "to the honour of that worthy and loyall family." Captain Lawson also was wounded, and some of his men killed.⁵⁰

The *Court periodical* gives one of two intercepted letters of Captain Lawson relating to this affair; which, with a sort of running comment made by the publisher and inserted in brackets, stands as follows:—

"This is to give you notice that I have given the Banbarians the greatest overthrow that ever they received; I heard of 90 Cavaliers [alias

(45) Whitworth's Nobility.

(47) Whateley's Sermon on the Fire of Banbury.

(49) Information from Daniel Stuart Esq., the present proprietor of Wickham.

(50) Merc. Aulicus, compare 32nd and 33rd week.

(46) Baker's Northamp.

(48) Bray's Tour, p. 31.

50] at a place called Towcester, neare us ; they advanced towards me, and I advanced towards them with a brave courage, and so did my troopes likewise, and I my selfe advanced to their nose, and their Captaine towards me ; we both discharged, but I shot him just in the very head ; he is one of great note, one Captaine James Chamberlaine, one of the greatest accompt that was in England, esteemed by the King and all the noblemen : To be short, I routed his forces, kill'd dead in the field 18 brave men [he lyes but 15] and 14 taken prisoners [that is 4] all the rest grievously wounded [his owne hee meanes.] Brother, for the time there was never such service, there were but 7 of my men hurt [kill'd and wounded just 27.] I my selfe was cut over the backe, [his other letter sayes, the cut was in his hand, likely it was on the backe of his hand:] the Captaine and I did fight it out to the last [and yet the Captaine was shot dead at the first] there is great lament made for him, I have his horse. There is two of Sir John Deiklies men came over to mee for behaving myselfe in the field ; they report if I would come to them, I should have command of 500 horse. So the Lord make me thankefull to my God for my behaving my selfe in the field. If I had beene a Prince I could have no more honour. Most of all Northampton came out and brought mee into the towne, I pray you shew my father Hamleton this letter, and all our friends. I rest your owne,

THOMAS LAWSON."¹

August 18th. "It was advertised this day also that a partee of horse sent out of Banbury by the Earle of Northampton, had intercepted a stand of armes of Sir Peter Wentworth's ; which put the towne of Northampton into such a fright, that without the consent of the Committee, the Maior and others of the Magistrates thereof, sent one Captaine Spicer to the Earle of Manchester, to have his advice concerning the keeping or yielding up of the town."²

In this month of August, Lord Wilmot was appointed to the command of a strong body of the King's horse, which were stationed about Banbury to watch, and if possible to prevent, the advance of the Parliamentary forces to the relief of Gloucester. On the 20th the King in person took the conduct of the siege of that city. The Parliament ordered the Earl of Essex to relieve it ; and on the 26th he began his march to Beaconsfield, and afterwards proceeded to Brackley heath ; where the Earl awaited a reinforcement from London of the trainbands and other auxiliaries. These arriving on the 1st September, his army amounted to 15,000 men. Essex took up his quarters at Aynho, and sent a regiment forward that night to DEDDINGTON, under the

(1) Merc. Aulicus, pp. 445, 446.

(2) Merc. Aulicus.

command of Colonel Middleton; who, hearing of two regiments of the King's horse being there, first sent two companies of dragoons and a party of horse to approach the town. The King's horse thereupon retreated to a passage towards Oxford, where Lord Wilmot was with fifty troops. The next morning, two Parliamentarian regiments, conducted by Colonel Middleton and Sir James Ramsay, advanced to that pass, where the enemy stood in two great bodies; and, after some skirmish, gained the pass and placed dragoons to maintain it. The King's forces, however, drew up again towards it, and a very hot skirmish ensued, which lasted many hours. At length the King's troops made a retreat; but, perceiving that Colonel Middleton marched back towards the main army, they sent a party of horse to fall on his rear, who followed them through Deddington, but were beaten back through the town in some confusion.³

The Lord-General, with his own regiment of horse, and the Lord Gray, came to Adderbury; and, upon intelligence that some of the King's horse from Banbury were abroad, they sent out a party from both regiments, who beat the Royalists back again to Banbury, and pursued them into the town, where they took some horses and prisoners; the troops in the Castle not venturing to come out. The Lord-General continued his march to Chipping Norton, and thence, on the 4th September, towards Stow on the Wold.⁴ After various movements by Essex and by the forces of Charles, the battle of Newbury (the first so named) was fought on the 20th September; where was slain, upon the King's side, Lord FALKLAND, a character adorned with almost every virtue, and whose residence and burial at Great Tew connect his name with our local history.

September 8th. This day a party of horse sent out from Banbury by "Serjeant Major Compton (brother to the noble Earle of Northampton)," took, near Towcester, two officers of the Earl of Essex who were passing from London towards his Excellency.⁵

October. "Upon Friday last was a rendezvous at Banbury and the adjacent towns of foure regiments of the Kings horse, the Lord of Northampton's six troopes, Colonell Bellacis six troopes, the Lord Cravens 4 troops, and Colonell ——— foure troopes, and two other troops not regimented, in all 22 troopes, but few of them, if any full; to whom was joyned 700

(3) May's Hist. Parl., p. 221. (4) May's Hist. Parl., pp. 221, 222. (5) Merc. Aulicus.

foote, choice men, ten or more out of every company in and about Oxford, they were 300 Red-coats, and 200 Blue, and 200 mixed coloured coats, but no Colours or Ensignes amongst them, being a commanded party; these marched from Banbury on Saturday Octob. 14, to Daventry, and on the Lords day they came to Longbuckby where they stood all in one body, and about noone that day came Prince Rupert and the turne-coate Urry, with about 24 horse-men, having lyen that night before at the Crowne in Banbury."⁶

The Court periodical contains the following piece of news on Tuesday, Oct. 31st. "Master Wotton [Puritan] Minister of the church of Warmington, about foure miles (it should not be farre) from Banbury; this Wotton hath beene a Captaine of a troope of horse in Warwick garrison above a twelve-moneth, where he hath done the worke both in the saddle and in the pulpit very effectually, and like a brave zelot fell to practise so boysterously, that he now lyeth prisoner in Warwick castle, where his owne brethren in the rebellion have laid him fast, for no great fault, onely for ravishing the lady Verney's maid."⁷

Under the date of "Saturday, Nov. 11 to Nov. 18," it was reported at London that Banbury Castle then contained only a very small force, and that it was thought it might be taken.⁸

Thursday, Dec. 28th. John Harris, a carpenter of Adderbury, went into Adderbury Church, and tore in pieces, first, the Book of Common Prayer, and then the Bible.⁹

That the Plague raged in Banbury this year may be inferred from the number of deaths recorded in the Register; and it is so asserted by Anthony à Wood.¹⁰ The number of entries in the Register of "soldiers" buried this year is fifty-eight: the following are extracts from this record:—

Jan. "Richard Jaxson a soldiari that was stabdd & buried 23th day."

Feb. "A soldier from the castel that cam fro' Sisciter buried 22th day."

"A soldiari that dyed in the street neer to the Swan buried 22th day."

May. "Two soldiars of Parliament army buried 7th day."

"A soldiari of Captaine Clarks buried 8th day."

"Richard Collins at the Whit Hart buried 12th day."

"A soldiari buried from the Towne hall 13th day."

"A parliament soldiari buried fro the hall 25th day."

June. "A parliament soldiari buried from the Leather hall 17th day."

"A parliament soldiari from y^e Towne hall buried 25th day."

(6) True and Punctuall Relation, Oct. 28.

(8) True Informer, No. 9.

(9) Merc. Aulicus.

(7) Merc. Aulicus.

(10) Bliss's Wood's Athenæ.

Aug. A soldier buried from "the Georg."
 Sept. "Captayne William Dauers buried 25th day."
 Dec. "Stafford a Captaine buried 19th day."

THE YEAR 1644; TO THE BATTLE OF CROPREDY BRIDGE.

At the end of February 1644, Edward East, a spy in the employ of Sir Samuel Luke (governor of Newport Pagnell for the Parliament), returned to Newport Pagnell with intelligence that there were then at Banbury 200 horse and 100 foot; and that Colonel GREEN was Governor there "till y^e younge L^d of Northampton is returned from Oxford."¹¹

Tuesday, March 5th. Under this date the Court periodical states, that a party of the Parliamentarians "came this weeke from Warwick commanded by Bridges and Hawksford, the two governours of the castle and towne of Warwick. These two rebells with 120 horse fell in upon Adderbury (2 miles from Banbury) before 4 of the clocke on Sunday morning, at which time Major Jackson, according to his usuall course every morning, was drawing the regiment together, but these rebels were upon them before they were in order, and surprized Sir Arnold de Lisle (Lieut. Col. of that regiment), Major Jackson, and 12 troopers with 21 horse. The alarme whereof was given to Sir William Compton (brother to the noble Earle of Northampton) at Banbury, by that expert Captaine Trist (of Prince Charles his regiment) who rallied 37 of the regiment and persued: Sir William Compton issuing out of Banbury with neare 80 horse more: But though the rebells had conveyed away the prisoners and horses with a partee before, Sir William Compton overtooke about 80 of them going downe Edgehill, and in Radway field, charged them 3 times, killed 12, tooke some prisoners, whereof one was their scout-master (one Hericke, an active mischievous pillager) together with 30 horses."¹² The following notice of this affair occurs in the Letter-Book of Sir Samuel Luke:—

"Wednesday 6 March 1643 [4]. Mast^r Bridges haveing got intelligence y^t y^e Pr. Regim^t q^rtred at Adderbury & Boddington [Deddington?]

(11) Letter-Book of Sir Samuel Luke, vol. I, among the Egerton MSS. (No. 785) in the Brit. Mus.

(12) Merc. Aulicus.

beyond Bambury had a longing desire to bee dealing wth y^m but having not stren. of horse sufficient for y^t purpose, communicated to Coll. Purefoy his intent, & desired his assistance, who readily lent 60 horse und^r y^e Command of Cap^t Hauckworth, a gallant and stoute man, to assist y^e Major in his designe, w^{ch} being joyned to a p^{ty} of horse & Dragoones of his owne, upon Sunday morning aboute breake of day fell into y^e Enemies quarters, where they killed a Lieu^t and 5 or 6 troopers more tooke Lieu^t Coll['] Delita a frenchman, Serj^t Maj^r Jackson, one Cap^t, one Lieu^t, one Cornet, 3 Quarter Masters, about 30 Troopers, and neare 80 horse; so y^t brave Regin^t is now ruined & most of y^e officers prisoners in Warwick Castle y^e prayse of all w^{ch} bee given to God alone."¹³

It appears that at this time the Earl of Northampton was absent from Banbury, with his regiment, watching for a convoy of the Parliamentarians between Warwick and Gloucester.¹⁴ The Earl of Manchester had appointed Oliver Cromwell with a considerable force to guard this convoy.¹⁵ An account between the 7th and 14th of March says, "Col. Cromwell hath driven the Banbury Cavaliers into the Castle, possessed himself of the town, where he now remains with a considerable number of horse and foot, and hath sent for some great guns to Warwick and Northampton, resolving to enforce them to yield or batter the Castle about their ears."¹⁶ Cromwell did not, however, remain long at Banbury, but was soon moving after Prince Rupert. On the 21st March it was reported to Sir Samuel Luke at Newport Pagnell, that some of the King's horse were gone to quarter at Steeple Aston; and that the Earl of Northampton, who went lately out of Banbury with a regiment of horse, was returned to Banbury with about twenty: that there were no foot soldiers in the town of Banbury, and but few in the Castle, "insomuch that it is thought that a small force would take it."¹⁷

On Thursday the 18th April, a party of about thirty or fifty of the Parliamentary infantry, being sent by Serjeant-Major Whetham, governor of Northampton, to collect money in the neighbourhood of Banbury, took up their quarters at Sir John Drayton's [Dryden's] house at Canons Ashby, six [ten] miles from Banbury. In the night, a party of about 200 foot and twenty horse from Banbury Castle,¹⁸ (or, according to another account, a party of the Earl of Northampton's horse with eighty

(13) MS. Letter-Book of Sir Samuel Luke, vol. 1.

(15) Perf. Diurnal, March 5th.

(17) MS. Letter-Book of Sir Samuel Luke, vol. 1.

(14) Merc. Aulicus, p. 866.

(16) Merc. Civicus.

(18) Merc. Civicus.

foot from Banbury,¹⁹) came into Canons Ashby: the Parliamentarians, having intelligence of their approach, retreated into the church for safety, where the enemy pursued them, and soon effected an entrance by fastening a petard upon the door, which forced it open. Thereupon the Parliamentarians took refuge in the steeple, where they maintained their position for two hours; but at length, the enemy beginning to set fire to it, they surrendered on terms, and were all (except one, who was left behind wounded) conveyed prisoners to Banbury. One of the Royalists was killed by a stone thrown from the steeple, and two or three others were wounded. The Royalists took thirty muskets and about £7 in money; and put all the prisoners (except the clerk of the company, who commanded the party, and who was carried into the Castle,) into a barn at Banbury. The next day the committee and Governor of Northampton sent to offer an exchange of prisoners; which being refused, they, on Friday the 26th April, dispatched five or six troops of cavalry with fifty firelocks to Banbury. These forces, being led into the town on foot, on Saturday morning released the prisoners in the barn, and then marched into the body of the town; where they were opposed by a party of the enemy, whom they drove into the Castle, taking thirty-two prisoners. They also rescued ten men who had been impressed, and took about forty horses and as many muskets, with which booty they returned to Northampton, with the loss of only one man, who, adventuring too far, was taken prisoner by the enemy.²⁰

On the 9th June, it was reported from Buckingham to Newport Pagnell that there were at that time none of the King's forces lying nearer than Banbury; where there were about sixty soldiers in the Castle.²¹ On the 12th it was further reported, "that Major Bridges with his forces from Warwickshire and Coventry, having lain before COMPTON HOUSE on Friday and Saturday last, on Sunday morning [June 9th] took it, and in it the Earl of Northampton's brother, Captain Clarke, Captain Bradwell, with about twelve officers more, and 120 common soldiers, eighty good horses, with all their arms and ammunition, and sent them to Warwick. That all the horse are gone from Banbury to Oxford, and only a few foot left to keep the Castle, and they

(19) Merc. Aulicus, pp. 948, 949.

(20) Merc. Civicus, No. 49; Perf. Diurnall, No. 40; Baker's Northamp.

(21) MS. Letter-Book of Sir Samuel Luke, vol. 1.

daily expect to be besieged by the forces which took Compton House."²² Vicars states, that Colonel Purefoy came to this attack on Compton with his own Warwick forces and some strength added from Coventry; and that, besides 120 prisoners, he took £5,000 in money, sixty horses, 400 sheep, near 160 head of cattle, and eighteen loads of other plunder; besides five or six earthen pots of money which were afterwards discovered in the fishpond.²³ Dugdale says:—"The rebels with 400 foot and 300 horse forced Compton House, drove the park and killed all the deer, and defaced the monuments in ye Church."²⁴

The Church at Compton Wynyate seems to have been little more than a religious appendage to the "great house:" it is of the same age, in the latest style of Gothic, without any remarkable features, but contains some fine monuments with their funeral achievements and banners. The figures are much mutilated, and the whole Church is, as well as the house, in a very desolate and neglected state.

The Parliament had equipped two strong armies in the south of England, which, under the Earl of Essex and Sir William Waller, moved in opposite directions for the purpose of shutting up the King in Oxford. There Charles had summoned a Parliament, which was attended by a great number of Peers and by about 140 members of the House of Commons: his forces however amounted to only about 10,000 men. Leaving a part of these at Oxford, the King, on the 3rd June, dexterously evaded both the armies which were sent against him, and took his way towards Worcester; whither the Earl of Essex directed Waller to follow him. The King, by a series of well-executed manœuvres, soon returned to Oxford; and, having reinforced his army from the troops he had left there, marched out again in search of Waller, whom he had effectually separated from the other army of the Parliament at the same time that he had concentrated his own forces.

Meanwhile Waller, having failed of finding Charles, had appeared before Worcester; but, finding that city well provided for defence, he proceeded to Gloucester, and thence to Shipston upon Stour. On the 26th June he had his rendezvous in Kinc-

(22) MS. Letter-Book of Sir Samuel Luke, vol. 1.

(23) Vicars's *England's Parliamentary Chronicle*.

(24) Dugdale's *Diary*. He gives the date June 8th 1643, evidently a mistake. See Riecraft and others.

ton field, where he was joined by fresh forces bringing with them eleven pieces of ordnance. The King now saw there was a chance of battle, and he determined to offer it. He had gone to Buckingham on the 22nd, and thence he now marched with his whole army, consisting of 5,500 foot and 4,000 horse, to Brackley,²⁵ where he is recorded to have slept on the night of the 26th at "the College there."²⁶ On the next day, being Thursday the 27th June, the King proceeded to Culworth, seven miles from Banbury, where he rested that night at the house of Sir Samuel Danvers.²⁷ Receiving intelligence there that Waller was not far from Banbury, the King moved with his army, early on the morning of Friday the 28th, towards Banbury, and arrived about ten o'clock in the forenoon at "Leigh Grounds, about a mile on the east side" of the town,²⁸ where he had a rendezvous. As the King's march from Culworth towards Banbury must have been either through Chacombe or along the Banbury Lane, "Leigh Grounds" may probably be identified as Bandon Leys or Bandy Leys, a part of the lofty Castle Hill in the parish of Chacombe, two miles and three quarters northeast from Banbury, and commanding a full view of the country about Crouch Hill and Hanwell. (See the Map, Plate 4.) The morning was rainy and misty, which prevented the King's discovering Waller early in the day: but towards the afternoon the weather became bright and fair, when the Parliament's forces were seen drawn up on "Hanwell warren," at "about a mile" [really three miles] distance, on the west side of the Cherwell. Hereupon the Royal army was instantly ordered to advance, with the intention of passing over Banbury bridge and through Banbury in order to take possession of Crouch Hill (see the Map, Plate 25): it presently appeared however that Sir William Waller had an intention to possess himself of that vantage-ground; and thus, in the race to gain the summit of Crouch Hill, were seen, advancing from the east, Charles, leading onward through the town his gallant army of more than ten thousand men, and, from the north, the forces of Sir William Waller. The King's distance from the

(25) Sir E. Walker's "Happy Progress," pp. 28—30; compared with the "Exact Dyarie" quoted hereafter, pp. 364, 365.

(26) *Iter Carolinum*.

(27) *Iter Carolinum*. The manor-house at Culworth, long the abode of the Danvers family, stood near the centre of the village. It was lately in a very dilapidated state; and has been since converted into a dwelling-house quite destitute of architectural interest, the residence of Mr. Egleston.

(28) Sir E. Walker's "Happy Progress," p. 30.

hill was the greatest; besides which, his forces were retarded by the necessity of defiling over the bridge and through the streets of the town. Waller gained possession of the hill; whereupon the King's forces retired, and lay that night in the fields between Grimsbury and the Overthorp and Middleton hills, or about "half a mile" on the east of Banbury.²⁹ The Cherwell, and the Castle of Banbury, were thus between the adverse forces.

That afternoon and evening did not pass, however, without a skirmish between the outposts of the two armies. A party of the King's foot under Colonel Thelwall had been drawn up beyond Banbury to defend the western side of the town and the adjacent hamlet of Neithorp: these were attacked by a party of Waller's troops, who however were repulsed with the loss on their part of a lieutenant-colonel and eight men slain, besides many wounded.³⁰ The King slept that night at a "a Yeoman's house" at Grimsbury.³¹ It is traditionally told that his quarters were in the old manor-house, a somewhat humble abode which was lately standing on the spot where Mr. Fisher has erected his modern residence.

On the next morning (Saturday the 29th June), the King, concluding that he was not likely by any other means to draw Waller from his strong position, and deeming it dangerous to attempt to force it, resolved to move northwards towards Daventry, and to watch Waller's motions, with the hope of advantageously giving him battle. On commencing its march, the van of the Royal army was led by Earl Brainford (lieutenant-general) and Lord Wilmot;³² the main body by the King in person, in whose train the Prince was; and the infantry of the rear, consisting of one thousand men, were led by Colonel Thelwall, and accompanied by the Earl of Northampton's and the Earl of Cleveland's brigades of horse. The army was scarcely thus in motion before Sir William Waller drew off from his advantageous ground, and marched along the other side of the Cherwell, at some distance, taking up a new position on Bourton hill. (See the Map, Plate 25.) A party of the King's dragoons was

(29) Sir E. Walker's "Happy Progress," p. 30.

(30) Sir E. Walker's "Happy Progress," p. 30. Sir Edward was Secretary at War and Garter King at Arms, and accompanied the army. His work was written by command of the King, and revised by his Majesty's own hand.

(31) *Iter Carolinum*.

(32) Henry Wilmot, viscount Wilmot of Ireland, had his residence at Adderbury. (See some notice of him in p. 302.) In this year 1644 he was created an English peer by the title of Baron WILMOT of ADDERBURY. In 1652 he was created Earl of Rochester. He died at Dunkirk in 1659.

thereupon immediately sent forward to keep CROPREDY BRIDGE,³³ which formed a communication across the Cherwell between the two armies. The King stayed to dine beneath a large Ash tree in the fields between Williamscot and Wardington.³⁴ Information was now received by the King that 300 Parliamentary horse had approached within two miles of his van for the purpose of joining Waller; in consequence of which intelligence the van of the King's horse were sent forward, and the main body had the same orders, with the intent to cut off this advancing party before they could effect their object. By these movements, of which no notice had been given to the rear, an interval was occasioned in the King's line between the main body and the rear; and Waller, taking immediate advantage of this oversight, advanced with 1,500 horse, 1,000 foot, and eleven pieces of cannon, to Cropredy, and presently forced the bridge; the dragoons who had been placed to guard it quitting it without offering much resistance. Waller's party advanced above half a mile over the bridge, intending to cut off the King's rear; for which purpose also Waller ordered 1,000 horse to cross the Cherwell at a ford a mile from Cropredy (in the direction towards Banbury), at a mill now called Slate mill, in order to fall upon the extreme rear, that so it might be destroyed between two forces. "Timely notice being given" (says Sir Edward Walker) "to the Earl of Cleveland, then in the van of that [rear] division, of the rebels passage at Cropredy (which was instantly confirmed by the chasing of all our foot and scattered horse towards the bridge, which his Majesty had lately passed,³⁵ by two bodies of their horse where they stood and faced the Kings [the main] army), he presently drew up his brigade (consisting of his own, his son the Lord Wentworth's, Colonel Richard Nevil's, Sir William Boteler's, and Sir William Clerk's regiments of horse,) to a rising ground facing that pass; where, understanding by Colonel Nevil that he stood too near a hedge where the Rebels might place some foot, he wheeled towards the right hand, and took more ground: There

(33) Sir E. Walker's "Happy Progress," pp. 30, 31; &c.

(34) The exact spot where stood the celebrated "Wardington Ash" beneath which the King dined, is by the bridle-way leading from Cropredy Bridge and Williamscot to Wardington, about seventy yards from the turnpike road. Tales tell how in olden time witches used to dance round this stately tree. It was gone to entire decay about sixty years ago; and subsequently a young, and now thriving, Ash tree was planted on the same spot. The field in which this stands is called "the Ash Ground."

(35) That is, passed beyond it, but on the same side of the river. The King did not pass over Cropredy bridge.

he perceived a great body of the Rebels horse drawn up ready to have fallen on his rear ; whereupon (not having time to expect either word or orders from the Lord Wilmot lieutenant-general of the horse,) he gave his own word (hand and sword) and, presently advancing, that body of the Rebels ran ; and upon that chase one cornet and some other prisoners were taken. Upon this alarm, his Majesty made a stand, calling back the van of the army, and drawing up the rest in order on the top of a rising ground beyond³⁶ the bridge, where he might see the Rebels preparing for a second charge [upon the rear]. Upon which his Majesty commanded the Lord Bernard Stuart to make haste to the assistance of the rear, and by the way to attempt those two bodies of the Rebels horse that faced his Majesty. His lordship, attended by above 100 gentlemen of the King's troop (which is ever fullest in time of action), returned instantly over the bridge,³⁷ and made haste towards those two bodies. Who by this time, seeing their fellows routed by the Earl of Cleveland, were advancing to charge him in the flank as he was following the execution : but upon the advance of this troop turned their intended charge into a flight, which no question much facilitated the defeat of the Rebels. The Earl of Cleveland after his first encounter made a little stand near a great Ash (under which his Majesty had not above half an hour before been invited to stay and dine) ; there he perceived a great body of the Rebels horse of sixteen colours, and as many colours of foot placed within hedges, all within musket shot of him. This caused him suddenly to advance, the Rebels doing the like ; and having stoutly stood out their musket and carabine shot, he gave command to charge, and by his singular valour and resolution, seconded by the officers of his brigade, he routed all those horse and foot, and chased them beyond their cannon ; all which (being eleven pieces) were then taken, and two barricades of wood drawn with wheels, in each seven small brass and leathern guns, charged with case shot. Most of the cannoneers were then slain, and Weymes general of the ordnance to Sir William Waller taken prisoner. * * * Besides this Weymes there were then taken Lieutenant-colonel Baker (Sir William Waller's own lieutenant-colonel), Lieutenant-

(36) Beyond the bridge. Explained by note 35.

(37) This must mean that he returned beyond the bridge (see the two preceding notes) ; unless it refers to Ayles bridge over the Cherwell (between Wardington and Chipping Warden), which the King might have crossed on his intended route towards Daventry.

colonel Baynes, Captain Ramsey, Captain Hill, Captain Perry, Captain Wert, Cornet Cawfield (brother to the Lord Cawfield), with many more lieutenants, cornets, ensigus, and quarter-masters, about 100 common soldiers, as many more being then slain, besides some foot colours and cornets taken. The pursuit was as far as the bridge [of Cropredy], over which the Rebels were forced in despite of their dragoons they had placed there to make good their retreat. Which being done the Earl of Cleveland returned, having in this great action lost two Colonels, who were persons of singular merit and courage, and both shot in this charge, Sir William Boteler falling first (after he had by his forward and courageous charging given ours the best assurance of victory), and presently after his friend and countryman [of Kent] Sir William Clerk, at the head of his regiment, and not above fourteen common soldiers more. In this second charge the Lord Wilmot coming to join with the Earl of Cleveland received two slight shots, the one in his left arm, and the other on his belly, and was taken prisoner, but he presently rescued himself again. The Lord Bernard with the King's troop, seeing no enemy to encounter, drew up in a large field opposite to the bridge where they stood, the Rebels cannon playing on them from the pass, until his Majesty and the rest of his army came by them, and were joined in a body in the fields about Williscot [Williamscot.]

"Before this, the Earl of Northampton, with no less courage, finding the Rebels that were come over the pass below [Slate Mill] to follow him in the rear, presently faced about with his own, the Lord Wilmot's, Percy's, and Colonel Weston's regiments of horse, and forced the Rebels to a speedy flight over the pass, but with little loss, they being not willing to abide a second charge."³⁸ Lord Clarendon adds to this, that many of Waller's soldiers, when they were got over the river, continued their flight as if still pursued, and never again returned to the army. The continuator of Baker's Chronicle says that Lord Wilmot was twice made prisoner during this action; but was rescued once by Sir Frederick Cornwallis, and the second time by Mr. Robert Howard, who was knighted for the service of that day.

Upon this defeat Waller instantly quitted Cropredy, leaving some foot and dragoons to keep the bridge and the ford below; and drew up his army on the high grounds near Bourton, between

(38) Sir E. Walker's "Happy Progress," pp. 31—33.

Cropredy and Hanwell, opposite to the King's quarters at Williamscoth, and in view about a mile distant; the Cherwell and some low grounds lying between the armies. It was now three o'clock in the afternoon, and the weather very fair and warm. The King resolved to make an attempt to gain Cropredy bridge, and also the ford at Slate Mill; and sent parties to both places. Those sent to Cropredy were kept off all that day, by Waller's sending fresh reliefs of strong bodies of foot: but those sent to the ford³⁹ quickly gained it and the mill thereto adjoining, killing some of the defenders, and taking others prisoners. Here they made good their position, and, during both that and the next day, continued to annoy and keep off Waller's forces, expecting that their comrades would master the bridge and that then all might advance together.

Towards the evening of Saturday (the day of the battle), the Royal troops were mostly drawn below the ford, near to the Cherwell and facing Waller; who ranged his foot on the top of the opposite hill. Waller drew three large bodies of his horse within the range of the King's artillery, which, being discharged amongst them, made them retire in great disorder. The King caused a message of pardon to be prepared for all Waller's soldiers who would lay down their arms; and Sir Edward Walker was appointed to publish it: but he first sent a trumpet to desire a safeconduct; who returned with answer, about two hours after, that Sir William Waller had no power to receive any message without the consent of Parliament. "And in the interim," says Sir Edward, "either to shew his anger, or to colour his loss, he caused at least twenty great shot to be made at our army; many of which were levelled at the place where his Majesty stood, and some of them fell near him." The approach of night hindered any further action: both armies kept their ground, and, all the next day (Sunday), stood in the same posture.⁴⁰ The King slept on the nights of Saturday and Sunday at "a very poor man's house"⁴¹ at Williamscoth. The humble dwelling in which Charles is traditionally stated to have reposed at Williamscoth has been but lately removed.

(39) The ford near Slate Mill is still used; it is in the bridle-way leading from Bourton to Williamscoth and Chacombe. The mill stands about seventy yards above the ford, and between the two are some remains of a bridge which was erected subsequently to this battle.

(40) Sir E. Walker's "Happy Progress," pp. 33, 34.

(41) *Iter Carolinum*.

A Parliamentary account of the battle of Cropredy Bridge is short but graphic :—

“Munday the 24 of June we marched by Stow, and quartered beyond the towne two miles, and the next day to Shipson upon Stower, neere which some were quartered, and some in the towne, there we lay two nights, and on Wednesday we lay in the fields; on Thursday we marched toward Banburie, and lay at Hanwel that night; next day being Friday, we were commanded to be in Batalia, and marched out of the pasture ground into the corne fields, where we discovered the Kings forces beyond Banbury under Preston mills,⁴² and they us; our horse and they faced one the other, the water being betweene them and us, we not willing to venture betweene them and the Castle, they not daring to come over to us, there we lay all night, but knew not their minds, as they it seemes did ours. For early on Saturday the 29. of June they marched with their whole body, but whether we could not discover, the water being betweene us and them, wee likewise marched away, and by some scouts found out which way they were gone, Collonel Wem commander in chiefe for Sir Williams owne brigade led the van, had some certaine horse and dragoons, and spying a wing of the enemies in sight, imagining the rest of the body to be gone before, marched over venterously, and charged the enimie, who retreated to their maine body, our forces following them were overmatcht and so lost some men and some drakes, with 3. colours, the rest were forced to retreat, and came over a bridge called Crapridden [Cropredy], crying the fields lost, the fields lost: but by Gods providence and the courage of the Kentish regiment and the citie hamlets, we got downe two drakes to the bridge and staved them off so bravely, and gave them so good play all day, that ere night they could not brag of their winnings, there we lay all night, looking one upon the other (when sleepe would give leave.) Next morning those that had wearied themselves, Saturday, and that night marched up to our body, where we lay all Sunday facing one the other, but did little; at 10. or 11. a clocke at night a foolish fellow of our regiment, shot off his musket, (the watch being set) which made an alarum in the enemies quarters, they shot at our forlorne hope, which lay downe by their workes, and wee shot at them, but we were there over-cunning for them, for our fire-locks were placed under a hedge, and light match hung alone on palisadoes a musket shot off; before day they discharged a peece of ordnance, and gave us an alarum likewise, we made our selves ready to entertaine it, but heard no more of them, for assoone as day approched we missed them, and they were marched away, we marched down to the bridge, and as we marched, spied that side of Banbury next to us on fire, which the Castle had done for giving some small entertainment to our souldiers, then we marched over the bridge wherein our march up the lane to Moriton [Wardington?], a mile off the bridge (which lane the enemy enjoyed before) we found many dead corps lying naked and unburied, 40 graves in the high-way, and many stately horses, and in the

(42) Probably about Huscot mill, in the direction towards Bandon Leys.

church and church-yard at Moriton [Wardington?] were many commanders buried who had beene slaine in the fight, one lord (as the countrey men say) 2 collonels, and other officers.⁴³ We marched thence on Munday the first of July, and that night we lay at a poore village called Preston⁴⁴ which had beene formerly burnt; on Tuesday toward Torciter [Towcester], where we met Major Browne and his forces, who marched with us (we lying Tuesday and Wednesday neere Torciter). On Thursday we marched toward Northampton.⁴⁵

Speed says that Sir William Waller, in this battle, lost 600 men killed and 700 taken prisoners.⁴⁶ Cropredy bridge remains; but considerable repairs and alterations, made in 1691, have taken away somewhat of its primitive character. Many cannon balls have been found on the east side of the river, about "Willscot [Williamscot] walk."

On the evening of Sunday, 30th June, the King received intelligence that a fresh body of the Parliamentarians, 4,500 strong, under the command of Serjeant-Major-General Brown,⁴⁷ had approached Buckingham, and was advancing towards the present scene of action. Besides this threatening circumstance, the provisions of the King's army were becoming scanty in a part of the country which was already desolated by a two-years' war. Early therefore on the morning of Monday, the 1st July, the King drew off his forces, in full view of Waller, who made no attempt to pursue him. Sir Edward Walker says that, under the experience of their ill success, nearly a thousand of Waller's men had run away on the two preceding nights. Charles marched to Aynho; and then crossed the Cherwell, lest Waller and Brown might join their forces in the morning, and make it impossible for him to pass the river by falling on his rear and bringing him to battle under disadvantage.⁴⁸ The army rested at Deddington

(43) I have little doubt that Wardington is the village here alluded to, although the Register there contains only the following entry respecting this Battle:—"1644 Junii 30^o. Buryed Mr John Burrell, Cornet to Colonell Richard Neville. Mr Burrell was slaine in ye battaile yesterday fighting against ye rebels. Ita testor Henr. Deane, Capit. Reg." The words "against ye rebels" have had a pen drawn through them; and another hand has written above, "against ye parliament."

The Registers of Cropredy and Mollington contain no entry relating to this battle. The Register of Chipping Wardon mentions a captain and a common soldier of the King's army as having been buried there on the 29th June, and a common soldier of the Parliament's army on the 1st July.

(44) Qu.—Preston Capes, or Little Preston?

(45) Exact Dyarie, or Brief Relation of the Proceedings of Sir William Wallers Army, by Richard Coe under Cap. Gore of the Tower Hamlets who was present in the whole Expedition; 1644. In my own possession.

(46) Brief Descrip. of the Civil Warr.

(47) Brown had been appointed, on the 8th June, serjeant-major-general of all the Parliament's forces employed for the reducing of Oxford, the town and Castle of Banbury, &c.—*Ato. Pamphlet in the possession of the Hon. T. W. T. Fiennes.*

(48) Sir E. Walker's "Happy Progress," pp. 34, 35.

that night, the King sleeping at "the Parsonage house" there;⁴⁹ and thence proceeded on the next morning towards Evesham.⁵⁰ Sir William Waller, after his losses at the battle of Cropredy Bridge, became inactive. Clarendon says that his defeat was much greater than it appeared to be, and that it broke the heart of his army.

THE GREAT SIEGE OF BANBURY, 1644.

The King's army being now occupied at a distance from Banbury, and circumstances being adverse to the King's speedy return into these parts, there seemed to be a fair opportunity for the Parliament to attempt to regain BANBURY CASTLE. Heath and Dugdale date the commencement of the proceedings of the Parliament's forces against it on the 19th July:⁵¹ and the Court newspaper of that period says,—“the Rebels began with the Dog-Dayes (July 19) on which day their horse came to Broughton, Warkeworth, and other places thereabouts to straiten the Castle; and there they lay blocking up the Castle till the Dog-Dayes ended (Aug. 27) on which day Mr. John Fines came with foote and canon into Banbury.”⁵² A preceding number of the same paper says that Colonel John Fiennes and his forces sat down before the town on the 24th August.⁵³

Wednesday, July 31st. “Yesterday 40 of those Rebels horse (commanded by one Captaine Clark) drew up betwixt Nethercote and Banbury, and faced the Towne, which caused Lieutenant Middleton (of the Earle of Northamptons regiment) to draw out the like number; who facing one another, there presently grew a challenge betwixt the two commanders, that their men should stand at distance and they two try it out themselves. This being accepted, the two commanders encountered one another, but neither of their pistols taking fire, they fell instantly to the sword, whereat Lieutenant Middleton seemed the better souldier; which Captaine Clark perceiving, he laboured to get off, and therefore for a farewell flung his pistoll at the Lieutenant, and rode away: but the Lieutenant pursued, and with his sword ran Clark into the

(49) *Iter Carolinum*.

(51) Heath's Chron., p. 63; Dugdale's Short View.

(52) Merc. Aulicus, p. 1179.

(50) Sir E. Walker.

(53) Merc. Aulicus, p. 1133.

backe, and had brought him off, but that three of Clarks party suddenly came in to his rescue. This wound was pretended by Captaine Clark to be very dangerous, if not mortall; whereupon he sent a trumpet that afternoone to Banbury, to let them know it was altogether against his will that his men rescued him; affirming, that he had rather have dyed upon the place by Lieutenant Middletons hand, then thus to suffer in his reputation. So 'tis a dishonour for the Captaine to be rescued, though it were none to runne away."⁵⁴

A letter written by Sir Samuel Luke, Governor of Newport Pagnell, on the 24th August, contains the following information:—

" which Regimt [Col. Vandvaske's] brought severall peices of Ordnance to Aylesbury which are to bee conducted by Coll. Purifoy's Regimt to Banbury for y^e seige there I cannot write yo^u any thing of that place more then yo^u know before but onely that on Thursday last they made up about 80 horse by the helpe of the Townesmens horses which they took from thence, & sallyed out upon our forces but were repulst with losse & shame leaveing both Capt. Middleton & the Cornet dead upon the place whose bodyes Major Lydcott carryed the same night to his quarters, what hath further beene done since I heare not this is all for y^e present can be co'municated to yo^u from

Yo^rs to serve yo^u

S. L."⁵⁵

" August 24, 1644."

A letter, dated from Banbury on the 2nd September, and published in London by authority on the 4th, contains an account of the first operations against Banbury Castle as follows:—

" SIR,

"That I may give you and others satisfaction touching the siege of Banbury Castle, I must tell you that though we have for about a moneths space straytned their quarters, and hindred their forcing the Tax on the Countrey; which grew so heavy a pressure that they had forborn the payment for divers weeks in many towns, though threatned to be plundered of all for their neglect. This Castle is of more concernement to Oxford than any other, for besides the provisions of victuals by droves of Sheep and Beast weekely, it is upon good ground aver'd that for a long time this garrison hath payd 18000 per weeke to Oxford, divers towns being taxed to more than the yeerely revenue of them; so that the taking of this Den of Theeves would much conduce to the straitning of Oxen [Oxford], and give liberty of Trade to London from many parts.

"On Thursday Aug. 22. they came out of the Castle with about 80 horse and fell on a guard of ours who retreating a mile to Workworth to their body, as many as took the alarm followed them, beat them downe

(54) Merc. Aulicus, pp. 1105, 1106.

(55) MS. Letter-Book of Sir S. Luke, v. 1.

the hill, killed their grand rob-carrier Lieutenant Midleton by a carbine shot thorough the braine, and tooke his Cornet one Smith a stout plunderer, slew two others, and took two, and wounded 4 or 5 desperately, and beate the rest into the Castle.

"On Sabbath day Aug. 25 two companies of our foot that lay for a guard to the horse advanced into the town of Banbury and tooke possession of the Church about break of day, the enemy not taking any alarm, untill some of our souldiers by knocking at divers doores in the towne to looke for Cavaliers that lay in houses neere the Castle awakned them. Our foot all this while were unloding their ammunition, and planting their Drakes and Musketeers in the Church; and our troops were all entered the town, and stood to assist the foot neere the Church, if neede should be. About an houre after day the enemy came out of the Castle with about 100 Musketeers; and all the Horse they had; their Musketeers got into gardens and houses many of them, and shot at our horse, and slew a horse or two, which made our horse to remove to the towns end; and by this time we had drawn out three small parties of foot to encounter theirs, who made divers waies to the Church; and having slain three of them we did by degrees get them into the streets, and so drove them into the Castle againe, but still they came out in parties, untill about noone they saw a supply comming toward us from Northampton, and then they betooke themselves to their strength, and never stirred out since.

"On the same day came two great Guns with some more foot and ammunition from Northampton, and with them Col. Whetham the Governour there, Commander in Chiefe of this service; on Munday and Tuesday the enemy playd at us from the Castle where ever we appeared, to hinder us in our making brest-workes for our Ordnance or men: then played fiercely at the Church, where we had some with long guns which did much annoy them in the Castle, and kild divers of their cattell: on Wednesday we playd one of our cannons at the wall and made about six shot, but they with their cannon brake the carriage of our piece, so that for that night we could do no more, but first we battered the wall so on the outside that we much weakned it, and beat a hole foure or five yards square. The same day Wednesday Aug. 28 there came to our assistance Colonel Purefoys regiment of horse, and Col. Boswels⁵⁶ regiment of foot, and with them three great guns, one carrying 36 pound Bullet, the other two somewhat lesse, 3 Morter-pieces for Granadoes. On Thursday Aug. 29 they playd with their cannon from the Castle to prevent our planting our great pieces. On Friday Aug. 30 the enemy fired divers houses [that] stood neere the Castle, as they had done the day before, the fire burning fiercely both the daies, about 30 houses burnt, and the enemy still endeavouring to fire more;⁵⁷ All this day they playd

(56) Godfrey Bosvile, the member for Warwick: he was afterwards one of the Regicides. Sir William Brereton was also present at the siege.—*Noble's Regicides*.

(57) The Court paper says:—"In the late sieges of Basing and Banbury, the Rebels took the lead off Basing Church, fired Banbury Steeple, and then gave it out that the garrisons did it." (*Merc. Aulicus*.) The opposition paper says:—"They [the Royalists] made a bonfire of Banbury steeple, on purpose to welcome home His Majesty out of the west."—*Merc. Britanicus*, 20th Jan., 1644-5.

fiercely both with cannon and muskets from the Castle at any house or place where they saw any man appeare, and we likewise playd at them; we about noone got our great piece planted, and playd 8 or 9 times that afternoone, and had our cannoneere slaine with a drake bullet at night, and another piece we plaid with at the same time, but the enemy with a bullet of twelve pound weight brake one of the wheeles, and sleightly hurt the cannoneer.¹ The enemy made about 40 cannon-shot that day, and some thousands of musket-shot, yet killed but that one man, and hurt another in the thumbe, we not seasing to ply them with small shot as oft as they appeared, and with cannon all the afternoone; about noone we plaid the great mortar-piece five times with a Granado of above 100 pound waight, twice it fell amongst them, and tore up the earth and brake as we could desire it, but what effect it wrought we know not, not having any intelligence from them. On Friday night we wrought to plant the rest of the pieces, the enemy preventing us the opportunity of doing it by day; We keepe them in continuall worke, that so they may spend their ammunition, which yet they do freely, as if they hoped we should not lie there long, they pleasing themselves with Pr. Ruperts comming to their ayd. I have been the more particular, that you may know we have need of your prayers, and that God may have the praises in our great preservation, so many shot being made and so few slaine, or hurt, and that we may account it a mercy worth praising God for if ever we be master of it, which though we must not looke for suddenly, yet we need not doubt of if we may have time (though undoubtedly there are not many stronger holds in England,) our souldiers, through Gods mercy, being supported with courage, as ever I saw them in any service.

“Saturday Aug. 31 we tooke two poor tatered rogues without hose or shooe put over the castle-wall early in the morning with intelligence to Pr. Rupert, Col. Greene the valiant Taylor Governour of the Castle having writ a letter in a shred of paper close written and cut in the midst, that if but one of them had been taken we had not known what to have made of it, but having both the pieces I shall acquaint you with the substance of the letter, which was, that our strength was not above 800 horse and 700 foot that did beleager them: that we had drayned three garrisons for them, and that the towns-men were now left to keepe our garrisons, he therefore desired the Prince to come with, or send 1500 horse and 500 dragoones betweene Northampton and Banbury, and bids them not doubt of taking our guns, and routing our foot, and then he might be revenged on Northampton for the other designe he missed on before. By these two messengers being examined a part we finde that their chiefe cannoneere was slaine on Friday, and another of theirs wounded in the eye with a musket-bullet, not like to live; that one of our granadoes did fire in the castle, but did not much hurt.

“On Sabbath day Septemb. 1 we planted our three great Guns, having

(1) About this time, the Cannon are mentioned as being 60 or 42 pounders; the Demi-cannon 32; the Cannon Petronel 24; the Culverin 18; the Saker 5 and 5½; the Falcon 3 and 2; and the Falconet 2 and 1½ pounders.

wrought all the night before, we plaid two of them all the morning on the meddow-side, the third the great Demi-cannon not being ready untill toward night, we shot thorow the Castle but made but a small breach yet, but such as it was, and another granadoe firing in the Castle made them lamentably skreeke out, and some women would have come forth but we would not suffer them; they shot from the Castle fiercely at our worke, but yet have done us no hurt, we hope in time we shall coole their courage, though we heare the Gentlemen and Officers have taken the Sacrament not to give or take quarter, and some bitter malignant Papists are there that will doe their utmost to keepe it. The good Lord give us courage, and patience to waight his leasure, and be content to stay for it untill he will give it us in mercy; Which is the desire of yours, &c.

"What's materiall you shall have as I can send it. *Vale.*"

"Banbury, 2. Septemb. 1644."²

Colonel JOHN FIENNES arrived at Banbury, to conduct the siege, on the 27th August; bringing with him all the disposable forces of Northamptonshire, Warwick, and Coventry.³ The Castle was defended by Sir WILLIAM COMPTON, brother of the Earl of Northampton; under whom Lieutenant-Colonel GREEN acted as deputy-governor. "So," says Sir Edward Walker, "Mr. Fiennes had no great reason to expect it should be either negligently or cowardly maintained against him."⁴ "At Master Fines first entrance," says the Court periodical, "he sent a trumpeter to summon the garrison; who brought an answer from that gallant knight Sir William Compton (brother to the Earle of Northampton) that 'they kept the Castle for his Majestie, and as long as one man was left alive in it, willed them not to expect to have it delivered.'"⁵ The same periodical says (Friday, August 30th):—"When these Rebels made their approaches towards the Castle, the brave Lieutenant Colonell beat them off by sallies and ordnance; and hath burnt all those houses by favour whereof the Rebels first made their approach and batteries, whereby he hath now forced them to a more mannerly distance; yet they play'd all yesterday with 2 mortar pieces, one of 9 inches diameter, the other 6, and indeed they did but play, for there was no worke done, save what the Castle did on them, which was to such purpose, that 16 cart load of dead bodies were met one way, 5

(2) A Letter: being a full Relation of the Siege of Banbury Castle by that Valiant and Faithfull Commander, Colonell Whetham, Governour of Northampton, now Commander in Chiefe in that Service, &c. 4to., London, Sept. 4, 1644: published by Authority. In the British Museum.

(3) "Being assisted by Cromwell."—*Sir E. Walker's "Happy Progress,"* p. 89.

(4) *Sir E. Walker's "Happy Progress,"* p. 64.

(5) *Merc. Aulicus,* p. 1179.

cart load another way.”⁶ The following reports also occur, from the Parliamentary side :—

August 24th. “The siege at Banbury doth still continue. We have now made our approaches near unto it: The unexpected [qu. expected?] forces of foot from Northampton, and Major General Browne, are now arrived, so that we doubt not but to give you suddenly a good account of that place.”⁷

Friday, Aug. 30th. “Letters from Banbury inform us, that the siege at Banbury Castle continues still, and that colonell Whetham governour of Northampton hath brought thither a party of horse to joyne with the besiegers. It is also certified that the enemy in the Castle are in some scarcity for powder, and want salt, so that the beleaguers have great hopes to gaine it in a short time.”⁸

Aug. 31st. “From the siege before Banbury Castle we have certaine intelligence by letters, that the besiegers being resolved to make short worke on’t, sent for two great pieces of battery from Northampton, which two pieces and a murthering piece came to them on Thursday last; whereof they within the Castle having notice, and being now at their *ultimum refugium*, made a sally forth, and began to set fire to the town, but the besiegers prevented them, and beat them into the Castle with some losse, brought up their pieces and begun their battery against the Castle, which did much terrifie the enemy, and on Friday morning placed their battery within lesse than musket-shot of the Castle, not doubting but to give a good account of that service suddenly, having then made a considerable breach in the wall.”⁹

Friday, Aug. 30th, to Friday, Sept. 6th. “Banbury Castle is closely begirt, something there is published concerning it, which I have not read, but by assured intelligence from my friend, that came from thence on Tuesday, who assures me that the Castle is extreemly battered, and cannot hold out, I expect (by his relation) a speedy deliuvry of it, or that it wilbe taken by force, I am in hope the end of my Dove may assure it done, but that I leave to the dispose of all ruling providence, there are neer about 3500 horse and foot before the town, they may be usefull else where, yet it is pittty they should leave unfinisht what is so neerly perfected.”¹⁰

(6) Merc. Aulicus, p. 1141.

(8) Perfect Diurnal, No. 57.

(10) Scottish Dove sent out and returning, No. 47.

(7) Diary, or Exact Journal, No. 14.

(9) Perfect Diurnal, No. 57.

Sept. 5th. A report that the siege of Banbury is raised.¹¹

Saturday, Aug. 31st, to Saturday, Sept. 7th. "We cannot as yet be ascertained, that the siege at Banbury is raised, but rather believe the contrary, for that it was certainly informed, by those who came from the besiegers on Tuesday night last, Septemb. 3 that it was then continued, the besiegers are about 3500 and there are about 400 in the Castle.¹²

Same date. "The siedege of Banbury (as we are informed) continues still with great disadvantage to the besieged, and Colonel Whetham Governour of Northampton has brought a party of horse to joyne with those forces that ly before that place, so that the enemy dare not offer forth and are much perplexed for want of powder, the new disease is very busie amongst them and many have dyed lately with the extremity thereof."¹³

"Monday the 9 of September. He [the Earl of Manchester] intended upon the earnest solicitation of the besiegers of Banbury to supply them with some powers, for though they have done well against the Castle already, considering how small a number they are before it, as to draw dry the ditches, and beat down some chimneys, and straiten the Castle, yet can they not proceed without a greater number of foot, and more plenty of some kind of ammunitiion to a perfect siege. In the mean time some of the horse that lie there, especially the Northampton horse under Major General Lidcot, have severall times visited neer Oxford, and at one time, made the Governour and the Duke of Yorke ride for it, and tooke the Dukes Dwarfie and Play fellow prisoner, and at another time tooke the Lady Lovelace, and her coach and horses, but it being against our Lawes to keepe Women prisoners, gave her leave to depart, and a horse back, but brought away coach and horses, at another time they were neere surprising my Lord of Dorset, and six or seven of his Mistresses, but a foolish boy discovered them, whereupon they horst and away, yet one that was not ready so soon as the rest, was overtaken, from whom some jewels, and other fine things were had."¹⁴

Between the 25th August and the 20th September a report was made to Newport Pagnell by one of the spies of Sir Samuel Luke, as follows:—"Richard Major came this day from about Banbury and saith That they continue still at the Leageer at Ban-

(11) Court Mercury.

(13) Court Mercurie, No. 9.

(12) True Informer, No. 46.

(14) Parliament Scout, No. 64.

bury and have placed their Ordinance at the North Barr and on Sunday last made severell breaches in the Castle wall whereof one beate downe the Kitchen chimney and parte of the Kitchen and continue shooting both day and night. That the same day 2 Boyes w^{ch} were sent out of Banbury were taken and they confessed that they were goeing to Pr. Robert: and on they tooke an old man wth l^res [letters]. That on Sunday last the governor of Northampton went out wth a party of horse towards Oxford, where hee tooke a Coach and horses and divers gentlewoemen all w^{ch} hee carryed to Northampton."¹⁵

One of the affairs alluded to above took place on Sunday the 1st September, and is thus mentioned in the Court periodical:— In the morning one hundred and fifty rebels came from Banbury to Wolvercot, near Oxford; where some of them, with their pistols spanned, rushed into the church while the preacher was in the pulpit, and would by violence have carried away a gentleman of quality who was in the church, had not he, too well understanding the Rebels' courage to yield himself prisoner, stood upon his defence, although beside his own there were but two swords in the church. This gentleman, with a few others, made the door good against those without, and then disarmed as many of the enemy as were within. One gentleman, "with no other weapons but a paire of white gloves, mastered two rebels at once, till they begged for quarters on their knees (the first time they ever kneeled in a church)." At last the Rebels fled, carrying with them the Duke of York's dwarf, who, had his strength been equal to his courage, had been much too strong for any one of them. In expectation of a better booty, they then proceeded to Water Eaton.

Water Eaton was the residence of Lord Lovelace, where the Parliamentary party hoped to find his lordship and to make him prisoner. On their arrival, finding that he was absent, they seized his lady, forced her into her carriage, and compelled the coachman to drive to Middleton Stony, "seven long miles, and there turned her ladyship forth of her coach, which they took for a booty, leaving the noble lady to foot it home," without regard to her birth or quality. It is suggested they did this because she was daughter to the Earl of Cleveland, who at Cropredy, near

Banbury, "so bruised Waller's army" as to make him forsake "King-catching."¹⁶

Wednesday, Sept. 4th. "The gallant garrison have beat the Rebels off their batteries in the Market Place, both men and batteries tumbling downe together very lovingly."¹⁷

Thursday, Sept. 5th. "This morning we were certified that the Rebels planted without the North Gate of the Towne neare Nethorpe; from whence they played with their canon all yesterday and Tuesday; in which time they shot 80 granadoes of 112^{lb} weight, and 160 canon shot, the least 18^{lb}, and the biggest 32^{lb} bullet, against the West part of the Castle, which cost the Rebels so much ammunition, that they have beene silent ever since. But the brave garrison liked not their silence, and therefore sallyed out upon them, killed them handsomely, beat them from their worke, (the worke itselfe throwne downe to the ground) brought 17 Rebels prisoners into the Castle. Lieutenant Colonel Greene (Deputy Governour of the Castle) hath much incensed the Rebels, so as this weeke they rayle at him in print (shot and powder is the oneley reason of it.) The garrison souldiers are exceeding hearty, much heightned by the exemplary carriage of that valiant young knight Sir William Compton, brother to the Earle of Northampton. The Rebels in print tell us, that the Castle is sore battered by their ordnance; but Master John Fiennes is of another opinion, who lookes so full of feares and jealousies, that he could willingly shed some teares, as (we are certaine) he did, when two yeares since he was bidden goe out of this Castle."¹⁸

"Wednesday the 11. of September We were assured that 500 dragoons were arrived at Banbury from the E. of Manchester, and now having foot enough, they getting other things which they wanted, they will no doubt beat the Castle flat, and give them no shelter but the blew canopy of heaven; these 500 dragoons are commanded by that stout martyr Colonel Lilborne."¹⁹

Tuesday, Sept. 10th. "Some of his lordships [Lord Kimbolton's] forces are joined to the rebells before Banbury, who have spent so much shot in vaine that they have beene a weeke almost silent. But now they are raising a new battery; for Master John Fines sayes, 'he must needs take the Castle before he come away,

(16) Merc. Aulicus, pp. 1143, 1144.

(18) Merc. Aulicus, pp. 1146, 1147.

(17) Merc. Aulicus, p. 1146.

(19) Parl. Scout, No. 64.

because he hath continued the siege contrary to order.' And 'twere pittie but that sir William Compton and lieutenant-colonell Greene would consider Master Fines his condition, the poore gentleman else will shed some more teares in Banbury.'²⁰

Wednesday, Sept. 11th. "The noble earle of Manchester & Colonell Cromwell came to London to have some further orders from the Parliament, but their forces march towards the west, some of them being come as far as Banbury, they are certified to be 7000 horse and foot, and three thousand are left before Newarke."²¹

Friday, Sept. 27th. "Some of them" [the Earl of Manchester's forces] came to Banbury "on Saturday was seavenight from Northampton, bringing with them a number of colliers from Bedworth to undermine the Castle; who after some dayes exercise under ground, at last found many fine springs of water, which made these water-workers very impatient, some of them at once looking black and swearing, that the Commanders put trickes upon them."²²

Tuesday, Sept. 17th. A part of Rupert's forces were lately about Evesham, and made a show as though they intended to relieve Banbury; upon which Lieut.-Gen. Cromwell was presently sent towards Banbury with 2000 horse to receive them if they should come that way.²³

"The siege of Banbury is still continued with much gallantry, and severall breaches made, which the besiegers make use of to the great terrour of the enemy shooting granadoes into the Castle, which doe great execution, a short time will undoubtedly compleat our hopes of the surrender of that place."²⁴

Friday, Sept. 27th. It is said in the Court periodical, that Sir William Compton's answer to the summons which had been sent to him (see p. 370), "set the Rebels on worke, who made severall batteries on three sides of the Castle, but have been so removed, and basted from one side to another by many brave sallies out of the garrison, that the Rebels decreased apace. Then they began to myne, and still found the water before they looked or wished for it: after that, they endeavoured to draine the outmost Mote, which in part they have effected, but could be content to have let it alone, so they might recover such heaps

(20) Merc. Aulicus, p. 1168.

(21) Perf. Diurnal, No. 59.

(22) Merc. Aulicus, p. 1179.

(23) Perf. Diurnal, No. 60.

(24) Perf. Diurnal, No. 60.

of their souldiers as were lost by taking on them to be Drainers: Master Fines sent another trumpeter on Monday was seavenight (Septemb. 16) to summon the Castle; Sir William Compton told the trumpeter, that 'he formerly answered them, and wondered they would send againe;' commanding the trumpeter instantly to be gone, or he should have another manner of answer. Upon receipt of this answer, the Rebells prepared to give a fierce assault, making their batteries ready on all partes, which tooke up most of that weeke; but they were much disturbed in their endeavours by excellent sallies from the garrison, especially on Friday night last (Sept. 20) when they beate the Rebells quite out of their works towards the bridge, doing sufficient execution upon them. The next two dayes (Saturday and Sunday last) the Rebells shot excessively, and plyed them with great Granadoes in abundance of 112^{lb} weight, which held on all Sunday night till the next morning. The multitude of great shot made upon the west wall of the Out-Ward of the Castle, had made a breach on the upper part of it, neare 30 yeards in length (but the inner side was well lined with earth). This gave them encouragement to storne it, and about 9 of the clocke that morning (Monday last Sept. 23) they began to fall on; Their foote had beene so banged by continuall sallies that they were not hardy enough for this service; therefore they hired Troopers to lead them on (12 out of each company), with their best officers. These were to have £300 (as was confest) for their paines. The number of the assaylants was about 1000, they came on with burdens of furr on their backs, which they cast into the Mote the better to passe the mud, and so assaulted it in 5 severall places at once; the greatest number were on that side where the breach was, on all other partes they brought ladders, but the courageous defendants never suffered them to reare so much as one ladder, but cut them off with great and small shot, which was sent among them like haile. Those that defended the breach, performed their parts with as much valour as can be imagined, hewing them downe as fast as they attempted entrance. All this while the Rebells played upon the upper part of the Castle with great shot, shooting also many granadoes. But at last the Rebells, seeing themselves unable to doe any thing, but undoe themselves utterly, gave off, being so sore beaten, so many killed and wounded, that they were ready to quit the siedege. Towards evening that day, they sent a trumpet to desire the bo-

dies of their dead, which was granted upon condition, that those which had fallen within pistoll shot of the Castle, should be stript by those of the garrison, and delivered naked in the Market place, which was done accordingly. All Tuesday last they spent in solemnizing the burials of their dead with drumms, trumpets, vollies of shot, and now and then a Psalme, wherein Master Fines was distinguished from the rest, as having the most funerall voice among them: they were much broken as they expressed at their funeralls, having lost so many of their best officers. Themselves have acknowledged above 300 slaine and wounded, (the Castle lost but 9 men in all.) Much good booty was gotten by the Castle, above 120 armes, and all their scaling ladders, which shall be preserved for their sakes against a good houre. Since this assault they have shot many granadoes and other great shot, the computation of granadoes of 112^{lb} weight is 154. and of cannon shot above 800. and have spent so much shot and ammunition, that ever since they have held their peace. Wherefore Lieutenant Colonel Green bestowed another sally upon them, (Wednesday night last) slew and wounded many of them in their workes, especially on the east side of the Castle. All this while we see no body takes any care of Master Fines, who if they beate him againe, is resolved to tell his father of it."²⁵

The journals in the interest of the Parliament are mostly silent regarding Banbury at this period. The following however appears:—

Sept. 27th. "The siege at Banbury is gallantly maintained, our men keeping the enemy in continuall action shew themselves experienced souldiers both by their assaults and batteries having made so wide a breach in the Castle, that at least 12 men may march in a breast, which some too venterously endeavouring to enter received some repulse, but made an honourable retreate to their workes againe."²⁶

The importance of Banbury Castle to the King, as being the stronghold by which he maintained his footing in the centre of the kingdom, made its present safety an object of great concern to the Royalists. For we find that, when the King was before Plymouth on the 12th September, on receiving a disloyal answer to his summons, a motive assigned for his neglecting to take vin-

(25) Merc. Aulicus, pp. 1179—1181.

(26) Perfect Diurnal, No. 61.

dictive measures was the recollection that Banbury and Basing were besieged and might require all his assistance.²⁷

Sir Edward Walker's account of the attempt to storm the Castle agrees with that already given. Heath gives the following statement:—"Next to Dennington siege, remarkable was that of Banbury, where Colonel John Fiennes commanded for the Parliament, and where he used batteries, mines, and stormings, against the Castle, wherein Sir William Compton was governor for the King; whom he summoned twice, and at last had answer 'that the Governor wondered he would send again.' Then granadoes were used, which made a breach, and gave them encouragement to storm it again, which was begun on the 23rd of September: but they were repulsed with great loss, yet nevertheless they continued their granadoes and battery, till the Earl of Northampton" came to relieve the Castle.²⁸

House of Lords, Sept. 30th. "It is this day Ordered by the Lords and Commons, &c., That Colonel Fiennes, Colonel Boswell, Colonel Wetham, Lieutenant Colonel Ferrar, and Major Lideutt, now employed in the Siege at Banbury, shall have power to take, out of all the Towns within ten miles of Banbury, proportionably, such number of workmen for Pioneers as they shall think fit. This Order to continue forty days and no longer."²⁹

Oct. 2nd. "Our forces were in a good way respecting Dennington castle." "The like was also informed concerning Banbury, but it seems the besieged are not without hopes of relieve, which may be one reason that such places which are easily lost are so hard to regaine."³⁰

Oct. 1st. "There is a great expectation that the towne of Newcastle and the Castle of Banbury will be surrendred unto the Parliament within fiteene dayes. It was written, and dated as on Wednesday last, so that by that reckoning we shall be able, within a few days, to give you a good account of that place."³¹

The Perfect Diurnals, Nos. 63 and 64, are silent respecting Banbury. Thus the siege went on until the early part of October; at which time the King, having been generally successful throughout his campaign in the south of England, thought it necessary to look "to the relief of Banbury, Dennington, and Basing; which were still streightly besieged and reduced to very

(27) Sir E. Walker's "Happy Progress."

(29) Lords' Journals.

(30) Perf. Diurnal, No. 62.

(28) Heath's Chron., p. 63.

(31) London Post, No. 7.

great streights, especially Banbury.³² On the 15th October he arrived at Salisbury. The Parliament were at this time straining every nerve to repair their recent disasters; and Skipton was sent with an army towards Andover, where Sir William Waller was already in position. Manchester and Cromwell had been directed to march southward to the same point; and thus a power was brought together such as had not yet been formed under any one leader since the commencement of the war.

If the King had now acted on his first determination to hasten his journey towards Oxfordshire, Banbury might have been relieved without danger to himself. But Charles was advised to march towards Andover, with the view of falling in with Waller before the forces of the latter were strengthened by the arrival of the other Parliamentary leaders. On the 22nd October he approached Newbury: and there he received the most pressing importunities from Banbury, which was on the point of surrendering for want of victuals, the garrison having already eaten most of their horses. Under such pressing circumstances, the King directed the Earl of Northampton to take the command of three of the best regiments of horse, namely, the Earl's own regiment, Lord Wilmot's, and the Earl of Brainford's, and move with all speed to the relief of Banbury: and letters were forwarded to Colonel Gage, who was in command at Oxford, directing him to reinforce the Earl of Northampton with his troops from that city.³³ These steps were necessary, but they now cost the King the battle of Newbury. Colonel Urry, upon some motive of discontent, quitted the service of the King, and, joining with the Earl of Manchester, made the latter acquainted with the King's position and with the Earl of Northampton's absence on account of relieving Banbury. The battle was precipitated, and fought at Newbury on the 27th October: when the King, greatly overmatched by the enemy on account of the absence of three of his best regiments of horse, was defeated, and obliged to retreat to Oxford.³⁴

Wednesday, Oct. 23rd. "It was this day certified from our army, that the Lord Generall, the Earle of Manchester, and Sir William Waller had sent to Major-Generall Browne to Abbingdon, and to Colonell Fines to Banbury, as also to Redding and

(32) Sir E. Walker's "Happy Progress," p. 105.

(33) Sir E. Walker's "Happy Progress;" Clarendon; Heath's Chron.

(34) Gleig's Life of Cromwell; Clarendon.

other places, to certifie to each of them, that if the King's forces should sit before, or summon them, not to be discouraged, for they should not be put to it many houres, but with all speed they would advance to relieve them."³⁵

Saturday, Oct. 26th. "From the siege of Banbury Castle we had news this day of an excellent piece of service performed by Capt. Fienns which is thus related; That a party of the enemy from Oxford,³⁶ Wallingford, and Bostock house were drawne out on a designe to relieve the Castle, who (as we heare are already reduced to that extremity that they eate horse-flesh.) That the besiegers by their scouts having timely intelligence thereof, Capt. Fienns went with a commanded party against them, and set upon the enemy with such gallantry that they routed their whole party, tooke all their bag and baggage, with the reliefe they had intended for that Castle, followed the pursuit of them even to the walls of Oxford, and there gave them a notable alarum, killed divers on the place, and in the pursuit; took many prisoners and about 60 horse."³⁷

Meanwhile the Earl of Northampton made all speed towards Banbury. On Thursday, the 24th October, Colonel Gage joined the Earl with the Queen's regiment of foot and the Oxford horse, and they proceeded to Adderbury (three miles from Banbury), and there took quarters that night.³⁸ Fiennes's party had just returned to Banbury wearied with their Oxford excursion.³⁹ The next morning early, the Earl of Northampton and Colonel Gage advanced from Adderbury, "and by seven of the clock were within half a mile of Banbury, where they found the Rebels horse (about 800) drawn up in five bodies on the south side of the town, near their sconce;⁴⁰ they faced ours without attempting any thing, until two or three shot made by two drakes brought from Oxford made them stagger⁴¹ and retreat somewhat disorderly towards Hanwell. The Rebels foot (about 700) then ran out of Banbury, having sent their cannon and baggage away

(35) Perfect Occurrences of Parliament, No. 11.

(36) This was on Sunday the 20th October. "Reported that about 1200 horse and dragoons went out from Oxford on Sunday last to Banbury."—*MS. Letter-Book of Sir S. Luke*, Oct. 22nd.

(37) *Perf. Diurnal*, No. 65.

(38) Sir E. Walker's "Happy Progress," p. 109.

(39) Perfect Occurrences of Parliament, No. 12.

(40) Tradition refers to Farm-field at Easington as a place where fighting occurred, perhaps on this occasion. In 1839, the iron axletree of a cannon, measuring six feet in length, and weighing 100lbs., was dug up in lowering the hill towards Easington.

(41) It is said that Colonel Webb was sent with the Oxford horse to make a circuit round Crouch Hill and charge the Parliamentarians in flank.—*P. Rusher's Crouch Hill*.

the night before; the Rebels then retiring, were pursued by the Earl of Northampton and his horse (and in the interim Collonel Gage with the foot relieved the Castle.) About a mile short from Hanwell he overtook the Rebels, and being then joined with Collonel Webb's Oxford horse, he charged and quickly routed them; who made their escape the easier, having lined two hedges with musquetiers, which shot at ours as we pursued their horse, though in a field near Hanwell they scattered and dispersed themselves. Their General young Fiennes was with the foremost, and first got to Compton, thence to Warwick, and so to Coventry, before he either slept or thought himself out of danger. Their foot escaped through enclosures before our foot came up. In the pursuit we took one field piece and three waggons of arms and ammunition, and slew very many between Hanwell and Edgell. There were then taken one Captain Unitt, and Lieutenant Vernon, with 86 other prisoners, four cornets of horse, and 200 horses, six barrels of powder, and good store of match. We lost in this memorable action onely Captain Brown and nine troopers, and some officers and others were hurt.⁴² Thus was the siege raised from Banbury, which had continued about 13 weeks; in which time the gallant Sir William Compton, Lieutenant Collonel Green, and all both officers and souldiers behaved themselves so courageously that they never admitted a parley, nor gave the Rebels the least hopes of gaining that place. And which is observable, it was now relieved the very day of the month that both town and Castle were rendred to his Majesty two years since, being the 26th of October."⁴³ In the Castle there were only two horses remaining; all the rest having been eaten by the garrison.⁴⁴

From the Parliamentary side we have the following account:—

Monday, Oct. 28th. "You shall have a true relation of the raising of the siege at Banbury, being the substance and truth of the intelligence that is sent to my lord Generall and his army.

"A strong partee of horse foot and dragoones commanded by the Earle of Northampton and others, drawn out of the King's army, and out of Oxford, were advance to Duddington four [six]

(42) "The Earl of Brainford and Colonel Web were here wounded, as also Lieutenant-Colonel Smith and Captain Boteler slain." (Heath's Chronicle, p. 63.) Colonel Ferrer, of the Parliament's party, was slain.

(43) Sir E. Walker's "Happy Progress," pp. 109, 110. It was the 25th in one case, and the 27th in the other, but the chroniclers are fond of making dates correspond.

(44) Clarendon, v. 2, p. 545.

miles from Banbury on Thursday in the afternoone when our partee, that had followed a partee of theirs to Oxford, that gave us an alarme on Wednesday, were scarcely come to their quarters. And though they were much wet and wearied by reason of their long march in pursuite of that partie, yet Colonell Fines drew them to Banbury with all speed lest they should be fallen upon in their quarters, and our foot surprised. And having sent forth orders to that purpose, they called a councell of war, where after due consideration of the enemies strength, it was concluded by all, that the siege should be raised, and the major part that they should march to Warwick beginning the march by 5 of the clocke in the morning, accordingly our horse were drawne out to face the enemy, who were drawn into the field within halfe a mile of us as soone as ours, or rather before us. In the meane time our carriage were marched, and presently after our foot had order to march after them, which they did, onely some of them staid too long in the towne, which much endangered our being engaged with the enemy before we would have been, to save them from being cut off, our horse retreated to the foot, and made their retreat good for a mile, and conceiving they had some advantage of the enemy their horse being somewhat dividèd fell upon them somewhat too hastily, but it pleased God so to order it that our hors were routed, yet so many of them rallied againe when they came to the carriages that they were most of them saved, and brought to Warwick, the rest of the horse rallied below Edgehill.

“By reason of the flight of the horse, the foot were left in great despair, to whom Coll. Fiennes went after the horse were gone, and by the help of God brought them all safe with their colours and drums in good order to Warwick, our losse is small, there is not many horse missing, we have all our foot, only some of my lord of Manchesters who were going to the carriages were routed; we lost one drake by the breaking of the carriage, and some ammuniion which was stamped in the dirt by our souldiers; our mortar piece and other drakes, and the most considerable carriages, were saved.

“There were 3 brigades of horse, besides a party, that way-laid our march towards Northampton, thinking we would march that way.⁴⁵

(45) Perfect Occurrences of Parliament, No. 12.

“ ‘Curia Belli tenta Banburia. Octobris Vicessimio 5to.

“ ‘It was ordered by the Councell of Warre whose names are subscribed, that all the Forces in and about Banbury, should march from beleaguering the Castle to Warwick, by 5 of the clock in the morning, the enemy being within 4 miles of the Castle.

Curia consistente ex Coll. JOHN FIENNES, President.

Lieutenant Coll. TORKINGTON Capt. GYFFORD

Lieutenant Coll. GRAY Capt. ADAMS

Major PENT Capt. SLADE

Major LYTCOT Capt. SHILBORN

Major TEMPLE Lieut. HOBSON

Capt. EDW. TEMPLE Lieut. MILLER

Capt. DEVERELL Lieut. BEAKES

Capt. THROGMORTON.

JOHN BUTLER, Cler. to the Councell of Warre.’ ’’⁴⁶

“ ‘A Letter written to the Committee of the 3 Counties of Oxon. Bucks. and Berks. from Major Litecot and Purbeck Temple :—

“ ‘MOST HONOVRED,

It was our unhappinesse to have a party of the Kings army, we know not how great, to come so suddainly on us, that we could by no means avoid an engagement with the enemy, although we endeavoured to draw off: our horse were forced to fight before we could draw them or our foot into any good posture. We gave them at the first so round a charge, that we routed and killed most of their forlorn hope, and had not we for want of a few minutes of time been disappointed of drawing our horse into a fit posture for our purpose, we had in all probability routed their partie. But our end was frustated, the rout falling out to be ours, yet not with so great disadvantage as may be reported, for we slew more of their men then they of ours, most of our officers of horse endeavoured by all meanes to make our horse face about, but could by no means possibly effect it. Coll. John Fiennes we left for lost among our foot, but since we know for certain, that our foot by his courage and industry are preserved with himselfe. They found a way from hedge to hedge to march to Compton house, though the horse were gone to Warwick. Since we hear there was a very great party got over the waters on Northamptonshire side, besides another considerable partie comming along from Adderbury, which maketh us conclude, that the Kings Army is all come to Oxford. Coll. Fiennes drew the foot into an inclosed ground, and gave the enemies horse such vollies as they pursued ours, that there fell very many of them dead and wounded in the field, and the rest of them left their pursuit of our horse. So subscribe

Your humble Servants

LIDCOT

PVRBECK TEMPLE.’ ’’⁴⁷

“ ‘Warwick, Octob. 26.’ ”

Thus was raised the siege of Banbury, which had continued, according to Sir Edward Walker, full thirteen weeks, or according to the *Mercurius Aulicus*, Heath, and others, exactly fourteen weeks, namely from the 19th July till the 25th October. The heroism of the defenders deserves to live in history. It is said that the garrison countermined the enemy eleven times; and that Sir William Compton never went to bed during the siege.⁴⁸

Tuesday, October 29th. "The Lords sent a message to the Commons with a petition in the behalfe of Mistris Ferrer late wife of Colonell Ferrer slaine at the releiving of Banbury Castle, which petition was referred to consideration."⁴⁹

October 31st. Letters from Sir Samuel Luke to the Parliament, dated at Newport Pagnell on the 30th, were received in London, stating that he had intelligence that the party which relieved Banbury Castle remained about "Atherbury, Ayno, and Brackley," but were preparing to remove.⁵⁰ These forces joined the King, soon after, at Oxford; and Colonel Gage received from the King the honour of knighthood.⁵¹

Sunday, November 3rd. "It were endlesse to mention the Rebels severall blasphemies begotten by their Covenant; some whereof are so bold and horrible, that they seem incredible though confessed to be true by the blasphemers themselves; for instance take one of the Lord Says tenants at Broughton neare Banbury;

(48) Chalmers's Biog. There was an inmate of Banbury Castle during this siege whose name must be here recorded. PETER HAUSTED was born at Oundle, educated in Queen's College, Cambridge, entered into orders when M.A., became curate of Uppingham, and at length rector (as is stated) of Hadham in Hertfordshire. About the time of the breaking out of the Civil War he became chaplain to Spencer Earl of Northampton: he received the degree of D.D. at Oxford 1st November 1642, continued true to the fortunes of the noble house he served, was in the Castle of Banbury during the siege of 1644, died therein in 1645, and was buried either within the precincts of the Castle or in the Church of Banbury. Dr. Hausted was an ingenious man and a poet. He published:—1. "The Rival Friends, a Comedy;" 1632: Acted before the King and Queen at Cambridge 19th March 1631.—2. "Senile Odium: Comœdia Cantabrigiæ publice Academicis recitata in Coll. Reginali ab ejusdem Collegii Juventute;" 1633.—3. "Ten Sermons preached upon several Sundays and Saints-days;" 1636.—4. "Ad Populum. A Lecture to the People, with a Satyr against Separatists;" Oxf. 1644. This last is a poem: the title was given by the King, who, seeing it in MS. with the title of "A Sermon to the People," altered the name; being, Wood says, much pleased with the piece.—*Wood's Fasti Oxon.*

(49) *Perf. Diurnal*, No. 66.

(50) *Weekly Account*, No. 62.

(51) Sir E. Walker; Clarendon. The following occurs in Sir John Dugdale's Collection of his Father's Short Stories. "One King, a bellwether of the rebels in King Charles's reign, and then a preacher in Coventry, one of the forwardest and most factious cities in England, being to observe a Humiliation Day ordered by the then Powers for a defeat of their forces under the command of Colonel John Fiennes at Banbury, and it happening on that very morning another account came of the Earl of Essex's defeat at Lestithioll in Cornwall, the news thereof so discomposed this preacher that in his prayer he uttered these expressions:—'Lord, we thine own people, come here to humble ourselves for the defeat of our forces at Banbury under the command of Colonel John Fiennes, whose brother Nathaniel Fiennes but lately has shown himself a coward at Bristol, so we might expect little better by trusting him—but Lord, which is worse than both, thou hast even now sent us the news of our army's defeat at Lestithioll, in Cornwall, and had we heard it sooner we would not have been humbled at this time.'"

who upon Mr. Fiennes late beating, complained in prayer, that ‘all this mischiefe was befallen them at Banbury for neglecting Gods covenant,’ pressing it farther in these very words, ‘We know, O Lord, that Abraham made a covenant, and Moses made a covenant, and David made a covenant, and our Saviour made a covenant, but thy Parliaments Covenant is the greatest of all covenants.’”¹

Thursday, November 7th. It was this day certified “that the enemy hath brought in very large victuall, and supplie into Banbury Castle, which they have robd and pillaged the countrey people therabouts of, and undone them, plundering many to the very walles, especially some honest people in Banbury.”²

Saturday, November 9th. The Parliament this week made an order, “That whereas a report was made unto them by the Committee of both Kingdoms for the present advancement of some monies for the payment of Colonell Fiennes his regiment of horse, who were in the late unhappy service at Banbury, it should be referred to the Committee at Habberdashers Hall, for advancing of a fortnights pay for the said regiment, which is to be employed upon another design with all expedition.” Also another order, that it be “referred to a Committee to consider of the miscarriages of those forces that were at the besieging of Banbury, to the end that justice might be done upon such as were defective in their duty, whether Commanders of Horse or Foot.”³

Tuesday, November 26th. A spy of Sir Samuel Luke’s reports, “That on Wednesday laste hee was at Banbury where hee sawe 100 men at least digging at the workes and they have made a new Moate round the Castle and they have stord it w’th all manner of provisions,”⁴

November 27th. “Giles Robson” [a spy of Sir Samuel Luke’s] “saith that there were 65 prisoners taken at Banbury at the last fight and brought to Oxford, and there lodged in the Castle vpon boards having noe allowance for maintenance but were releevd by Capt Greenville who allowed them 3^d a day, and they were all wounded men but three and noe care taken for any surgions, remayning there 4 dayes, had not Capt. Greenville petitioned in their behalfe. Last they were obtayned upon the peticon of Capt.

(1) Merc. Aulicus, p. 1243.

(3) Merc. Aulicus, p. 1250.

(2) Perfect Occurrences, No. 13.

(4) MS. Letter-Book of Sir S. Luke, vol. 1.

Greenville and they were so much necessitated that they cryed out for water & could not gett it."⁵

December 10th. A letter of this date from that eminent scholar THOMAS LYDYAT of Alkerton, addressed to Sir William Compton, states that he had been, up to that time, four times pillaged by the Parliament's forces from Compton House, to the value of at least £70, and forced for a quarter of a year to borrow a shirt to shift himself; that he had been twice carried from his house, once to Warwick, and once to Banbury; and that, on the first occasion, he was hurried away on a poor jade, infamously used by the soldiers at Warwick, and so sorely hurt that he was, at the writing of the said letter, "not throughly whole," and doubted he scarce ever should be. The cause of all which ill usage received from the Parliamentary soldiers was, that he had denied them money and had defended his books and papers, and afterwards, while a prisoner in Warwick Castle, had spoken much for the King and the bishops.⁶

(5) MS. Letter-Book of Sir S. Luke, vol. 1.

(6) Wood's *Athenæ*. THOMAS LYDYAT was born at ALKERTON near Banbury in 1572. He was the son of Christopher Lydyat, lord of the manor of Alkerton; and, "having pregnant parts while a youth," was elected to Wykeham's school near Winchester at about 13 years of age; and afterwards probationer-fellow of New College, Oxford, in 1591. After he had taken the degrees in arts, he studied astronomy, mathematics, the tongues, and divinity; in the last of which he desired to improve himself; but, finding a defect in his memory and utterance, he chose, in 1603, to quit his place in the college (the statutes of which obliged him to divinity) and live upon the small patrimony he had. During the seven years which followed, he finished and published such books as he had begun in college, including one dedicated to Prince Henry, to whom he was chronographer and cosmographer. It is said that the Prince had so great a respect for Lydyat, that "had he lived he would have done great matters for him; but, dying in the flower of his youth, the hopes of our author were interred with that Prince in his grave." Subsequently, Dr. Usher, afterwards archbishop of Armagh, found out Lydyat and took him into Ireland; where he continued about two years. At the expiration of that time, the rectory of Alkerton falling void, Lydyat accepted it in 1612. Being settled at Alkerton, he went over the harmony of the Gospels, made thereon above six hundred sermons, wrote several books, and laid the foundation of others. All these he would have published had he not been unadvisedly engaged for the debts of a near relation; which debts being unable to pay (having spent his small patrimony in printing his former books), he remained in the prison called Bocardo in Oxford, and in the King's Bench and elsewhere, until Sir William Boswell, Dr. Robert Pink, Dr. Usher, and Archbishop Laud, laid down the amount of the debt and released him. About this time Lydyat sent up a petition to Charles the First, wherein, among several things, he desired that his Majesty would give him leave to travel into foreign parts, as Turkey, Ethiopia, or the Abasen emperor's country, to search and find copies especially of civil and ecclesiastical histories, to be published in print; or whatsoever copies might tend to the propagation or increase of good learning: and further, "whereas he had lieger-ambassadors and agents with his confederates, emperors, kings, and princes of other countries, they might in his Majesty's name, in behalf of Mr. Lydyat and his assigns, move their highnesses to grant the like privilege to him and his assigns," &c. What the effect of the petition was is not known: however, says Anthony a Wood, "from thence his noble intentions and public spirit may be discovered."

Wood says that Lydyat was "a person of small stature, yet of great parts and of a public soul, and though a poor and contemptible priest to look upon (for so he was held by the vulgar), yet he not only puzzled Christopher Clavius and the whole college of mathematicians, but also that great Goliath of literature Joseph Scaliger; who, when he was worsted by our author's writings, (though he would never acknowledge it, howbeit great men, particularly the famous Usher, held it for granted,) he betook himself unmanly to his tongue,

The hardships which were endured by the garrison of Banbury and the town's-people during the memorable siege of 1644, were

by calling him in a scornful manner a beggarly, beardless, and gelt priest." Fuller says that Scaliger was greatly offended at the opposition of Lydyat; "conceiving himself such a prince of learning, it was high treason for any to doubt of, much more deny, his opinion.—However this great bugbear critic, finding it more easy to condemn the person than confute the arguments of his adversary, slighted Lydyat as inconsiderable, jeering him for a prophet, who indeed somewhat traded in the apocalyptical divinity." Lydyat was much esteemed by learned men at home, among whom Usher, Sir Adam Newton secretary, and Sir Thomas Chaloner chamberlain to Prince Henry, Dr. Bainbridge, Mr. Henry Briggs, Dr. Peter Turner, &c. were his great acquaintance; and also, says Wood, by "the virtuosos beyond the seas, who were pleased, and that worthily, to rank him with the Lord Bacon of Verulam and Mr. Joseph Mede. But when they heard that our author and the said Mede were very poorly preferred, they answered that the Englishmen deserved not to have such brave scholars among [them], since they made no more of them." Lydyat never attained higher church preferment than the rectory of Alkerton.

"At length," says Wood, "after our author had lived at Okerton [Alkerton] several years very poor and obscurely, [he] surrendered up his soul to him that gave it, on the third day of April in sixteen hundred forty and six, and was buried the next day (being the same day on which he had above 70 years before been baptized) by the bodies of his father and mother in the chancel of the church at Okerton, which he before had rebuilt." Over his grave, near the south window, not far from the east end of the chancel, the warden and society of New College caused an inscription to be placed at their charge in 1669. It merely informed the reader that Lydyat was "the faithful pastor of that church." This has been long obliterated. An honorary monument was however erected in New College cloister: and a still more enduring memento to Lydyat was furnished by Dr. Johnson, in his "Vanity of Human Wishes," where, speaking of unfortunate learned men, he says:—

"There mark what ill the scholar's life assail,
Toil, envy, want, the patron, and the gaol.
See nations, slowly wise, and meanly just,
To buried merit raise the tardy bust.
If dreams yet flatter, once again attend,
Hear LYDYAT's life, and Galileo's end."

Lydyat's works are:—1. *Tractatus de variis Annorum Formis*, 1605;—2. *Prælectio Astronomica de Natura Cœli & Conditionibus Elementorum*;—3. *Disquisitio physiologica de Origine Fontium*;—4. *Defensio Tractatus de variis Annorum Formis contra Josephi Scaligeri Obtractionem*, 1607;—5. *Examen Canonum Chronologiæ Isagogicorum*;—6. *Emendatio Temporum ab Initio Mundi huc usque*, *Compendio facta*, contra Scaligerum & alios, 1609;—7. *Explicatio & Additamentum Argumentorum in Libello Emendationis Temporum Compendio factæ, de Nativitate Christi & Ministerio in Terris*, 1613;—8. *Solis & Lunæ Periodus, seu Annus magnus*, 1620;—9. *De Anni solaris Mensura Epistola Astronomica*, ad Hen. Savilium, 1620;—10. *Numerus aureus melioribus Lapillis insignitus, factusque gemmeus; e Thesaurò Anni magni, sive Solis & Lunæ Periodi octodeseccentenariæ, &c.*, 1621;—11. *Canones Chronologici, necnon Series summorum Magistratuum & Triumphorum Romanorum*, 1675;—12. *Letters to Dr. James Usher Primate of Ireland*, 1686. "These," says Wood, "I think are all the things that he hath extant. As for those many MSS. which he left behind him at the time of his death, are mostly these;—1. Annotations upon that part of Mr. Edw. Breerwood's Treatise of the Sabbath wherein he denies the Christian Sabbath on the Lord's Day or the First day of the Week to be established Jure Divino, by God's Commandment;—2. Annotations upon some controverted Points of the Chronical Canons;—3. A few Annotations upon some Places or Passages of the second and third Chapters of the Book entit. *Altare Christianum*;—4. Treatise touching the setting up of Altars in Christian Churches, and bowing in Reverence to them or Common Tables, and bowing the Knee, or uncovering the Head, at the Name, or Naming of Jesus, occasionally made 1633; (This was written at the desire of some London ministers; and is dedicated to Archbishop Laud in gratitude for his releasing him from prison. In a postscript, Lydyat endeavours to answer Bishop Andrews concerning bowing at the name of Jesus);—5. Answer to Mr. Joseph Mede's Treatise of the Name of Altar or *ἑσπερίων*, antiently given to the holy Table; Written in 1637;—6. Answer to the Defence of the Coal from the Altar;—7. *Evangelium contractum ex quatuor Evangeliiis, &c.*; Written in Hebrew;—8. *Annales Ecclesiæ Christi inchoati secundum Methodum Baronii*; Latin;—9. *Chronicon Regum Judæorum Methodo magis perspicua*; Hebrew;—10. *Mesolabum Geometricum*;—11. *Chronicon Mundi emendatum*;—12. *Divina Sphæra humanorum Eventuum*; Dedicated to the King, 1632;—13. *Problema Astronomicum de Solis Eccentricitate*;—14. *Diatribe*; & *Animadversiones Astronomicæ, ternæ*;—15. *Circuli Dimensio Lydyatea, Archimedeæ*;—16. *Marmoreum Chronicon Arundelianum, cum Annotationibus, &c.* This last was afterwards printed in a book entitled *Marmora Oxo-*

increased by the prevalence of the Plague, which raged from March until the termination of the siege in October. The following particulars are contained, amongst others, in the Register; but, from the circumstance of very few burials of soldiers being recorded, it is probable that the number of deaths from Plague was far greater than we have any account of:—

Jan.	"A soldiär that dyed in the street buried 16 th day."
	"Ward a quartermaster in Castel buried 23 th day."
Feb.	"Knight a leiuetenant at Castell buried 2 th day."
March.	"These supposed to dye of the Plague in this month of March Richard Sloath Heaster Horsman Mary White Mary the wyff and Ailie the daughter of Izaac Walton Robeart Wilkins Edward Hill sonne to Edward Hyll William Fyfeild sonne to Edward Fyfeild nethrup Elizabeth Gyll wyfe to Luke Gyll Nicholas Cowper a soldiär buried" [Then follows a memorandum,—“The days of buriall uncertain.”]
August.	"A soldiär from the Castel buried 8 th day." "A soldiär slaine pulling downe Humphry Robbins house buried 8 th day" "A soldiär lodged att the George buried 16 th day" "A solder of Liftennant Middeltons buried 23 th day"
Sept.	"James Hawkins sonne to William Hawkins slaine with a bullet from the Castel buried 8 th day "
Oct.	"Captaine Browne buried 26 th day" Seven funerals are recorded this day (of which four are of soldiers) independently of any included in the monthly burials from Plague. This was the day after the relieving of the Castle, in which engagement Captain Brown was slain.
Dec.	"A soldiär from the Castel buried first day " "A soldiär of Capt Vauhans buried 22 th day "

The total number of recorded deaths by Plague is as follows:—
March, 10; April, 34; May, 24; June, 22; July, 29; August, 22; September, 11; October, 7; November, 2. Total, 161.

Nathaniel Wheatley had been chosen Mayor of Banbury in September 1643, and had his quietus granted by the Committee of Revenue in 1649; whereof it is said that, "By reasons of the distraccons of the times there were neither receipts nor disbursm" dureinge the Maioralty of the said Mr. Nathaniel Whately."⁷

THE YEAR 1645.

On the 7th January 1644[5], Bennett Burroughs, a spy in the employ of Sir Samuel Luke, reported to the latter at Newport

niensia, published by Humphrey Prideaux. All these MSS., with others treating of divinity, mathematics, and astronomy, amounting in the whole to 38 at least, were bound up in 22 volumes, and preserved as rarities by Dr. John Lamphire, principal of Hart Hall.—*Ant. Wood; Fuller's Worthies, &c.*

(7) Book of Accounts of the Corporation.

Pagnell "that the Coll. Greene Governor of Banbury Castle dyed the last weeke."⁸

Saturday, Jan. 18th. "The busie rebellious towne Kilsby in Northamptonshire, is at last well instructed to future obedience. * * * This good towne not onely refused to pay contribution to Banbury, but scorned those that did, and grew so insolent, that a fortnight since they assaulted a party of Banbury horse with muskets and weapons, and by advantage of the Church and stone walls drove them out of the town. Therefore Sir William Compton on Thursday was seavenight (Jan. 9.) marcht thether with 400 horse, and disposing a good party to prevent their running to Northampton, set a good guard upon the Church; the rebellious Townesmen were soon alarm'd, and zealously cryed out *Arme, Arme*, some made towards Northampton and were taken by the party, others with muskets made to the Church, and were seized in the church-yard. Thus being all masterd, Sir William brought 24 of them to Banbury (the very number of the old Banbury brethren) togeather with 200 head of cattle, and 60 horses (some worth £20 a horse) good store of muskets and other armes, with a great deale of very good booty: the woemen were keen and zealous, cursing the Troopers in Scripture phrase, but the effect of their curses you shall heare next week."⁹

January 26th. "We told you what curses the Sisters of Kilsby bestowed on Banbury garrison, for offering to make their husbands obey any besides their wives; but these zealous women having lived almost three whole dayes without their husbands, came since to Banbury, and told Sir William Compton, that those 24 men (lately taken at Kilsby) belonged to them, that the 200 head of cattell and 60 horses were theirs also, desiring he would order that the cattell, horses, together with the men might be restor'd unto them; Sir William condescended, on condition they would pay all the arreares of contribution, the horses taken to be forfeited, and some of the chiefe brethren for future bound to orderly payments, and never hereafter beare armes against his Majesty. This overture was refused by these sullen brethren, till at last the sisterhood began to lecture them (for others can preach as well as ladies) and then they submitted; so as the arreares (which came to £300) were payd; the 60 horses forfeited

(8) MS. Letter-Book of Sir S. Luke, vol. 1.

(9) Mercurius Aulicus, p. 1348.

to Banbury, but the men, women, and cattell, returned to the place from whence they came."¹⁰

A Parliamentary paper, referring to the above, says:—"These [Sisters of Kilsby] he challenges for bestowing curses upon Banbury Castle. I will not believe it; for it were madnesse to bestow upon those that have in such abundance: There they have a world of oaths and curses, the only things they trade in; arrant usurers, and the Devill takes up from them upon interest, and returns above fifty in the hundred. Oh, it is a cursed den, or else it had been yeilded last summer: When all their gunpowder is gone, they are able to maintain it with bare oaths and curses, against an army of Saints at any time."¹¹

January 17th. Wormleighton House burnt.¹²

January 23rd. "This day we had more newes of the enemies cruell plundering, as particularly that the Kings Banbury forces were got into Northamptonshire, and had plundered about Kilsby where they were most inhumane, drove away 60 head of cattell, 200 sheep, and plundered the townsmen to their very shirts upon the matter, for they left them nothing that was good: notice whereof being brought to Northampton, there was a partie sent out from thence, which fell upon them, and rescued a good party of the plunder, took some prisoners, and kild 18."¹³

Thursday, Jan. 23rd. "The forces of the enemy are not in Buckinghamshire, a few only attending Banbury; well, Banbury, we will have a better bout at you this summer. They about Banbury send for money, and teems to convey carriages from Oxford; its like to be true, for they are afraid of our new army, and so will be packing up every day."¹⁴

On the night of Wednesday, January 29th, some of the Royalist forces at Banbury (stated in one account to be a regiment of horse and eight score foot,¹⁵ but mentioned in another account, furnished to Sir Samuel Luke, as being 300 horse and foot,¹⁶) were dispatched to COMPTON HOUSE by moonlight; when they killed the sentinels, and possessed themselves of the half-moon, stables, &c.,¹⁷ but were afterwards repulsed with severe loss. The following letter occurs from the commander of the garrison at Compton:—

(10) *Mercurius Aulicus*, p. 1357.

(12) *Dugdale's Short View*.

(14) *Parliament Scout*, No. 84.

(16) *MS. Letter-Book of Sir S. Luke*, vol. 1.

(11) *Mercurius Britannicus*, p. 567.

(13) *Perfect Passages*, No. 14.

(15) *Mercurius Civicus*, No. 89.

(17) *Mercurius Civicus*, No. 89.

“Copy of Serjeant (Major) Purefoy’s letter (ye brave Governor of Compton house in Warwickshire) to his Colonel, Col. Purefoy.

“SIR,

This night, about 2 of ye clock, about a 1000 or 1200 horse & foot of ye enemies, fell upon me at Compton, stormed my outworks, gained my stables, & cut down my great drawbridge, possessed themselves of all my troop of horses, & took about 30 of my foot souldiers in their beds, who lay over ye stables, & all this was done almost before a man could think what to do. We recieved this fierce alarm, as we had good cause, & presently made good ye new sconce before ye stone bridge, & beat them out of ye great court, there being about 200 men entered, & ready to storm ye sconce. But we gave them so hot a sally, that we forced them to retreat back to ye stables, barns, & brewhouse, where from ye windows they played very hot upon us. I then commanded Lieutenant Purefoy & my Quarter Master, having no other Officers of Quality at home, ye rest being abroad with about 300 of my best troopers, to sally upon ye enemy with a party of some 40, & so attempt the regaining of the Brewhouse & ye rooms above, which instantly they did with ye most gallant resolution & courage. Serjeant Bird was one that came not short in bravery of any. This party, I say, fought thus with ye enemy, & came to push of pike, nay, to ye swords point, & laid about them so bravely that they forced ye enemy to fly from chamber to chamber. Whereupon I presently sent out my younger brother ye Ensign, with 3 corporals of horse, & about 40 more men to relieve ye first party; & I assure you, Sir, ye boy fought well, & led on his men most bravely, & relieved his brother, by which means all ye upper rooms were regained. And now ye enemy kept only ye stables & ye barns, which they held stoutly, but my resolute soldiers did so thunder their horse & reserves of foot, that stood within pistol shot, that Sir William and Sir Charles Compton, who were then present, began to give ground, which my souldiers easily percieving, some leapt out at ye windows & so into ye out works, by which means I recovered my out works again, & made a sally port, by which ye enemy endeavoured to retreat at; but finding they were frustrated of their hopes, & that my musketeers did play so hot upon ye great drawbridge that they could not be relieved: & withal we having beaten ye enemy out of their work, which we stormed when you took ye house, I had time thereby to recover fully ye great drawbridge, & instantly got new ropes and new locks, & drew it up again in spite of them all. Now by this means all those whose names are here with enclosed to you, are all in Cob’s pound, having no means in ye world to retreat. Whereupon they fought desperately for ye space of 3 hours, & ye valiant Comptons percieving their extreme loss, attempted three several times to storm & regain my outworks, but all ye three times were beaten off with as much resolution & gallantry of my souldiers, as could be expressed by men. Ye enemy within set fire to all ye hay, straw, & all ye combustible stuff, to smother my men out of ye upper rooms, which did indeed much annoy them; & ye enemy without threw at least an hundred hand grenades on ye houses, so as they set them on

fire in 3 several places: whereupon Sir Charles & Sir William, thinking all their own, sent a trumpetter to parley, but I commanded that none should parley, nor would I permit ye trumpetter to speak at all unto me; & fain he would have said something to my souldiers, but I commanded him upon his life to be gone, & not to return any more upon his peril, & we continued to fight still: & ye aforesaid fire did so encrease, that I thought it fit to offer quarter to those that were in ye stable for their lives only: but they would not hear me. Upon which I drew all my men together & fell violently upon them, in which assault were slain & taken prisoners all those whose names are in ye ensuing list. This did so dishearten ye Comptons & all their forces, that they presently drew off all their foot, & only faced me with their horse, & sent another trumpetter to parley; but I commanded to give fire upon him, that he returned with no other answer but what a musket could speak. And thus by God's providence & mercy we were clearly rid of them. Sir, this is as true & short a narration as I can conveniently give you. I am, as we all are,

Your obliged servants & kinsmen

GEORGE & WILLIAM PUREFOY.

“Compton Jan. 30. 1644.

“We recovered all our men again that ye enemy had taken.

“A list of ye Officers & souldiers slain & taken prisoners. Captains 3. Lieutenants 2. One Ensign, One Quarter master, One Cornet, 5 Corporals, 3 Serjeants, Troopers & foot souldiers about 50: besides 6 cart loads of wounded men carried off, & near upon 40 common souldiers left dead behind them in & about ye garrison. Of mine own men both horse & foot only One man was desperately wounded, & another was slightly hurt, but no one I say was slain; A rare & even wonderful providence indeed. We took of ye enemies horse & foot arms &c 150 muskets, 40 pistols, & about 20 hand grenadoes.”¹⁸

The following letter is from Major Bridges:—

“SIR,

The enemy taking the advantage of an halfe-moone fallen down at Compton House, one of our Garrisons in this county of Warwick, whereof Serjeant Major Purefoy is Governour; hereupon Sir William or Sir Thomas Compton commanded a party from Banbury to fall upon this Garrison, to which purpose he marched against it with 300 horse and 160 foot, and presently fell to storming the said works, took the out-works, possest themselves of the stables, tooke the horse, which were nigh upon 100. and set the stables on fire in three severall places, by which means some of them were slain, the said houses falling upon them. By this time Serjeant Major Purefoy (the Governour of the place) had drawn up his forces together, and with valiant courage sallied out of the house and fell upon them, in short time recovered all the horse except 10. or 12. killed and took almost 80. wounded many, and put the rest to flight, pursuing them victoriously.”

(18) Copy in the possession of Mr. Higgins of Compton House.

"A List of the Particulars of this Victory" is appended, as follows:—

"Lieutenant Chamberlain	1 Lievtenant more
1 Cornet	53 other Officers and Souldiers
12 other Officers and Troupers	80 Armes
Some killed with the Fire	Their Horse rescued
Lieutenant Clerke	The Enemy routed
Lieutenant Hervey	Many wounded." ¹⁹

The *Mercurius Civicus* states that the garrison killed near eighty of the enemy, and, on sallying out, took about sixty of them: that among the prisoners there were two captains and three lieutenants (Lieut. Chamberlaine "son to Chamberlaine the Lawyer," Lieut. Clarke, and Lieut. Harvey: and that the enemy carried away eight cartloads of dead and wounded men into Banbury.²⁰ The following account appeared in the Court periodical:—

Saturday, Feb. 1st. "The Rebels tell us" they "have taken above 100 officers and souldiers from the garrison of Banbury: Indeed on Tuesday last, his Majesties forces from Banbury went within the out-workes of Compton House, and took 44 horse out of the stables, most of which the Rebels regained with a few Banbury men, surprized in their quarters coming home from Compton; but for those officers whom the Rebells mention in print, they having taken a Banbury Quartermaster with his rolle, were thereby enabled to take so many names prisoners, the men themselves being safe in Banbury."²¹

January 31st. Bennett Burroughs, a spy in the employ of Sir Samuel Luke, reported at Newport Pagnell that he came from Banbury; that there were then two troops of horse quartered in the Town under the command of Sir William Farmer, and about 300 foot in the Castle under Sir William Compton; and a troop at Adderbury. That a great part of the wall of the Castle was "fallen downe towards Grimsbury."²² From another spy of Sir Samuel Luke's we have the following account:—

"Febr. 2. 1644[5]. Edward Eyston came this day from Buckingham and saith That the Horse w^{ch} quartered at Adderbury and Kings Sutton were all drawne away yesternight from thence to Ano: intending to fortifie M^r Cartwright's howse.²³ And saith That on Thursday night last a party from North'ton came and beate upp their Quarters at King's

(19) Perfect Passages, Feb. 3, 1645.

(20) Merc. Civicus, No. 89.

(21) Merc. Aulicus, p. 1363.

(22) MS. Letter-Book of Sir S. Luke, vol. 1.

(23) The old manor-house at Aynho was then the seat of John Cartwright Esq. It was burnt by the Royalist troops later in this year 1645, and on or near the site was subsequently erected the present mansion of W. R. Cartwright Esq.—*Baker's Northamp.*, p. 549.

Sutton and tooke about 60 horse and 8 or 10 troopers and retreated without any losse.²⁴

The following documents occur at this date in the Letter-Book of Sir Samuel Luke:—

“To Capt GOODMAN.” “These are to require you to repaire wth your Troope to Ano on the Hill & Adderbury and there to follow such directions as you shall receive from myselfe or Capt. Ennis, and in case you receive none to use yo^r owne discretion eyther in advancing or retreating to your Quarters being carefull of your owne p^rservation. Given under my hand the 5th day of Febr. 1644[5].

S. L[UKÉ].”

“To Capt ENNIS.” “These are to require you to repaire wth yo^r Troope to Ano on the Hill or Adderbury and to command in cheife the party from Newport Pagnell, taking all opportunityes both in goeing and returning to molest the enemie, and in your returne to be espesially careful of securing y^r selves. Hereof faile not. Given ye 5^o Febr. 1644[5].

S. L[UKÉ].”

February 9th. “Edmund Haydon came yesterday from Buckingham and saith that there are twoe troopes of horse quartered at Ano consisting of about threescore under the com. of Major Compton; and they have made a draw bridge at the gate goeing into Mr. Cartwrights howse where they forme themselves all the night but in the day tyme lye drinking in the towne & may easily be surprised. That there is a Dutch troope at Kings Sutton about 50 or 60. and the cheife Officers lye at Mr. Kenrickes house²⁵ & the horse in the ketchen and vpon any allarum they betake themselves eyther to Neale [Nell] bridge or Twyford bridge, betweene Kings Sutton & Banbury, but most commonly to Neale bridge. That there is another troop at Adderbury about 40 at S^r W^m Cobbs howse,²⁶ & have made some small fortificaⁿcons about the howse.”

Feb. 11th. “Bennett Burroughs came this day from Ano and saith that all the horse that were quartered there & at Kings Sutton went away yesterday over the river towards Blox^m whyther or when they returne hee knowes not. That there are 2 troopes of horse in Banbury under S^r W^m Compton & S^r W^m Farmer and about 700 foote in the Castle. That the Earle of Northⁿton lyes at Adderbury where hee hath a regim^t of horse and about 50 musqueteers w^{ch} lye in the Lo. Willmotts howse²⁷ and they have pulld vpp the bridge [Nell Bridge] betweene Ano & Adderbury.”

Feb. 16th. A spy reported that “those of the Kings party that quarter at Adderbury Ano and the Townes adjacent marcht out on

(24) MS. Letter-Book of Sir S. Luke, vol. I.

(25) Richard Kenwick Esq, was lord of the manor of King's Sutton at this period. The manor-house yet stands, on the south side of the church-yard. There is a tradition that Charles the First was at one period concealed there.—*Baker's Northamp.*, pp. 694, 696.

(26) The ancient mansion of the Cobb family at Adderbury stood to the southwest of the Green there. It remained (in the last stage of decay) until the year 1817.

(27) East of the Green of Adderbury.

Thursday night last towards Rugby and returned on Fryday night last wth losse but the particulars hee knowes not."

Feb 18th to 21st. "At Kings Sutton there lye about 50 Dutch men of the King souldiers com'anded by the Lord Comptons Major & they dig Salt peeter they ly in Mr. Kenricke's house & their horses in the kitchin some of the rescells are at Astrup."

Same date. "S^r Charles Comptons owne troope being about 60 lye at Ayno they fortify & have made a draw bridge at the gate which comes out of the Cartwrights house into the towne when they have an allarme they retreat (when they dare not stay in Cartwrights house) unto Neale bridge & Twyford bridge."

Febr. 22nd. Bennett Burroughs reported "That hee came yesterday from Banbury and saith There are 3 troopes of horse quarter in the Towne and about 200 foote in the Castle, wch they still dayly fortifie and have made 2 new bulwarkes and 2 sally portes. That on Thursday night there came a troope of horse from Newarke and gave them an allarme at Banbury they not knowing them to bee the King's forces. That they are digging of Salt Peter at Banbury and have erected a howse neere the Towne for the making of Gunpowder. That the Forces from Warwicke and Northampton doe soe streighten them that they dare hardly peepe out of the Towne but they fall upon them. That there is a troope of horse quartered at M^r Kenricke's howse at King's Sutton, 2 of the Princes Troopes at Ano and none at Adderbury."

Feb. 25th. "Roger Connington came yesterday from Oxford and saith the King is there and Prince Charles and onely 4 regimentts of foote and the King and Queens life guard. All their horse lye betweene Oxford and Banbury and thereabouts. That there are 2 regiments of foote at Woodstocke and some horse at Kidlington and the Townes adjoyneing. That there 2 troopes of horse quarter at Islipp and hee heares of a great party of horse consisting of about 2000 marcht from Banbury yesterday morning but whither hee knows not." * * * "That hee came this day from Woodstocke saith that there 200 foote and more expected this night from Burford. That he heares that Prince Robert lay on Sunday night last at Banbury and the last night at Burford and is expected this night at Woodstocke."

Feb. 26th. A spy reported "That he came this day from Banbury. And saith that there are about 800 horse & foote lye in and about Banbury and hee heares that S^r John Wake & S^r John Digby kept their randevous on Sonday last at Cheekham [Chacombe] feild and afterwards marcht away wth 2000 horse towards Daventry and 'tis reported that they are since gone to Newarke. That on Sonday night they fell vpon North'ton forces betweene Flower and Weeden and tooke 23 prisoners and about 60 horses and sent them to Banbury by some of the E. of North'tons forces."²⁸

Wednesday, Feb. 26th. "Above 400 of them [the Parliamentarians] were got together in a body neare Daventry in Northamptonshire, and under pretence of contribution had robbed many poore people, whereof the noble Earle of Northampton having intelligence, he sent 300 horse from Banbury (on Sunday last, Feb. 23) under the command of his two gallant brothers Sir Charles and Sir William Compton, (Sir Marmaduke Langdale at the same time being on his march into the north) who when they came to Newnham, discovered the Rebels horse drawne up in a body on Borough hill neare Daventry, therefore they desired Sir Marmaduke Langdale to stay in the vale, and not to appeare till he saw a necessity in the engagement. The Rebels hearing of their approach, sent away their foot towards Northampton, who durst not march farther than Weedon, where they thrust themselves into Weedon church, their horse keeping still upon Borough hill, and would not be invited downe till Sir Charles Compton sent Captain Colborne with 30 horse, which small party appearing within their reach, provoked them downe; Captaine Colborne retreating to draw them yet nearer; but the wary Rebels would not passe the river; whereupon Sir Charles and Sir William advanced with their horse, Sir Marmaduke Langdale also appearing out of the vale; at sight whereof the Rebells hastily retreated towards Weedon, but were so closely persued by these two brave brothers, that 13 of them were killed outright in a lane, a very great many wounded (whereof 140 were drest in Northampton) 36 taken prisoners, and above 50 horses; besides good store of armes gathered up in the chase; all which with the prisoners were brought safe to Banbury."²⁹

It was about this period that Dr. Oldys, vicar of Adderbury, was killed by the Parliamentary soldiers. Anthony à Wood says:—"Will. Oldis of New Coll. sometimes proctor of the University, was actually created [D. D.] the same day [Jan. 16th, 1642-3]. He was afterwards slain by the Parliament's soldiers, without any provocation given on his part, between Adderbury in Oxfordshire (of which place he was vicar) and the garrison of Oxon, about 1644."³⁰ In the chancel of Adderbury church there is a marble tablet to the memory of Dr. Oldys bearing this inscription:—

(29) Merc. Aulicus, pp. 1387, 1388.

(30) Wood's *Fasti Oxon.*

P: M: S:
 GUL: OLDYS: S: T: P:
 HUIUS ECCLESIE VICARIJ,
 QUI, FLAGRANTE BELLO PLUSQUAM CIVILI,
 LÆSÆ ET RELIGIONIS ET MAIESTATIS CAUSÆ
 FIDELIS ET STRENUUS ASSERTOR,
 PERDUELLIUM MILITIBUS, PROPE HANC VILLAM,
 ANNO SALUT: 1645, ÆTAT 55º,
 VULNERATUS, OCCUBUIT.

On the 4th March, the following occurs from Serjeant-Major Purefoy, Governor of Compton Wynyate:—

“To the Constable of Shetford and the Inhabittance there.

“Vpon paine of plundering, imprisonment, and other extremities I charge and command that you bring into my garrison at Compton all my contribution due from the 22 of November to the 4 of March, at one pound five shillings a weeke, by the 7 of this instant: expect not one houre longer time. At your perils. Given under my hand the 4 of March in my Garrison Compton. 1644[5]

GEORGE PUREFOY.”³¹

On the 6th March a spy of Sir Samuel Luke’s states, “That hee came yesterday from Banbury and saith there went 2 troopes of the Earle of North’ton’s regiment out of Banbury on Tuesday last to meete Pr. Robert at Stratford upon Avon whoe is expected this night at Banbury. That the Earle of North’ton is in Banbury but very few horse or foote except those in the Castle. That the sicknes is very rife in Banbury there dyeing 3 or 4 dayly, and on Saturday & Sonday last there dyed 2 Capts of the sicknes, whoe were buryed on Monday.”³² That the under marshall of the Castle is alsoe dead, and the head marshall is in prison at Oxford for letting prisoners escape out of the Castle and they say hee shall bee hanged. That they are pulling downe the Markett place and other howses neere the Castle and are dayly at worke in making trenches and bulwarks and repaireing the breaches w^{ch} were about it.”³³

It is also stated, that on the “5th of March Banbury troopes brought into Banbury 72 sakes of Gloster Clothes, wth 60 odd Troopers wth their horses & armes belonging to Gloster w^{ch} were a convoy to them.”³⁴ The Perfect Diurnal states, by letters from Warwick received on the 13th March, “that the Earle of North-amptons regiment of horse from Banburie the last weeke surprized about 30 horse laden most of them with cloath, comming from

(31) Merc. Aulicus, p. 1513.

(32) In the Register of Banbury the burials of Captains “Payne” and “Arnole” are recorded on Monday the 3rd March.

(33) MS. Letter-Book of Sir S. Luke, vol. 1.

(34) Ibid.

Gloucester to Warwick, with a convoy of about foure score, some of the convoy were killed, about twenty taken, the rest fled, this was done neare Tredington."³⁵ The account given in the *Mercurius Aulicus* is, that the Earl of Northampton's brother, Sir Charles Compton, went with a regiment of horse from Banbury, on Tuesday the 4th March, to gather contributions from Warwickshire, where he lay at Ilmington. That on the morning of Thursday he fell in at Halford with 120 of the Rebels' horse, coming to convoy near 80 packhorses laden with much of the Gloucester Rebels' wealth going to Warwick; six or seven of which packs got over the narrow bridge at Halford, but 72 were seized by the Royalists, and were found to contain broad-cloth of 20s. a yard, in which were concealed money, plate, fine linen, and rich apparel. In charging this convoy Sir Charles's forces killed 12 of the Rebels and took near 70 of them prisoners, including one lieutenant and one cornet with his colours, and almost six-score horses. Sir Charles had one man hurt, but not one slain.³⁶

The following is the Postscript to a letter written by Sir Samuel Luke on the 9th March:—

"Postscr. For the brave prize y^u thought I had in Horses y^u are much mistaken in it only Major Eunis gave Dick Cockayne one of the duke of Yorkes w^{ch} is y^e daintiest goeing thing y^t ever I saw, my Trumpiter comeing from Banbury about ye exchange of prisoners assured me ye E. of North'ton on Thursday night last brought into Banbury 80 horses loaden wth cloath, 60 Troopers wth their horses & armes Glostersheire cloath wth w^{ch} they intend to cloath their soldiers. I pray S^r com'aund Bynion to goe to Capt Abercromys wife, & if the newes bee true of her husbands death lett him desire her y^t I may have the refusall of his horse for my mony."³⁷

The following letter occurs from Sir Samuel Luke, addressed to the Lord-General:—

"MAY IT PLEASE YO^r EXCELL',

According to yo^r comand I have sent Prince his Falconer & Hawke as you may p^{ce}ive by this inclosed. The other inclosed newes I pray God maye prove false though I very much feare it. I had appointed a meeting on Tuesday for deviding the laste spoile & seeing justice done on both sides, & then I doubt not but we should have resolved to have fetcht away all the new brave Clothes from Banbury before the soldiers had put them on their backs. I shall still do my endeavour though not with so much good assurance as I should have done if it had

(35) *Perf. Diurnal*, No. 85.

(37) *MS. Letter-Book of Sir S. Luke*, vol. 1.

(36) *Merc. Aulicus*, p. 1399.

pleased God to have spared that great Com'ander his life. Thus humbly craving p'don for this my boldnesse I humbly kisse yo^r Excell' hands ever remaining

Yo^r Excell' most humble servant

S. L.¹⁷³⁸

"March 9th 1644[5] 11 o'clocke at night"

The disagreeable news referred to in the above letter appears to relate to the success of Sir Marmaduke Langdale in the north. On Sunday the 23rd February, Sir Marmaduke (as mentioned in p. 396) had commenced his march from Banbury towards Daventry; near which place some forces of the Parliament were scattered by an advanced party of the Royalists, consisting of the Banbury horse, commanded by Sir William Compton. On the following Tuesday, Sir Marmaduke defeated the Parliamentarians at Melton Mowbray; and, on the 1st March, gave a decisive overthrow to the Parliament's forces under Lord Fairfax, then lying before Pontefract.³⁹ The following letter from Sir Samuel Luke to the Lord-General, and some other notices concerning this neighbourhood, occur at this period:—

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EX:

"The latest & truest Informa'con I have had concerneing S^r Mar. Langsdale's successe & march bec' yo^r Ex. is pleased to com'aund an account of it in p'ticuler y^e shall rec' it herein Transcribed. On Sunday night last p'te of y^m lay at Loughborough, & as I heare since y^t Baggott & Hastings are joynd wth y^m, & at Oxford they beleve y^t before this they are joynd wth Pr. Rupert. There was much rejoyceing & greate stoare of Bonifiers for ye good successe they had ag't ye Lo. Fairfax, I cannot conceive y^t they are soe farr advanced as they imagine, for I have it from very good hand, y^t there are some of ye Earle of Northumberland's [Northampton's?] forces to goe along wth y^m from Banbury w^{ch} were not stirred on Tuesday morning. Greate speech there hath beene at Oxford of greate store of Irish w^{ch} should land in Wales or thereabouts, but I beleve there is noe such thing as yet, for y^e Earle of Antrim who is to come over wth y^m waves the imploym^t & rather chuseth to goe for Scotland, where I heare hee p'miseth to doe miracles before May day. At Banbury they make greate p'para'con, & have fetcht in greate stoare of Ladders all y^e Country round. The E. of North'ton is there himselfe, & they say expects both horse & Foote speedily out of y^e West this is all at p'sent worthy y^e com'unicateing unto yo^r Ex. from

Yo^r Ex. most humble servant

S. L."

"March 13th 1644[5]"

March 11th. Reported "Y^t they at Aino every night goe into the great house about 10 of the clocke, but about 7 are very carelesse. Y^t the

(38) MS. Letter-Book of Sir S. Luke, vol. 1.

(39) Merc. Aulicus, pp. 1401—1405.

Capt [and] Liuetenant are seldome theire and there colors are at Banbury."

March 14th. "Bennett Burroughes came yesterday from Banbury and saith that the Earle of North'ton is there wth part of his Regiment the remaynder being quartered at Ano Doddington King's Sutton and Adderbury. That there are about 200 foote in the Castle and there are every day neere 300 labourers digging and making upp the workes about it & repairing a great breach in the wall w^{ch} fell downe the other day towards the Markett place. That they have not disposed of their late prize nor as yett clothed any of their soldiers."

"..... The 18th of this month [March] y^e E. of North'ton came wth his Forces to Kingsthrupp wthin a myle of North'ton from whence he tooke severall prisoners of good account, & 100 horse at least, and drove y^m to Banbury, but by ye way North'ton Forces followed y^m & overtooke y^m, fought wth y^m bravely routed each other, there was some 3 kil'd of each side & seurall Prisoners taken, both p'tyes glory of ye victory & esteeme it there owne, y^e truth is wee pillaged y^e feild but had 2 Capt^s Lydcott & Guy desp'ately wounded if not dead."

"To Col. Lydcott.

"Sr

I have rec'd yo^r l're [letter] & must obey all yo^r com'aunds noe wayes doubting of y^e like from y^u upon all occasions, his offence is y^t hee was goeing to Banbury, & when hee came hither hee said all y^e Officers in y^e Garr. were either fooles or knaves. I am confident hee better acquainted wth y^e Caviliers then wth y^u for they hugg one another like bretheren, yet y^u must com'aund any thing from mee & now may dispose of him as y^u please. I am sorry for y^e hurt yo^r Brother & y^e other worthy Gentl' of yo^r p'ty have rec'd, but am most hartily glad y^t y^u had y^e better for it was otherwise rep^sented to mee this morneing from Banbury where they cracke y^t if it had not beene for some Foote of North'ton, The Troopers should not have gone backe to tell Tales thus y^u may see how apt o^r enemy is to make y^e best of his owne Therefore though wee ought ever to value o^r owne reputa'con, yet as soldiers wee must bee sure to deale wth y^m vpon as good advantage as wee can, for my p'te noe man shall bee more ready to serve y^u then I, & if y^u have any designe before I have one, y^u shall com'aund my Forces & when I have any I will let y^u know I am

Yo^rs in all servicable respects com'aundable

S. L[*UKE*]."⁴⁰

"March 19th 1644[5]."

The Court newspaper of March 19th states, that the Earl of Northampton had so cooped Serjeant-Major Purefoy up at Comp-ton, "that his commings abroad are more like a theife then a

(40) MS. Letter-Book of Sir S. Luke, vol. 1. The Mercurius Britanicus of the 24th March mentions the Earl of Northampton's brother "Charles, the Boy," as "acting the Knight of the Burning Pestle between Oxford and Banbury."

souldier, creeping sometimes in the darke, where he steales contribution to keepe himselfe in heart to pen blustering warrants."⁴¹ With reference to the affair on the 18th near Northampton (see p. 400), the same paper states that on that day the Earl of Northampton and his three brothers were abroad with their horse, and near Northampton obtained a victory over a body of the enemy. It appears however that the Banbury horse were in great danger. The Earl of Northampton had his head-piece beaten off; Sir Charles Compton escaped death only by the pistol of his adversary missing fire; Sir William Compton's horse was shot under him; and Sir Spencer Compton was at one time surrounded by eight adversaries. All the four brothers, however, escaped without personal hurt; though it is said they "charged and rescued one another so often, that if any of the foure had beene absent some one of them might have fallen."⁴² A Parliamentary account, given soon after, says:—"In the late fight between the Banbury and Northampton horse we were overpower'd, and cannot brag of the better, though we feare the worst; yet letters from Northampton make the ballance equall. They are very busie in Fortification at Banbury, as if they meant to make it impregnable: It is their wisest course; for if Oxford miscarry, (as it may) then nothing remains for them but Banbury to hold life and soule together in the heart of the kingdome."⁴³

March 22nd. A letter of Sir Samuel Luke's states that his defences shall be hastened, as he finds that the King has given orders to have all the bridges over the Cherwell made strong and fit for carriages to pass over.⁴⁴ Sir Samuel Luke's Letter-Book also contains the following correspondence and information:—

To Sir Samuel Luke.

"Sr,

Wee have sent this Messenger on purpose to intreate yⁿ to send ye names of such prison's as yⁿ have of horse & foote, y^t belong to Banbury Garr. & ye Lord of North'tons Regim^t, in regard they will accept of noe p'posic'ons of exchange of or prisoners, wth y^m, but for such as belong unto y^mselves, this wee shall take as a curtesy from yⁿ & shall bee ready to doe ye like for yⁿ if occasion bee, & shall remaine

yo^r humble Servants

ED. FARMAR vic. com.

ED. HARTEY

JO. NORTON."⁴⁵

"North'ton [Northampton]

22^o Marcij 1644 [5]."

(41) Merc. Aulicus, p. 1513.

(42) Merc. Aulicus, pp. 1513, 1514.

(43) Merc. Britanicus, March 24th to 31st. (44) MS. Letter-Book of Sir S. Luke, vol. 1.

(45) MS. Letter-Book of Sir S. Luke, vol. 3.

"Yf these subscribed Soldiers of the Kings wch are nowe prisoners in Newport may bee sett at libertye w'thout fees wth free passe and safe conduct to Banbury these prisoners whoe are likewise hereunder mentioned belonging to North'ton Garrison upon the same termes shall bee released.

"Prisoners at NEWPORT

James Brookes
John Basdell
George Servant to Capt. Wootton
Thomas Webb
Richard Rawson

Prisoners at BANBURY

John Wright
John Williams
Charles Morgan
Fra^s. Rawlidge
Tho. Robbins

W. COMPTON."⁴⁶

"24 Martii 1644[5]."

March 27th. Reported by Bennett Burroughs "That hee came this day from Banbury and saith that all the forces wch were formerly there under the Earle of North'ton continue still in their quarters, there being a Troope of horse at King's Sutton, a Troope at Bodycott another at Adderbury and a Troope at Ano on the Hill consisting of about 80 under the command of Sr W^m Compton. That the King (as hee heares) is still in Oxford, and the Carts which were warnd from Soulderne and Fretwell are not as yett gone in, but it is dayly expected when his Majestye & his forces shall march out and it is generally reported at Banbury Buckingham and other places that they intend to beseidge Newport & Northampton both together. And that the Westernne army shall march for London."⁴⁷

To Sir Samuel Luke.

"Sr,

The Countesse of North'ton (my Mother) desires yo^r passe for herselfe, & these subscribed servants to Moulsoe neare yo^r Garr. whereunto for y^e p'sent her urgencies invite her, In yo^r passe if y^a please to graunt her a limitacon of 6 dayes & safe conduct to Banbury wth her retinue, it shall bee (if occasion offer it selfe) more then ye tye of a retaliac'on from

Yo^r Servant

"Banbury Castle 28^o Mar. 1645.

W^m COMPTON.

"Her Servants

Tho. Doughty
James Bates
John Johnston
Treforsa Armston."

"To Sir William Compton.

"Sr.

Yours of the 28th of March I received this instant and that you may see how ready I shall bee to begin any courtesie I have hasted away yo^r Messenger to lett you know that at the Councell of Warr to morrowe where the Committees will bee (whose approbac'on I desire to have in acting any thing of this nature) I shall p'pounde your desires and second

(46) MS. Letter-Book of Sir S. Luke, vol. 3.

(47) MS. Letter-Book of Sir S. Luke, vol. 1.

them wth the best arguments I can and eyther returne the passe yee desire or some answere that will satisfie you how much I desire to bee

Your Servaunt

"March 28. 1645."

S. L[LUKE]."

To the Lord-General.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EX.

This morning I rec^d these inclosed from Woodstocke w^{ch} concernes exchanges, & because there are none of Abercromys men menc^oned therein, I forbearre retorne of any answere till yo^r Ex. pleasure bee further knowne I alsoe rec^d this inclosed from S^r W^m Compton at Banbury wherein I shall not doe any thing, but by Com'aund from yo^r Ex. or ye Parliam^t thus wth y^e p^rsentac^on of my most humble service to yo^r Ex. I take leave & rest

Yo^r Ex. most humble Servant

[S. LUKE]."

"Newport March 29th 1644[5]."

To ——— Luke Esq.

"S^r

I beseech yⁿ p^rcure an answere from his Ex. concerneing these inclosed, I am confident ye Trumpiter y^t brought ye L^re [letter] from S^r W^m Compton, came but as a spie, wth a tricke to discover the strength of ye Towne, I have answered him accordingly as yⁿ may see for I intend to make vse of this oppertunity to visite him twice or thrice for once, S^r if yⁿ please to gett yo^r Graunt for Grafton in a Lease, it will certainly stand good, for all ye new Ordinance, because many wise men of ye Howse have done ye like as I heare, soe rests

Yo^r most dutifull & obedient Sonne

[S. LUKE]."¹

"Newport March 29th 1644[5]."

March 29th. A spy reported at Newport Pagnell "That hee came this day from Buckingham and saith hee heares for certaine that there are noe Cartes or Teames as yett gone into Oxford for removeing of the King's person & the trayne of Artillery. That all the Earle of North'-ton's Regiment q^uter in Bodycott and Adderbury and they expect every day when they shall march westward."²

To the Lord-General.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EX.

To rec' herein inclosed ye Coppy of a L^re from S^r W^m Brereton wth an answere of ye L^d Gou'nor of Bostoll concerneinge ye exchange of Prisoners, since this came from S^r W^m Brereton, I understand, y^t ye Scotts are gone & all y^t p^rty w^{ch} was neare 5000, on Friday last ye E. of North'-ton com'aunded all his Troopes w^{ch} lay on this side ye river Charwell, to retreate to ye other & they report they are to march to Pr. Rupert, I shall tomorrow send a Trumpiter to Banbury & at his retorne yo^r Ex.

(1) MS. Letter-Book of Sir S. Luke, vol. 3.

(2) MS. Letter-Book of Sir S. Luke, vol. 1.

shall know ye certainty, thus most humbly craveing pardon for this my boldnesse I most humbly kisse yo^r Ex^{cies} hands & rest

Yo^r Ex most humble Servant

[S. LUXE]."

"Newport March 31st 1644[5]."

"To Sir William Compton

"S^r

According to my ingagem^t I proposed yo^r desires to ye Com'ttees who would have beene very ready in any thing y^t might pleasure yo^r p'ticuler & not pr'judice ye Generall, but not knowing w^t inconueniences may follow in giving way to strangers to have free egresse out of yo^r Quarters into o^rs & to continue such a tyme as ye desire, they could in noe kind give way to it, but were willing to joyne wth mee in recom'ending it to his Ex^{cie} ye Earle of Essex, whose pleasure soe soone as it shall bee knowne heere it shall bee conveyed to ye from

Yo^rs in all seruicable respects com'aundable

S. L[UXE].

"Newport April 1^o 1644[5].

"Since yo^r Trumpiter goeing away yo^{rs} for exchange of 5 Prisoners dated ye 24th of March came to my hands vizt.

Jo. Wright

Jo. Williams

Char. Morgan

Fran. Raulidge

Tho. Robbins

{	should be ex- changed for	James Brookes
		Jo. Bastell
		Geo. Servant to Capt. Wooton
		Tho. Webb
		Rich. Rauson.

"James Brookes being a L^t I hope yⁿ cannot thinke it fitting for an answer & though yⁿ have noe soldiers of mine to exchange wth mee yet y^t yⁿ may see at what rate I value ye Lib'ty or misery of man, soe y^t I may have my Prisons cleared I shall exchange y^m to ye last man upon equal tearmes & therefore have sent yⁿ a list of all ye Prisoners I have wth their Qualities."

To ——— (Northampton).

"HONORED S^r

Wee feared yⁿ had com'aund to march on to S^r W^m Brereton wherefore S^r Samuel & o^r Garr. intended to p'secute this very designe yⁿ p'pound wth w^t strength wee could make, o^r p'posic'on was to meete at Brackley 8 miles from Banbury, in w^{ch} towne wee had intelligence all their horse quartered during ye tyme of y^r being soe neare them, wee have sent 2 spyes this morning to bring us certaine intelligence, whether they continue in ye Towne, or if marched away whither, wee humbly desire yo^r assistance bec' wee may happily have a blow for ye Castle, wee conceive Friday morneing to bee ye best tyme to fall on, wherefore under favour, wee conceive it best for o^r force & Newports, w^{ch} will bee about 300 Horse & 6 or 700 foote to bee att Brackley at nine at night on thursday w^{ch} is Banbury markt day, & w^t p'ty yⁿ please to com'aund wth Capt. Butlers & Capt. Clarkes Troopes who are good guides & yo^r Dra-goones to bee att Helmedon, att ye same houre w^{ch} is but 3 miles distant, if yo^r p'ty bee there first send to us, if o^rs first we'll send to yo^{rs}, it was 9 this morneing before I rec'd yo^r L^re else I had answered it sooner,

if wee by intelligence find any reason why wee should not randevouz at ye tyme & places appointed wee shall send & wee intreate y^u to do ye like I shall take all ye care I can of yo^r horse p^rsenting ye Com^{tees} service & mine humbly to y^u I rest

Yo^r most humble Servant

“1^o April 1645.

LYDCOTT.

“Postscir. S^r

Wee desire y^u to wheele about something in comeing to Helmedon fearing y^u may come too neare Banbury, I humbly tender all to yo^r better considerac'on only I offer my poore mite I besech ye p^rsent my humble service to Col. Sheffeld & ye rest of my worthy freinds wee shall bring some small Petarrs & Granadoes wth us.”

To Major Ennis.

“MAJOR ENNIS,

I have rec'd yo^r L're ye last night but deferred ye Answering of it in regard I had sent to Coll. Lydcott to know his resolucon whether wee should meete this night at ye Randevouze appointed. Major Gen. Craford & Col. Lydcott entered Banbury yesterday morneinge wth 3 or 4000 Horse & foote, & there they are, my L're hee sent to Col. Lydcott from North'-ton by his man, & I not haveing any answeare know not what to advise for yo^r advance. Therefore I pray send 6 Troopers to Brackley or Banbury to see if y^u can learne any thing from y^m neither yo^r Trumpiter nor any of my Scouts are retorned, w^{ch} I expected ye last night, I pray bee carefull of yo^r selves & keepe yo^r men & horse in Lust, y^t though wee are frustrated of this designe, wee may not be disappointed of ye other, Q^r as securely as y^u can for it, for my resolucon is to goe on wth it, if y^u heare any thing of ye enemy or of Capt. Wootton let mee heare it from y^u & I shall ever bee

Yo^r Lo. friend

“Aprill 3^d 1645. Newport

S. L[UKE].

“You will doe well to send a p'ty to Brackley to see w^t y^u can discover from thence. The Am'unic'on is gone.”

To ——— (Northampton).

“NOBLE S^r

I am sorry my urgent occasions p^rvented mee in sending y^u an accompt of o^r late p^rceedings as concerneing o^r intencons & indeavurs to have fallen in upon my Lo. of North'-ton's horse Q^rs but wee were p^rvented by intelligence w^{ch} they gayned from Daintry soe as wee fayled more in acc'on then resolucon, after 30 miles march as wee made it, yet wee tooke some of their reare since wee Q^r close to y^m neare Banbury, & this night have intercepted 2 L'res one of ye Lo. Hattons ye other from Secretary Nicholls, both of greate consequence, to ye E. of North'-ton, w^{ch} I have sent inclosed beseeching y^u to poast them away wth all speed they require greate hast. Wee remaine S^r

Yo^r assured freinds & serv^{ts}

CRAUFURD

“Culworth 3^o Apr. 1645.”

JAMES SHEFFELD.”

To Sir Samuel Luke.

"NOBLE SIR,

"Wee this night rec'd a desire from Col. Lydcott w^{ch} is to request yⁿ, y^t yo^r horse may this Thursday night bee wth him at Brackley, hee intends to doe some what in Oxfords'. Major Gen. Craufurd did not enter Banbury, his plott being discovered by a boy from Daventry y^e Lo. North'ton & S^r W^m his brother, p^rsently horsed wth their Troopes to Oxford ye Gen^rall lyes still in those p^rts, wee are

Yo^r humble servants

ED. FARMAR, vic. Com.

"North'ton 3d Apr. 1645."

ED. HARTY."

To Colonel Lydcot.

"S^r

I have rec'd a L^re from ye Com^{ttee} of North'ton w^{ch} tells mee yⁿ desire to have my Troopes meete yⁿ this night at Brackley Maior Gen. Craufurds first designe concerneing Banbury being discovered, S^r my Horse & foote are both out & hitherto I have rec'd noe foyle & should bee loath ever to rec' any, whether it bee fitt now to adventure upon any designe in Oxfords, they haveing had y^e alarum soe long before & being p^rvided I leave it to yⁿ to judge, Neverthelesse if yⁿ thinke yⁿ may doe any service, if yⁿ will but write mee word where yo^r Randevouz shall bee, I shall send my horse thither, & yⁿ shall be sure to com'aund

Yo^r assured Lo. Freind.

"March [April] 3d. 1645."

S. L[*UKE*]"

April 5th. A letter of Sir Samuel Luke's, written to request interest for obtaining a Commission, says:—"The Troope hath beene mustered as mine above 7 months agoe p^rhapps his Ex. may say y^t I have a Com^rission for a Troope of horse already I confesse I had but it was lost at Edghill & it was but for 60 horse only."

To Sir Samuel Luke.

"S^r,

If yⁿ please to sett at Lib^{ty} Tho. Webb. Rich. Rawson & Jo. Garmy o^r Souldiers but yo^r Prisoners wthout fees, wth yo^r free passe & safe conduct hither, I shall doe ye like to Jo. Wright Fran. Rowlidge & Tho. Robbins now prisoners heere & Troopers belonging to North'ton Garr: I rest

Yo^r servant

"Banbury Castle Apr. 8th, 1645."

W^m COMPTON."

"For Sr. Wm. Compton.

"S^r

Yo^r by yo^r Trumpiter concerneing ye exchange of 3 prisoners I rec'd ye last night, but before it came I was ingaged in a treaty upon an exchange for all of y^m, being desirous to empty my prisons, & haveing com'aund from his Ex. for exchangeing some of Abercromys men, soe y^t till they are at Lib^{ty} I cannot release any, but when my list shall be retorned to mee & I know who they will desire, for those I sent to y^m for, all y^e rest y^t remaine shall bee at yo^r service, exchangeing man for

man & Quallity for Quallity, I haveing noe more relac'on to one then to another, soe y^t if you send mee 20, 30, or 40, ordinary Troopers I shall send y^u as many & those y^u men'con in yo^r L're shall bee 3 of y^m, or if y^u p'mise ye freeing of all yo^r Prisoners y^t belong to o^r Army I will send y^u as many of myne, by a Trumpet first, who shall receive yo^{rs}. Concerning yo^r Lady Mothers passe, I have not yet rec'd any Answer from London, if I had, y^u should not have fayled to have rec'd it from

Yo^r servant

"Newport Apr. 9th 1645."

S. L[UKE]."

A letter written by Sir Samuel Luke, dated Newport, April 11th, says:—"The great misfortune w^{ch} is now fallen upon mee cannot bee exprest wth greife sufficient since I undertooke the imployment I never faild in executing any order from the Parliam^t his Excell' or your selves, and now to bee constraynd to doe it. How much it troubles mee is beyond expression. What case our Horse are in our most faithfull agent Mr. Love and 2 of the Captaines of our Garrison Whitbread and Oxford I doubt not but before this have given your Honors a full accompt, for before their comming vp I received a L're from my Major w^{ch} by a modest intimac'on declared that if I employed his Troope in any service hee doubted they would not obey and therefore having notice sent mee yesterday of a party w^{ch} were to march out of Banbury to robb the carryers upon the roade I was forced to send 50 firelockes to lye in the woods for secure the Parliam^{ts} friends being unwilling to receive a denyall from my Troopers and truely my Lords to my knowledge the men want bootes & clothes & the horse want both saddles & shooes & my best Troope wants all these wth armes for 40 men." [&c. &c.]

Yo^r Honors most humble servant

S. [LUKE]."

To —————

"Sr

Wee formerly moved y^u by o^r L're for an exchange in y^e behalfe of Capt. Eyre prisoner at Banbury who for some reasons y^u gave us, y^u then waved, wee considerate his condicon being confined to a close chamber in ye Castle, wth 3 or 4 more, & soe wanting ayre it may indanger his life hee is neare allyed to M^r Holman a member of this Com^{ttee} wee therefore together wth him, revive o^r moc'on to y^u for ye Capt. y^t y^u will please to make a p'posicon to Banbury for his exchange wee heare there is one Capt Keywood a man of his Quallity Prisoner wth y^u & in p'babillity they will accept of for him, & ye rather if y^u dare trust him on his parrole to mannage ye exchange w^{ch} wee leave to yo^r discession w^t favour y^u shew to Capt. Eyre herein wee shall looke upon it as done to

Yo^r humble Servants

ED. FARMAR, vic. Com.
ROL. S^t JOHN
ED. NICHOLLS
ROB^t MILDMAY

RICH. SAMWELL
ED. HARTEY
PHIL. HOLMAN
THO. PENTLOW."³

"North'ton 21st Apr. 1645."

(3) MS. Letter-Book of Sir S. Luke. vol. 3. Philip Holman, one of the Committee of Northampton whose name appears in the last document given above, had been a scrivener

"9^o Junii 1645.

"At y^e Com^{ttee} of the House of Com^{ons} for Prisoners.

"Whereas there is an exchange p^oposed by y^e Gov^{nor} of Banbury Castle in his l^re to y^e right Ho^{ble} Sir Tho. Fairfax for 31 Troopers prisoners in London belonging to y^e Garr. of Banbury, whose names are exp^{ss}ed in a list inclosed in y^e s^d l^re to bee released for soe many of Major Ennis his men now prisoners in Banbury, These are to certifye whome they may concerne y^t uppon notice given of y^e release of Major Ennis his men this Com^{ttee} will forthwth discharge all y^e s^d Troopers who are not otherwise released except Gifford Bullocke who appeares to bee of other quallity, And in y^e roomes of any of y^e s^d Troopers w^{ch} are released this Com^{ttee} will discharge soe many of like quallity & as neare as maye bee such as are of y^e E. of North[']ton's Regim^t.

RICH. KNIGHTLEY."⁴

A Letter from Sir Samuel Luke, dated "Newport June 6th," and addressed "To the Lord Roberts: To his Excellency also," has the following Postscript:—"A country neighbour sent mee word that the King's Engineers wth 100 horse were all yesterday upon Bayards Greene and about Brackley veiwing the ground w^{ch} must needs bee eyther for an intrenchment or a fight. Sr Thom. Fairfax his army is the bravest that ever I sawe for bodyes of men both in number armes other accoutrements and pay for the officers. I sawe very few of them."⁵ On Saturday the 7th June, the King is stated to have been at Homeby house, his army marching towards Sir Thomas Fairfax. On Monday the 9th the King was at Banbury, and his forces about Brackley and Daventry.⁶ On the 14th June was fought the battle of Naseby, in Northamptonshire, which was fatal to the King's cause. "By one of the clocke in the afternoone," says an account written the next day, "there was not a horse or man of the Kings army to be seene in Northamptonshire but the prisoners."⁷

"To Major Ennis.

"Sr,

I have sent y^u yo^r Trumpett upon his Parrole to retorne, who will lett yⁿ know y^t if y^u can p[']cure these Troopers belonging to mee & Capt Slaney who are prisoners in London & subscribed here may bee enlarged,

in London, and purchased the manor of Warkworth near Banbury, and an estate in Grimsbury, of the Chetwode family, in 1629, for £14,000. He died in 1669. (Baker's Northamp., pp. 739—741.) At a subsequent period Warkworth fell to the Eyre family. (See hereafter.)

(4) MS. Letter-Book of Sir S. Luke, vol. 2.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Perfect Diurnal, No. 98.

(7) Exact and Perfect Relation of the Victory at Naseby, 4to., 1645; in my own possession.

I shall release for y^m (soe soone as they come hither) soe many of yo^rs now Prisoners wth vs. I rest

“Banbury Castle, 13 Junii 1645

“*Of my Troope.*

In Newgate.

Gifford Bullocke

W^m King

James Dungan

Rob^t Rose

W^m Arnold

Geo. Sheldon

In London House

Tho. Drew

Jo. Newham

In Mayden Lane

Ed. Howell

Sam. Cheese

Rob^t Foster

Tho. Walton

Jo. Hore

Ed. Eliston

In Clarkenwell

Rob^t Blunt

Jo. Gaston.

Yo^r servant

W^m COMPTON.

Of Capt Slanys Troope.

In Clarkenwell.

Ed. North

Tho. Turney.

In New Bridewell

Jo. Taylor

W^m Wis'dome

Jo. Sparrow

Ed. Owen.

In Peterhouse

Ed. Clerke

Tho. Danyes

Ed. Gwyn”

To Sir Samuel Luke.

“Sr,

I rec'd yo^rs wth M^r Rushworth's inclosed and according to yo^r desire have herewth sent y^u a copy of y^e L're together wth a c^tificate from y^e Com^{ttee} w^{ch} I sent to y^e Gen^{ral}l concerneing the exchange of Major Ennis his men for those men'coned in y^e list from Banbury, soe soone as I have rec'd notice from y^u of ye release of major Ennis his men y^e Prisoners in London shall bee discharged & have passes to Banbury. Thus haveing noe more at present I remaine

Yo^r humble servant

“West^r 18^o Junii 1645.

RICH. KNIGHTLEY.

“Poster. I have retorned y^u M^r Rushworth's L're & have discharged iv of y^e Prisoners in p^{te} & y^e remainder when yo^rs are come.”⁸

June 20th to 27th. “The Earle of Northampton, comming from the King to Banbury, met with a broken troope of Sir Samuel Lukes, and tooke most of them.”⁹

“MAY IT PLEASE YO^r HONORS,

Twas my hard misfortune to have my owne Troope beate upp on Friday morning last at Honiborne eyther in Worcestershire or the Borders of it. Twas one of those troopes w^{ch} by yo^r Honors com'and was sent to Col. Massey. The Earle of North'ton returneing to Banbury with 500 horse well armed most of them having Carobyne alsee tooke them in his way. It is thought hee is come to fall upon his old sport

(8) MS. Letter of Sir S. Luke, vol. 2.

(9) Scottish Dove.

of plundering for recruiting both of himself and his . Oxford, Wallingford and Borstall I heare are this day all upon their march. The Randevous was not farr from Bistor. They take away every man along wth them that is able to pay any money and leave not a horse wheresoever they come. I have this night sent out 100 fier Lockes to look after them, and have given order to my horse to morrow to follow them they being 4 miles behind the garrison and could not bee ready sooner. Thus humbly begging leave to kisse your Honors hands, I take leave and rest

Yo^r honors most humble serv^t,

"June 22. 1645"

S. L[UKE]."

"To Major Ennis.

"Sr,

Yo^r Trumpett retourned to mee on Satterday night last by whom I rec'd yo^r l're & a note from y^e Com^{ttee}. By yo^rs I vnderstand there is 4 of those soldiers I p'posed released who are not as yet come hither, for y^m I have sett at Libty 4 of yo^rs whose names y^u shall find subscribed. I have alsoe sent 10 more, for whom I expect soe many of those men I sent in former list, or their retorne wthin 10 dayes. The reason y^t I sent noe more of yo^r men is I vnderstand some of o^rs are released otherwise, or have taken vp armes for y^u, if there bee more then ten of o^rs in prison, if y^u p'cure their libt'y I shall doe y^e like to soe many of yo^rs vpon y^e first notice. In y^e note from y^e Com^{ttee} they make an objec'con ag^t one Gifford Bollocke Trooper vnder mee supposing him to bee of greater quality then indeed hee is, for I assure y^u to my knowledge hee neither hath beene before or since his coming to my Troope more then a Trooper yet to shew my willingnesse to release as well yo^r men as mine, who suffer y^e misery of imprisonm^t, I have sent yo^r Trumpett in Leiw of him who I expect or yo^r Trumpett wthin 10 dayes, I rest

Yo^r servant

W^m COMPTON.

"Banbury Castle 23^o Junii 1645

"These 4 are set free
for 4 of o^rs already
released but as yet
not returned

{ W^m Lucus
W^m Tarrall
W^m Musgrave
Jo. Kettle
Jo. Francklin
Tho. Melton
Hen. Butcher
W^m Synfeild
Jo. Waller
Tho. Wray
W^m Dawborne
Tho. Watts
Tho. Waddop
Jo. Warne

{ For these 10 I expect 10
of o^rs now Prisoners in
London wth free passe &
safe conduct hither or
their retorne wthin 10
dayes.

"For Ed. Monmouth Trumpett—Gifford Bullocke."

"To Richard Knightly Esq.

"NOBLE COSIN,

I have heretofore troubled y^u in ye behalfe of Maior Ennis, now I must trouble y^u for myselfe & desire yo^r favour to ye Ho^{ble} Com^{ttee} to

p'pound some exchanges for my Troopers, who are now prisoners in Banbury Castle, being taken by ye Earle of North'ton & his Forces on Friday morning last in their Q^{rs} y^e p'ticulers whereof y^u may heare more at large from this bearer my Cornett who is my wife's Brother's sonne, & hath beene faithfull & dilligent in y^e seruice both since hee was wth mee & whilst hee served under S^r Arther Haselrigg, his Father a man of good esteeme both in y^e citty & country & well affected to y^e cause haveing had 2 sonnes vnder me in service to his greate cost & charge hee is come vppon his parole for a Foote capitaine who was lately taken in y^e fight neare Nasbey. I beseech y^u further him wth y^e way in p'cureing y^e exchange & his Lib'ty wherein y^u will oblige mee to bee

Yor assured Lo: Freind & Faithful servant

S. L[UKE].

"June 23th 1645 Newport.

"If y^e Com^{ttee} give me Lib'ty I shall p'pound to have y^m exchanged & shall forbear doing it, till I shall know their pleasure."¹⁰

On the 23rd July was buried, at Banbury, "Hannah Roads, executed" [probably as being a spy] "by the soldiars that held ye Castel for the King."¹¹

On the 5th August, there is mention of great plunder having been made by the garrison of Banbury.¹²

Saturday, August 23rd. "We heare not of any designe prosecuted against Banbury: that place scowers us still a dowzen miles round. The countrey men have a pretty observation, which is this: They say, they pay contribution on both sides: when Banbury men come to gather their mony, they observe a time when their enemies of Northampton are at home, then come they in, and with a loud cry, say, where are these Roundheads? wee'll kill them all for raysing mony of you, you shall pay to none but us: when Banbury men are gone, then comes the other party, where are the Cavaliers? wee'll kill them all, you shall pay to none but us, we will protect you; but hardly in a year doth the one interrupt the others collections."¹³

This year was indeed one of great terror to the inhabitants of the district. The Lords' Journals relate that, before September 1645, great part of Banbury had been burned or pulled down, and the Mayor and most of the Aldermen and Burgesses had been constrained to fly for their lives.¹⁴

In the begining of October the complaints of plundering

(10) MS. Letter-Book of Sir S. Luke, vol. 2.

(12) Perf. Diurnal, No. 106.

(14) See Lords' Journals, June 18th 1646, hereafter.

(11) Register of Banbury.

(13) Moderate Intelligencer, No. 26.

by the garrison of Banbury were renewed. About the 18th October, intelligence was given that Colonel Rossiter had defeated the Banbury horse (about six troops) between Belvoir and Newark, when they were conducting the Princes Rupert and Maurice to join the King at Newark. About sixty gentlemen are stated to have been taken prisoners.¹⁵

On the 3rd November the King quitted Newark; on the 4th he slept at Codsbury; and on Wednesday the 5th he "about 10 a clock in the morning came to Banbury, made an halt and dined there at the Castle, and afterward the same Wednesday the 5 of November about 5 a clock in the evening came to Oxford to supper."¹⁶ The *Mercurius Britannicus* says:—"It is reported that he got out of Newarke with 300 horse, came Tuesday night last to Daventry (I wonder he would venture so near Naseby) whence the Earl of Northampton with 300 more convoyed him to Banbury, from thence (they say) to Oxford."¹⁷ Another newspaper says:—"The King being on his way to Banbury, he was saluted by three hundred horse belonging to the Earle of Northampton, who attended his Majesty unto Oxford: the King in the way was seene to ride with some few horses that kept him company, and which played now and then and smiled before him, but Care on the same Horse sate heavy behind him."¹⁸

November 7th. "On Wednesday last the King came into Oxford with a small partie, leaving the convoy that brought him from Newark at Banbury, which afterwards returned from whence they came."¹⁹ This (Parliamentarian) account adds concerning Banbury—"The country would give one halfe they have for the returne of their horse and some additionall help to block up that Den of Theevs, Oxford cannot want while Banbury flourisheth; they send daily store of money and Cattell thither."

December 15th, &c. "The Commons had in consideration the losses of the Lord Say, his estate lying about Oxford and Banbury; and ordered him an allowance of £2000 *per annum* out of the Court of Wards."²⁰

Thursday, Dec. 18th. It was reported that 1,500 horse from Banbury, Oxford, and other places, intended to join with others

(15) Viccars's Parl. Chronicle.

(16) *Iter Carolinum*.

(17) *Merc. Brit.*, No. 104.

(18) *Kingdom's Weekly Post*, Nov. 8. There is a tradition, that, on a visit paid by the King to Banbury, he noticed one of the townsmen, Abram by name, as his "faithful Abram." This person is said to have resided in Parson's Street, at a large house, now demolished, which stood on the east side of the Raindeer Inn.

(19) *Contin. of Spec. and Remark. Passages*.

(20) *Merc. Britannicus*, p. 975.

of Worcester &c. to relieve West Chester. The Parliament's forces, however, broke down the bridges at Stratford upon Avon &c., in the road between Banbury and Worcester, and lined the hedges with musketeers; and the Royal forces retreated on Sunday to Banbury, and marched the same night towards Daventry, thinking to surprise Northampton.²¹

In the Register of Banbury, 39 burials of Soldiers are mentioned during this year. Among the entries are, Captain Harrington buried the 22nd April; "a trooper from the Whit Lyon" buried the 24th April; and "a trooper's wife from the Read Lyon" buried on the 3rd July.

THE YEAR 1646: SIEGE OF BANBURY BY COLONEL WHALLEY.

At the time when the King's affairs began to wear an unfavourable aspect, the Royalist Cavalry were mostly drawn from Banbury for other service;²² and as early as January in this year, 1646, the siege of Banbury was renewed, under the conduct of the celebrated regicide, Colonel EDWARD WHALLEY, who, in 1642, had been a cornet in John Fiennes's troop.²³

Friday 23rd January. "It was this day reported that Colonell Whaley hath entered Banbury, and taken many prisoners and some of the Earle of Northamptons best horse."²⁴ Another account says that Banbury was entered "by Col. Whaley, 60 horse taken, with one colonel, three captains, and divers inferior officers."²⁵

Friday, Feb. 6th. "The besieging of Banbury Castle will now no doubt be put forwards to purpose, this day we understood that Colonell Whaley with the western horse had his quarters in Banbury towne, and with the foot from Northampton, Warwickshire, and the rest designed, besieged the Castle, and tis hoped will give a good accompt of it shortly."²⁶

The famous Richard Baxter was chaplain to Colonel Whalley's own regiment: he accompanied the army, and continued with

(21) Perfect Diurnal, No. 125.

(22) Sir E. Walker.

(23) See p. 305 (note).

(24) Cont. of Spec. and Remark. Pass. No. 18.

(25) Merc. Britan., Feb. 2, to Feb. 9. An account dated January 24th, says that some carts, going to Northampton, had been surprised by the Banbury horse; but that some Parliamentarians coming out of the west, and quartering near Banbury, redeemed them.—*Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 47.

(26) Perf. Diurnal, No. 132.

it six weeks before Banbury.²⁷ The heroic Sir William Compton was still in command of the Castle, in which there was ample store of provision. Sir Spencer Compton was there also, serving under his brother. The following accounts occur:—

Monday Feb. 9th. “We find by letters, that the busines of Banbury as to a siege or blocking up, cannot suddenly be prosecuted as was desired, the whole numbers of men for it not yet come up, some necessaries of powder, match, &c. with an Engineer, is sent from Northampton. That they may the better proceed in it, and have the better accommodations in case any disturbance should be, they have begun and are going fast on to fortifie a house at Thorp Mandevil, three miles off Banbury to the east.”²⁸

Feb. 9th to 16th. “The designe against Banbury slugs for want of supplies and necessaries.”²⁹

Thursday, Feb. 10th. It is mentioned that a body of troops, joining with the horse of Banbury Castle who were at Oxford and some horse from other garrisons, were drawing out, either for purposes of plunder, or to act against the brigade near Banbury under Colonel Whalley:³⁰ and that Colonel Bayre, governor of Wallingford, had sent to the King £500 to encourage that attempt.³¹

Monday, Feb. 23rd. “From Banbury, the letters dated Feb. 20 tell us, that Coll. Whalley is in a good forwardnesse there, and hath taken great care to secure his foot, both from sallies from within, and sudden on-fals from without: the furthest works we have from the Castle, are not half musket-shot from the enemies; and our nearest works are within less than pistoll-shot. The Castle is very strong, and hath a treble Mote; yet we hope the work will not be so long as some imagine.” It is further said that Colonel Whalley had sent out a party against the Oxford horse, and dispersed them to their garrisons. Their loss is stated at 200 or 300 horse; “but that,” the account says, “perhaps their plunder made up before.” “There are 500 foot and 600 horse drawn out of Oxford into Woodstocke town; we know

(27) Calamy's Life of Baxter.

(28) Moderate Intelligencer, No. 49. Thorp Mandeville is situated 6 miles nearly NE. from Banbury. At this time it belonged to Thomas Kirton, whose wife was first cousin to Oliver Cromwell. (Baker's Northamp., pp. 719, 720). The old manor-house has been long removed, but the entrenchments formed about it are yet traceable.

(29) Merc. Britanicus, p. 1040.

(30) Perf. Diurnal, No. 133.

(31) Contin. of Spec. and Remark. Pass.

not how to prevent them for want of foot, having not above 1200 at Banburie, too few, and a great many lesse than were promised to cary on the siege. * * * We have a party now in Banbury, and had we a good mortar-piece, should bid fair for the Castle."³²

"From Banbury Feb. 22 it is certified, that the day before in the evening, the enemy from Woodstock had an intent to have fahn upon our horse quarters at Deddington, but we (having intelligence in time) prevented them. Col. Whalley drew over a passe to Aderbury," &c. "The mean while, the enemy sallied out from the Castle and fired an old house. The enemy keep close in the garison, waiting for opportunities to sally out upon advantage."³³

Monday, Feb. 23rd. "For the siege of Banbury the letters speake thus. That the enemy are 300 in the Castle and victualled for a long time, our forces against it about 3000. That we have entred the towne, quarter in it, and made our approaches within lesse than pistoll shot of their workes, which are very formidable and that the enemy have made some sallies but were beaten in againe with losse."³⁴

Friday, Feb. 27th. "Thursday next there is a publique humiliation in the church on Garlike hill, for the good successe of our forces before Banbury."³⁵

Monday, March 2nd. "Col. Whaley at Banbury: the besieging Banbury Castle goes well on, some sallies have bin made by the enemy and they beaten in again with losse, upon the comming up of the peeces for battery there is hopes a good account will be given thereof."³⁶

March 9th to 16th. "The work at Banbury goes on; Col. Rainsborough is assisting in it, and if they be suddenly supplied with necessaries, it will be over; for they want neither men nor courage."³⁷

Wednesday, March 25th. "Col. Whaley attends the siege at Banbury, the enemy hath made some fresh sallyes forth, which are rather as so many warnings to us for watchfulnesse than any mischief they could do us."³⁸

Thursday, March 26th. "Col. Whaley goes on bravely before

(32) Perfect Occurrences of Parliament.

(34) Perf. Diurnal, No. 135.

(36) Perf. Diurnal, No. 136.

(38) Weekly Account, No. 14.

(33) Ibid.

(35) Weekly Account, No. 10.

(37) Merc. Britanicus, p. 1064.

Banbury, being assisted by the governour of Northampton, and Cap. Hooper the Engineer, who bestirs himself notably well, having finished his line about the Castle, and about their quarters, so as they fear not any power the King can send to disturb them; he is carrying four trenches both about, and upon their works, doubts not by them to be within their works within 14 dayes, and yet hath neither mortar-piece, nor great gun, nor know when they shall; Put fair for the strongest Castle the King hath, without canon or mortar-pieces! Believe it, excellent lads: this growing severall ways upon the besieged, put them to a stand, they not knowing which way to turn about.”³⁹

Friday, March 27th. “Why are the enemy so stubborne in some places, where they are most privy to the designes in hand, but that something is in it that we know not of, why should Pendennis be so refractory, why should Banbury, and all the garrisons about Oxford be so stiff but that something is in brewing.

“Collonel Whalley hath sent in a summons into Banbury Castle of which here followeth the Copy:

“*For the Governour of Banbury Castle.*

“SIR,

Before I attempt any thing upon you, which may occasion the effusion of Christian blood, I thinke it my duty (both to God and the State whose Servant I am) to send you a faire and civill Summons to prevent it, and therefore demand of you the Castle for the use of the Parliament: For you now to stand out (being out of all hopes of ever having Releife) it will be but to make yourselves to embrew your hands in your own blood, and cause Repentance when it is too late. I expect your answer, and shall be if you please,

Your friend to serve you,

EDW. WHALEY.’

“‘Banbury the 18th of march 1645.’

“This Summons being brought to Sir William Compton the Governour, he read it, and presently returned back this desperate (and unmannerly) answer, to Collonel Whally who is still before it:

“SIR,

I have received (by your Drum you sent to me) a letter, wherein you demand this Castle for the use of the Parliament, to whom I returne this answer; that I shall never be so false to my King, as to deliver up the trust I have from him to *Rebels*: I shall therefore desire you

(39) Moderate Intelligencer, No. 56. The governor of Northampton above mentioned was Colonel Whetham, who was also at the siege of Banbury in 1641. Captain Hooper was a noted engineer of his time, and particularly celebrated for his services at Banbury and at Ragland Castle. — *Sprigge's Anglia Rediviva*.

to *forbeare any further frivolous summons*; for I thanke God, I have a *loyall hart*, as I shall make you sensible of *in defence of this place* (by Gods assistance) if you make any further attempts upon it. All the *Officers and Souldiers now here with me, retorne the same resolutions*, rather choosing to lose our lives in the defence of this place, then deliver it up without his Majesties command: I rest,

Yours in what I may,

W: COMPTON.'"⁴⁰

“Banbury Castle the 18th of March 1645.”

April 8th to 15th. “The siege of Banbury is still held close, the Governour Sir Will. Compton is confident, and resolute, he desired liberty to send to the King, and to bee certified whether his Majestie be so low as Colo. Whaley assures him he is, that he cannot send him any considerable reliefe, but Colo. Whaley refused to suffer him to send to the King, having no such commission: but certifying the desire of Sir Will. Compton leave is given from the Committee of both kingdoms, to suffer him to send to certifie himself as aforesaid.”⁴¹

There appears to be no evidence of any considerable progress having been made towards the reduction of the Castle. Many attempts were made by sapping and mining; but countermines were effected by the ever vigilant Sir William Compton; who also, it is said, “by flinging down stones and hand-granadoes, mightily annoyed the enemy.”⁴²

Joshua Sprigge, a Puritan writer, who was born at Banbury, and published his “*Anglia Rediviva*” in 1647, gives some account in that work of the progress of this siege. He says:—“The forces employed in the reducing of that place were about 1000 foot, and some four troops of horse, all under the command of that approved gentleman Colonel Whaley: they lay eleven weeks before the Castle; so soon as they came before it, they entrencht themselves by a line drawn round the Towne,⁴³ for their better security from any force without: which done, they sapt up towards the Castle, ran over severall galleries, over the outmost Mote, and so wrought

(40) Perfect Occurrences of Parliament.

(41) Scottish Dove.

(42) Heath's Chron., p. 108.

(43) There existed within memory remains of a deep dry ditch nearly encircling the town: this ditch was imagined by some people to have been at one time the boundary of the parish, but certainly its course did not agree with the known boundary of the parish at any period. This ditch ran;—1. along the eastern side of the lane leading by the Bear Garden from the Bloxham to the Broughton road;—2. through the closes northwest of West Street;—3. along the east and south sides of the Conduit close. The late Mr. Robert Gardner traced this ditch, many years ago, nearly the whole way from the Cherwell on the southeastern side of the town, by south and west, to the Cuttle brook on the northern side.

into the enemies works; the enemy countermining them, sprang one mine upon them, but through Gods mercy did no great hurt; and also flinging downe stones upon them, and hand granadoes amongst them, rendred their duty very hard and hazardous; yet through the goodnesse of God, and the courage of the souldiers, we wrought so farre into the enemies works, as put them out of all hopes of keeping the Castle."⁴⁴

In the House of Lords, on the 27th April, a Petition was read from "the Inhabitants of the City of Oxon, Borough of Banbury, &c., 'who have received great losses sustained for adhering to the Parliament, and desire to be recompensed out of the Earl of North'ton's Estate, or other Delinquents.'" This was ordered to be recommended to the House of Commons.⁴⁵

At this date, the King had resolved to join himself with Lord Astley, either for the purpose of relieving Banbury, or of marching upon Worcester: and Lord Astley had orders to march to Stow on the Wold, and thence to Chipping Norton; where the King, with 1,500 horse and foot drawn out of Oxford and other garrisons, intended to meet him. Lord Astley was, however, defeated on his march by Colonel Brereton, and his own fugitive horse were the bearers of the news to Oxford. "We lost," says Sir Edward Walker, "our last game, which fixed his Majesty at Oxford. Nothing now but a miracle, or the victory of his forces in the west, being able to fetch him off: but as the first is not usual, so the fortune of his western army was no better I am sure, and not so honourable as this."⁴⁶ The King's affairs had indeed come to a crisis. He quitted Oxford on the 27th April, and sought a refuge with the Scottish army, at Newark, on the 6th May. The disgraceful conduct of the Scots towards the Royal fugitive is a matter which does not belong to our local history. Meanwhile, Colonel Whalley was pursuing his work at Banbury; and he (after fifteen weeks' operations) being advanced close to the wall,⁴⁷ and the King having gone to yield himself up to those who proved to be his vilest enemies, further resistance was useless. Accordingly, terms were agreed upon for the delivery of the Castle, whose condition of defence will however appear from the accounts which here follow. The very honourable terms of capitulation sufficiently attest the gallantry

(44) *Anglia Rediviva*, p. 252.

(46) Sir E. Walker's *Historical Discourses*, pp. 152, 153.

(45) *Lords' Journals*.

(47) *Heath's Chron.*, p. 108.

of the garrison, and the unwillingness of Colonel Whalley to risk the chances of an assault.

House of Commons, May 6th. "Ordered, That the Committee of Lords and Commons for Advance of Monies at Haberdasher's Hall, do forthwith pay unto Richard Johnson, the Trumpeter that brought the news of the surrender of Banbury Castle, Twenty Pounds bestowed upon him for this and other Services."⁴⁸

May 7th to 14th. "The news of Banburys accord was this day brought for certain, with the Articles; the man that came before to the House, came before the busines was over, and so merited not."⁴⁹ Another account says that Sir Charles Compton went from Oxford to treat with the General for Sir William Compton about Banbury, and agreed that it should be surrendered.⁵⁰

ARTICLES FOR THE SURRENDER OF BANBURY CASTLE.

"Articles agreed upon the 6 of May 1646, by Capt. Gannock and Capt. Baylie, deputed on the behalf of Sr. William Compton Governour of the Castle of Banbury, And Colo. Whetham, Colo. Bridges, Leiftenant Colo. Matthewes, and Leifte. Colo. Castle, Commissioners appointed by Colo. Whaley, Commander in cheife of the Forces employed for the reducing of the said Castle, touching the surrender thereof.

"Imprimis, That the Governour and Sir Spencer Compton and the Major with each of them one Servant, and their armes, with 6 of their owne horses, shall have liberty to march away to what places they thinke fit, the Captaines each of them his owne horse and sword the rest of the Officers with their swords, and private Souldiers without armes in like sort to march away to such places as their Passes shall direct.

"2 Item, That all Officers and Souldiers of the said Garison shall have liberty to march away with their wearing apparell, and halfe their monyes, so as they give a true and just accompt thereof.

"3 Item, That Sir William Compton the Governour with all the Officers and Souldiers shall have passes to go to any place in the Kingdom of England or principalitie of Wales (not beleagured) the city of London excepted and the said Colo. Whalley shall endeavour to procure passes to all such persons of the said Garrison to go beyond the seas as shall desire the same.

"4 Item, That all Officers and Souldiers of the said Garrison shall have free quarter in their march to the severall places appointed by their passes, so as they remaine not above one night in a place.

"5 Item, That all Officers and Souldiers of the said Garrison may freely passe to the places appointed without any oath imposed upon them by the said Colo. Whalley or any other.

"Item, That the said Colo. Whalley upon the surrender of the said Castle shall take such care for restitution of such goods belonging to the

(48) Commons' Journals.

(49) Moderate Intelligencer.

(50) Banbury taken in, with the Ordnance: 4to, 1646. In Christchurch Library.

Countries now in the said Castle as [to] the said Colo. Whalley shall seeme just and equall.

"Item, That the said Governour nor Officer or Souldier of the said Garrison shall be molested for any debt or any act done by any of them, untill the time limitted in their passes shall be expired.

"Item, That all Officers and Souldiers of the said Garrison being sick or wounded together with M^r Woodhall Chyrurgeon to the said Castle and his Mate shal have accommodation in the Town of Banbury or neare thereunto untill their recovery, and afterwards shall have passes granted as others of their qualitie by vertue of these Articles and the Chyrurgeon with each of them one case of instruements unmolested.

"Item, That Carriges be provided by the derECTION of the said Colo. Whalley for the conveihing of such things as are to be carried away by vertue of these Articles to such places as the said S^r William Compton shall thinke fit, the same being not distant 10 miles from Banbury.

"Vpon which considerations the said Sr. William Compton doth ingage his honour to surrender the Castle of Banbury in the condition it now standeth with Cannon, Coullers, Arms, and Ammunition, and all things not conteyned in these Articles, without any embezelment whatsoever to the said Colo. Whally for the use of the Parliament on Friday morning next being the 8 of this instant May by 9 a clock, at which time the said Arms are to be delivered to such persons as the said Colo. Whaley shall appoint in the halfe moon before the Gate and Hostages are to be sent out for the performance hereof. All which was performed accordingly.

Imprimatur. GILB. MABBOT.

JO. RUSHWORTH."¹

"8 May 1646."

"There were about 400 men in Banbury Castle."²

Monday, May 11th. "We had from Banbury to this effect, that they in the Castle marched out with great content: not so much as a bad look, much lesse a word past from each other, they protesting they never knew nor saw more fair dealing; 500 musquets found in the Castle, many pikes and other armes, 9 colours, 10 piece of ordnance, 12 barrels of powder, almost a tun of match, good store of bullets; the Castle strong for offence and defence, 200 quarters of wheat and malt, many hogs-heads of beef, many thousand weight of bisket, 20 live cows and oxen, 60 sheep, and all this preserved: together with good store of housholdstuffe, and to be sold and disposed of to the use of the souldiers, which latter is a most excellent business, and such as we do not remember to have been before, and speaks highly to the honour of Col. Whaley, who commanded in chief,

(1) Broadsheet preserved in the British Museum, "Printed by T. B. for H. Tucke and F. Tyton. 1646."

(2) Weekly Account, May 12.

the Governour of Warwick and Northampton, and those other gentlemen who assisted this work; among whom, we have heard one Mr. Gifford an alderman of Northampton deserves much commendation. Gloucester and Evesham foot have order to march to Worcester, the rest stay at Banbury untill further order.

"Tuesday was a day of Thanksgiving for many good successes which we had lately."³

Joshua Sprigge says that the two Comptons were to have "two moneths liberty to goe beyond sea," and that the common soldiers were to march out without their arms, to be disbanded a mile from the town, and "to have free quarter martching ten miles a day." He adds :—"There were found in the Castle eleven pieces of ordnance, eleven barrels of powder, and foure hundred armes. This Castle, though old through time, yet was recovered and revived by art and industry unto an incredible strength, much beyond many places of greater name and reputation, & often had our forces bin defeated before it; & but that now was Gods time and season for the rendition of it, no other successe could have been expected by these forces, the Castle standing in its full pride and strength, being well recovered of all its wounds and batteries received in former assaults; and having impregnable works about it, and great variety of invention bestowed upon it."⁴

This siege of Banbury lasted fifteen weeks. For the capture of Banbury Castle, which, notwithstanding the cordial attachment of the neighbourhood to the cause of the besiegers, had thus held out against every force which the Parliament could bring against it for more than three years and a half, Colonel Whalley received the thanks of the House of Commons, and the sum of £100 to purchase two horses.

House of Commons, May 11th.—"A letter from Banbury of 9^o Maii 1646, from Colonel Edward Whaley, was this day read; relating, That he is now fully possessed of the stronghold the Castle of Banbury, with all the Arms, Ammunition, and Ordnance; and that Sir William Compton marched away the day before.

"Resolved &c. That the sum of Thirty Pounds be bestowed upon the Messenger that brought this Letter: And that the Committee of Lords and Commons for advance of Monies, at Haberdashers Hall, do

(3) Moderate Intelligencer, No. 62.

(4) *Anglia Rediviva*, p. 253. In the table at the end of his volume Sprigge states that the number of soldiers slain in this siege was eight. If this statement be correct, the smallness of the number of the slain must be accounted for by there having been little use made of artillery, and from no attempt having been made to storm the Castle.

pay the said Thirty Pounds accordingly. The Lords concurrence to be desired herein.

“Ordered, That it be referred to the Committee of the Three Counties of Oxon, Bucks, and Berks, and to the Members of this House that are of Northamptonshire and Warwickshire, and of Coventry, to confer with the Lord Say, and the General, How the Castle of Banbury may be made untenable, in such manner as may be the least Prejudice to the Inheritance of the Lord Say, And that if they shall think fit that the House should be demolished, that then they consider of satisfaction to be given to the Lord Say for the same.

“Resolved &c. That Fifty Pounds be bestowed upon Captain Hooper, the Engineer employed in the Taking of Banbury Castle, as a Gratuity; And that the Committee of Lords and Commons for Advance of Monies, sitting at Haberdashers Hall, do pay the same accordingly. The Lords concurrence to be desired herein.

“Resolved &c. That One Hundred Pounds be bestowed upon Colonel Edward Whalley, who Commanded at the Siege at Banbury, to buy him two Horses; And that the Committee of Lords and Commons for advance of monies, sitting at Haberdashers Hall, do forthwith pay the same accordingly. The Lords concurrence to be desired herein.

“Ordered, That a Letter of thanks be sent to Colonel Whalley, for his good and faithful Service against Banbury Castle, and in other services of the Parliament; And Sir Peter Wentworth is appointed to write this Letter.”⁵

Saturday, May 9th. This day there came to the House the Articles for the surrender of Banbury to Colonel Whalley; and it was ordered that on Tuesday the 12th, which was set apart for thanksgiving, “thanks be likewise given to Almighty God for his great blessing in the surrender of the garrisons of Newark and Banbury Castle. And that the Lord Mayor of the city of London is desired to give notice hereof to the severall ministers within the respective limits and parishes where the said day is appointed to be observed and kept. And it is further ordered that this great blessing of the surrender of Newark and Banbury Castle be likewise commemorated on Tuesday the 19 of this instant May, in the severall counties,” &c.⁶

May 9th. This day a Paper was read in the House of Lords, coming from the Scots Commissioners residing in London, and dated May 8th, referring to reports which were current of the march of 5,000 of the Parliament's troops from Oxford to Banbury.⁷

(5) Commons' Journals.

(6) Weekly Account.

(7) “Upon their march” [the Commissioners say] “towards Newark, notwithstanding it is every where known that garrison was upon a Treaty, and is now to be surrendered tomorrow to the Commissioners of the Parliament, and none of the Scots forces to be

House of Lords, June 17th. "An Ordinance concerning the Government of the Town of Banbury by the now Mayor" was read and agreed to, and ordered to be communicated to the House of Commons with a message to desire their concurrence in the Order. On the following day an answer was returned that the House of Commons agreed to the said Ordinance, which was as follows:—

"Whereas the Borough and Town of Banbury hath been anciently incorporated, and hath had divers privileges granted to it by the Kings and Queens of this Realm, as by divers Charters to them granted doth appear; and whereas the Government there hath a long time been by a Mayor, Aldermen, Burgesses, and Justices of Peace in the said Town, the Mayor for the time being having been always the chief officer, and for the time of his being Mayor having been Justice of the Peace and of the Quorum, within the said Town and Borough and Liberties thereof; and, by their Charter and ancient custom, the Mayor hath been always from time to time chosen out of the Aldermen, upon the first Monday in September yearly, to take his place and execute the office of Mayor within the said Borough and Town of Banbury and Liberties thereof, upon and from the 29th day of the said September, for one whole year then next following: And whereas Aholiab West gentleman, being then and yet one of the Aldermen of the said Borough, was, upon the first Monday in September 1644, legally chosen to be Mayor for the year then next following, according to the Charter and ancient custom of the said Borough and Town; but, before and upon the first Monday in September 1645, when another Alderman should have been chosen Mayor in his room for this present year, the Town and Borough of Banbury and Castle there were so infested with bloody and cruel enemies, who burnt and pulled down a great part of the said Town, that the Mayor and most of the Aldermen and Burgesses, by reason of their cruelty, were constrained to fly out of the said Town and Borough, to save their Lives, before the said first Monday in September, 1645, and could not with safety return thither again, till of late that the Town and Castle there were reduced to the obedience of the Parliament, so as no choice hath or could be made, according to the Charter and ancient custom of the said Borough, of another Mayor, to succeed the said Aholiab West for the present year.

"It is therefore Ordered and Ordained, by the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, That the said Aholiab West shall be and continue Mayor, and execute the office and Authority of Mayor, within the said Town and Borough of Banbury, untill the 29th day of

placed therein; which being considered, and that there is no force of the enemy's in those parts, we do earnestly desire that the Honourable Houses will be pleased to stop their march, and to prevent every thing which may give just cause of jealousy, or any ways weaken the good correspondency, or lessen the confidence, that is between the kingdoms." The House resolved that it should be signified to Sir Thomas Fairfax "that this House thinks fit that he should not send any forces to Newark;" and a conference was desired with the Commons for their concurrence herein.—*Parliamentary Hist. Eng.*, v. 14, p. 392.

September next; his being not chosen upon the first Monday of September last, according to the Charter and ancient customs, or any other act or thing in their Charter, customs, or other wise, to the contrary notwithstanding.”⁸

House of Lords, July 15th. “A Petition of the Inhabitants of Banbury was read; complaining, ‘That the one half of the Town is burned down, and part of the Church and Steeple pulled down; and there being some Timber and boards at one Mr. Powell’s house, a Malignant, near Oxford, they desire they may have those materials assigned them, for the Repair of their Church and Town.’ It is ordered, That this House thinks fit to grant this Petition; and to desire the concurrence of the House of Commons therein, and that an Ordinance may be drawn up to that purpose.”⁹

House of Commons, July 15th. “The humble Petition of the Inhabitants of Banbury was read. And it is thereupon Ordered, that the Timber and Board cut down by one Mr. Powell, a Malignant, out of Forrest Wood near Oxford, and sequestered, being not above the value of Three Hundred Pounds, be bestowed upon the Inhabitants of the Town of Banbury, to be employed for the repair of the Church and Steeple, and rebuilding of the Vicarage House and Common Gaol there: And that such of the said Timber and Boards as shall remain of the uses aforesaid, shall be disposed by the Members of both Houses which are of the Committee for Oxfordshire, to such of the well affected Persons of the said Town, for the Rebuilding of their Houses, as to the said Members, or major part of them, shall seem meet.”¹⁰

As regards the desolation of the Town, Joshua Sprigge, a Puritan writer who was born at Banbury, says (in 1647):—“Banbury, once a great and faire market towne before the late troubles (but now having scarce the one halfe standing to gaze on the ruines of the other) was ever till now unfortunate in all meanes and endeavours used for its recovery, having laine under the possession and tyranny of the enemy from the beginning, without almost any intermission, which happened to it partly through the commodiousnesse of its scituation for the enemy, as lying but eightene miles north from Oxford, and in such a convenient place as gave it a command into divers other counties, viz. Northamptonshire, Warwickshire, &c. from out of which it

(8) Lords’ Journals, v. 8., pp. 380—384.

(9) Lords’ Journals, v. 8, p. 434.

(10) Commons’ Journals, July 15th, 1640.

gathered large contributions for Oxford; the sweetness that the enemy tasted in the fruits and effects they reaped by this garrison, made them, that upon all our attempts to reduce it, they still were ready with great forces to relieve it. But yet I cannot but also look upon, and observe the end, a special hand and intimation of God against that professing place, where in a manner judgment began, as at the house of God, and was removed with one of the last, I pray God sanctifie it to them."¹¹ In 1659, Anthony à Wood went to Middleton Cheney "to visit his cozen Joh. Cave¹² and those of his family," and came to Banbury on the 6th April. He speaks feelingly of the woful havock which the war had made. Of 60 coats of arms which, before the war, were in the windows of Banbury Church, only 12 or 13 were remaining: and the monuments were greatly defaced.¹³ A "Survey of the possessions of Charles Stuart late King of England," made in 1653, records many houses in North Bar Street, Calthorp Lane, the Beast Market, and Mill Lane, as having been "destroyed by fire in the late Warre."¹⁴ The title-deeds of some property situated in Bridge Street North, described in the said writings as the "Halfe Moone" situated "in the Hogmarkett," state that "in the time of the late Warrs the said messuage or tenement was pulled downe and ruined."¹⁵ Several years ago, a great number of musket balls were found lodged in the wainscot or partition of a shop fronting the Market Place, situated at the eastern end of the Butchers' Row (on the south side), now occupied by Mr. Cadbury.¹⁶ In 1835, several bullet holes and a bullet were found in the door of the opposite corner house of the Butchers' Row, fronting the Market Place, now occupied by Mrs. Rowell.

The depopulated state of the Town at this period may be ga-

(11) Sprigge's *Anglia Rediviva*, pp. 251, 252. Banbury is elsewhere described as being the place that had the "ill hap to be that where the first blood was shed." *Perf. Diurnal*, No. 47.

(12) Rector of Middleton Cheney. Dr. Thomas Yate, sometime Principal of Brasenose College, was ejected from the living of Middleton Cheney in 1646; which was the more to be lamented, Walker says, "because he had prepared stone, timber, &c. to build a parsonage-house there; but his successor [John Cave] with a meanness of spirit peculiar to the party, sold them, and contented himself with fitting up an old malthouse. (Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*.) At the Restoration Dr. Yate was restored to his preferment.

(13) *Wood's Life*, prefixed to Bliss's edit. of the *Athenæ Oxon.* And see p. 158 of this vol., note 39.

(14) Survey in the Augmentation Office; see hereafter.

(15) Writings of Mr. Tims's and Mr. Edmunds's property, 1676 & 1727.

(16) A part of this partition is preserved in the kitchen of a house, the property of Mr. Wm. Butler, situated in West Bar Street. It appears to have been completely drilled by bullets.

thered from the Parish Register. It appears that immediately after the close of the war, namely in 1647, the number of burials was only 26: and in 1648 only 30! Camden, who wrote before the Civil War, had said that Oxfordshire was a "rich and fertile county, the lower parts are cultivated into pleasant fields and meadows; the hills are covered with great store of woods." Taylor, the "Water Poet," writing in 1636, said:—"Oxfordshire is scarce second to any county in England for plenty of corne and pasturage, wood and fruits of all sorts, that this kingdome yields." But Dr. Plot, who wrote after the Civil War, says:—"The hills, 'tis true, before the late unhappy wars, were well enough (as he [Camden] says) beset with woods, where now 'tis so scarcity, that 'tis a common thing to sell it by weight, and not only at Oxford, but at many other places in the northern parts of the shire; where if brought to mercat, it is ordinarily sold for about one shilling the hundred, but if remote from a great town, it may be had for seven pence: and thus it is every where but in the Chiltern country."¹⁷

The history of the Civil Wars, as regards this neighbourhood, cannot be otherwise so well concluded as by some brief notice of Sir WILLIAM COMPTON, the gallant defender of BANBURY CASTLE. He was the third son of Spencer Compton, Earl of Northampton, who fell in 1643 at the battle of Hopton Heath (see pp. 341, 342). At the age of seventeen years, he was present at the taking of Banbury in 1642; where it is said he led on his men to three attacks, and had two horses shot under him.¹⁸ Upon the surrender of the place to the King he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the Castle under his father, and he continued in that post under his brother James Earl of Northampton. During the fourteen-weeks' siege which occurred in 1644, he, being then only nineteen years of age, shewed himself so vigilant that he countermined the enemy eleven times; and for thirteen weeks it is said he never went to bed.¹⁹ In 1645 he was made Governor of the Castle of Banbury. Subsequently, in 1648, he was Major-General of the King's forces at Colchester;²⁰ where he was so much taken notice of for his admirable behaviour that Oliver Cromwell called him the "sober young man," and the

(17) Plot's Oxfordshire, p. 51. There is not any entry in the Register of Banbury from 16th Feb. to 6th Aug. 1646.

(18) Chalmers's Biog.

(19) Ibid.

(20) Inscription on his monument at Compton Wynyate.

“godly Cavalier.”²¹ In May 1658, he, with other Cavaliers, was committed to prison upon a charge of high treason against Cromwell.²² At the Restoration he was made one of the Privy Council of the King, and Master-General of the Ordnance. He died on the 18th October 1663, in the 39th year of his age, and lies buried in the Church of Compton Wynyate, where, on the north wall, a monument bearing the following inscription was placed to his memory:—

P M S
 HERE LIETH THE BODY OF S^r WILLIAM COMPTON KN^t
 THIRD SON TO THE RIGHT HON^{ble} SPENCER EARLE OF
 NORTHAMPTON INGAGED IN THE EIGHTEENTH YEAR OF
 HIS AGE IN THE CIVILL WARRS FOR KING CHARLES THE
 FIRST BY WHOM HEE WAS MADE GOVERNOR OF
 BANBURY CASTLE ANNO 1645 AND IN THE YEAR 1648
 MAJOR GENERALL OF HIS MAJ^{ties} FORCES AT COLCHESTER
 AND VPON THE HAPPY RESTAVRATION OF CHARLES THE
 SECOND ADMITTED ONE OF THE KINGS MOST HON^{ble}
 PRIVY COVNCEL & MASTER GENERALL OF ALL
 HIS MAJESTYES ORDINANCE
 HE MARRYED THE RIGHT HON^{ble} ELIZABETH LADY
 ALINTON WIDDOW OF THE RIGHT HON^{ble} WILLIAM
 LORD ALINTON OF HORSHEATH IN THE COVNTY OF
 CAMBRIDGE WITH WHOM HE LIVED TWELVE YEARES AND
 DEPARTED THIS LIFE IN THE 39th YEARE OF HIS AGE THE
 18th OF OCTOBER ANNO DOMINI 1663.

On a small brass, inserted in the pavement beneath, is the following:—

S^r WILLIAM COMPTON KN^t MASTER
 GENERALL OF Y^e ORDINANCE PRIVY COⁿ-
 -SELLER TO KING CHARLES Y^e 2^d AND 3^d
 SONNE TO SPENCER EARLE OF NORTHAMP-
 -TON, LYETH HERE INTERRED
 HE DYED Y^e 18 OF OCTOBER 1663 ETATIS SVE 38.

Sir William's eldest brother, JAMES Earl of NORTHAMPTON, died at Castle Ashby in Northamptonshire in 1681, and was buried also at Compton Wynyate.²³

DESTRUCTION OF BANBURY CASTLE.

An Order of the House of Commons, made the 11th May 1646, immediately after the surrender of the Castle to the Parliament, has been already recorded (pp. 421, 422); directing that an enquiry be made as to the way in which the Castle might be made untenable with the least prejudice to the inheritance of Lord Saye; and that, if it were thought fit that the Castle

(21) Chalmers's Biog.

(23) Wood's Fasti Oxon.

(22) Merc. Politicus, May 13th to 20th, 1658.

should be demolished, satisfaction should be given to Lord Saye for the same. Subsequently to this date the following records occur:—

House of Lords, Oct. 31st, 1646. "Ordered, That the Outworks of Earth belonging to the Castle of Banbury shall be only slighted; but none of the Walls and the House shall be demolished, but preserved, and left entire as they now are, it being the Inheritance of the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Say & Seale; and that Major Adams, the Governor of the said Castle, shall carefully see that this Order be performed and obeyed in all points; and that the said Major Adams, when he leaves that place, shall deliver it into the hands of such as the said Lord Viscount Say shall appoint, for the Preservation of the said Place."²⁴

House of Commons, March 2nd, 1646 7. "Resolved, &c. That the Garison of Banbury be disgarisoned, and the Works about it slighted and dismantled."—July 19th, 1647: "Resolved, &c. That this House doth agree with the Lords, That the Garison of Banbury be disgarisoned; and the new Works made without the Walls be slighted."²⁵

In the House of Commons on the 27th May 1648, "The humble Petition of divers of the Well-affected of the County of Oxford, principally of the Inhabitants in and about Banbury, desiring the Dismantling and Demolishing of Banbury Castle," was read. Whereupon it was Resolved, "That Banbury Castle be forthwith demolished;"—"That it be referred to the Gentlemen of the Three Counties of Oxon, Warwick, and Northamptonshire, to contract with the Lord Say for the said Castle; And that the sum that they shall contract for, be reported to the House, and issued out of the Sequestrations of the said Counties of Oxon, Northampton, and Warwickshire: And that the materials of the said Castle be bestowed upon the town of Banbury, to assist them in the repair of the ruins made in that town, by the enemy, in the late War."²⁶

House of Commons, June 14th 1648. "Mr. Knightly reports the business concerning Banbury Castle. Resolved, &c.: That this House doth approve of the sum of Two thousand pounds to be paid unto W^m Lord Viscount Say and Seale, for the Castle of Banbury, being the Lord Saie's inheritance, and part of his possessions: And that Eight hundred pounds, part of the said sum of Two thousand pounds, be charged upon the Sequestrations in the County of Oxon; the sum of Six hundred pounds,

(24) Lords' Journals.

(25) Commons' Journals.

(26) Ibid.

one other part of the said Two thousand pounds, upon the Sequestrations in the County of Northampton; and Six hundred pounds more, the remainder of the said sum of Two thousands pounds, upon the Sequestrations of the County of Warwick: And the Treasurers and Sequestrators of the several Counties of Oxon, Warwick, and Northampton, respectively, are hereby required and enjoined to pay the said respective sums of Eight hundred pounds, Six hundred pounds, and Six hundred pounds, unto the said Lord Viscount Say, his assignee or assignees; And the acquittance or acquittances of the said Lord Viscount Say, his assignee or assigns, shall be a sufficient warrant and discharge to the several Sequestrators and Treasurers, in the said several Counties respectively, for payment of the said several sums so charged, as aforesaid: And the Knights of the Shire that serve in Parliament for the several Counties of Oxon, Northampton, and Warwick, and the Burgess for Banbury, respectively, are required to take effectual course, that the said several sums, charged upon the Sequestrations in the several Counties, may be duly and speedily brought in, and paid to the said Lord Viscount Say, out of the monies at present in their hands, or such as shall first come unto their hands: And in case any sum, above-mentioned to be raised out of the several Counties respectively, shall fall short in any of those Counties; and that a surplusage be found, at the present, in the hands of the Sequestrators of any other of the three Counties, above the sum that it rated at; that then it shall be supplied, for the present, out of that County; and be repaid unto them again, so soon as it can be raised, out of the Sequestrations of that County, which, at present, shall fall short of the proportion set upon the same: And likewise the said Knights and Burgesses shall take care for the orderly Demolishing of the said Castle; leaving only undemolished a little Stable, and another little Storehouse, both lately built for the Lord Say to keep his Hundred Courts in: And that the materials of the said Castle be employed and bestowed for the use and repairs of the town of Banbury, according to the intention of the Houses: And, to that end, to appoint Overseers, and to give directions to them accordingly."²⁷ On the 16th June Mr. Knightly carried this order to the Lords for their concurrence, when the same was agreed to.²⁸

(27) Commons' Journals.

(28) Lords' and Commons' Journals.

Thus was Banbury Castle demolished, "enviously" (says Heath) by the Parliament and "dishonourably" by Lord Saye;²⁹ "the rather to be pitied, because of its reviviscency, having bravely and vigorously recovered itself from the decays of a long antiquity; so much art and industry being bestowed on it, that neither the approaches of time, nor the batteries, fury, and violence of the enemy, were to be seen in any part of it."³⁰

The materials of the Castle having been "bestowed for the use and repairs of the town of Banbury," many buildings were consequently repaired or erected. "Houses are built," says Dr. Stukeley (writing in 1712), "by the side of it, out of its ruins, as people now alive remember."³¹

In 1652, the Court-Leets and Three-weeks' Courts of Lord Saye are mentioned as being held at a house remaining in the "late demolished Castle of Banbury."³² The two buildings described in the Parliament's Journals in 1648 as "lately built," and called a "little Stable" and a "little Storehouse" (see p. 429), are represented in the plan of the Castle property made in 1685 (see p. 65); and both remain at the present time. One of them, which was erected on a small remaining portion of the northern part of the Castle, is often mentioned as "The Castle" in the Parish Registers from 1672 to 1712. About the year 1718, Lord Saye

(29) Heath's Chronicle, p. 108. Heath says:—"I may not pass this notable place [Banbury] without another remark. When the grandees of the faction in 1648 were dividing the spoils of the kingdom, and loyal demolitions (which made entire structures of some of their partisans' fortunes) were conferred mutually by them (of which in its place) and several castles were then ordered to be rased; A friend of the Lord Saye's (the proprietor of the place) moved in the House of Commons, that this Castle also might be ruined, as having been such a thorn to the Parliament; and that the Lord Saye's consent might be procured (who had all along served them as chief of their council and cabal, and died after the King's restitution, to say no more of him, though a grand engine of our troubles) two thousand pounds should be given him in compensation: A member (that understood his lordship's drift, who put in for his share among the commoners, while they were of the giving hand, and the Lords looked only on others' bounty) stood up and said, that the public had no need of such pennyworths as to give his lordship two thousand pounds for that which cost him but five hundred; a cheaper time might be expected; which his lordship was forced to await, and be content with an under sale; when it was enviously by them, and dishonourably by him, laid in its dust. * * * But it seems the loyal genius, the new Penates, agreed not well with their mansion, and so abandoned it to the lust and spite of a deforming reformation. May the present inhabitants consider, and the reader pardon, this digression."

(30) Heath's Chron., p. 108.

(31) Stukeley's Itin. Curios., p. 48.

(32) Survey in 1652, quoted hereafter. Mr. Brewer states in his "Oxfordshire" that J. Barber, Esq. of Adderbury has an original charter of Charles the Second which exonerates the inhabitants of Adderbury from dues exacted by the Mayor of Banbury for the support of the fortifications there. This error of Mr. Brewer's misled me in 1834, when appending a note relating to Banbury Castle to a former work. Mr. Barber informs me that the charter in his possession was granted by Charles the First, and contains an exemption of the inhabitants of Adderbury from wallage and tollage throughout the kingdom. An entry among the records of the Corporation of Banbury states that the tenants of the King's lands in Bloxham and Adderbury are free from tollage, stallage, murage, passage, &c., by an instrument dated 23rd May, 7th Charles I.

is mentioned as lord of the outward manor of Banbury, and as holding his courts (namely, a Court-Baron once in three weeks, and Court-Leets twice a year,) in "The Castle."³³ In 1743 this cottage was rented by the parish and used as a Pest-house. The other building, now used as a warehouse and situated in the Castle wharf,³⁴ was long used as an airing house in connection with the Pesthouse. The Castle Cottage is now divided into two tenements which are occupied by gardeners; and the site of the Castle itself is called the Castle Gardens.

The slight portion of the original building of the Castle which remains is a part of the back or north wall of the Castle Cottage, being about 19 feet in height and ten feet in length, and covered with luxuriant ivy which, according to tradition, has spread its mantle there from the time of the Castle's proudest history. Several stone steps remain in the upper part of the staircase. That this was the north side of the Castle, is shewn by the plan made in 1685 (see p. 65); and evidenced also by tradition and by the remembered situation of the inner moat. Tradition further points to the well, where the pump now stands in the path leading to the cottage, as having been the centre of the Castle: and this agrees with the measurement given in the plan of 1685, which marks the building as having extended over ground measuring three roods and three perches.

It is yet possible to trace the inner moat through the greater part of its course. Tradition says that the water entered from the part near the Plough Inn on Cornhill; and remains of a watercourse have been found there. It then flowed through the Castle Close, near where the eastern end of Mr. Wall's buildings now stands, and where an old ditch still supplies water to the gardens. From this point the face of the ground and the fall of the water mark the course of the moat northward, and then eastward, as far as the canal. Beyond the canal, the watercourse yet remains as it existed 80 years ago; running southeastward and nearly parallel with the canal for about 44 yards, and then turning off to the Cherwell.

(33) Rawlinson's MSS., Topog. Com. Oxon.

(34) Near this building some workmen, in digging for gravel some years ago, dug up a great quantity of human bones. In other parts about the Castle Gardens, numerous cannon balls varying in weight from one to eighteen pounds, fragments of bomb-shells, &c., have been found. One relic of the wars was a human skull, with a musket ball pierced by a nail in it. Beneath the road leading to the Castle Cottage there are a great many bones of animals.

The Gatehouse was at the northeastern part of the Market Place.³⁵ In this part, the Cuttle Brook formed the outer moat. The writings of Mr. Tims's and Mr. Edmunds's property, situated in Bridge Street North, describe the same as "the Half Moon" (see p. 425); being the outwork in front of the Gatehouse where the garrison deposited their arms on May 8th 1646.

The road marked in the plan made in 1685 as leading to "the Casill," corresponds in direction and distance with that which now leads from Castle Street (where Back Lane crosses it) to the Castle Cottage. The fronts of the "houses and gardens" laid down in the same plan correspond with the present line of Back Lane. The building marked H (in the original "house and gardens"), is the subsequent airing house, now the warehouse at the Castle wharf. The smaller building is the Castle Cottage. The road leading across "the hether Casill Orchard" and along the side of "the Fur Casill Orchard" wholly existed within memory, leading towards Hardwick; and that portion of it which runs along "the Fur Casill Orchard" is yet a public footpath, running between Mr. Wall's ropeyard and the brook. Back Lane is shewn in the plan, running westward towards Neithorp, above the words "Banbury Twone."

The almost levelled remains of a wide ditch and embankment in the first of the fields called "the Marches," adjoining the Southam turnpike road and parallel with it, are probably a relic of the works of the besiegers in the meadows, referred to in the early part of September 1644 (p. 370; and see p. 374, Sept. 5th).

The Castle property belonged to the Saye and Sele family till 1792, when it was sold to George Green and James Golby. In 1793 Green sold his share to James Golby; who devised the whole to his son and heir James Wake Golby, the present possessor.³⁶

EVENTS TILL THE MURDER OF THE KING.

Soon after the delivery of Banbury Castle to the Parliament, namely on the 16th June 1646, the Parliamentarian troops were

(35) The Inquisition made in Edward the Sixth's reign, and inserted in pp. 217, 218 of this vol., mentions a tenement and garden "within the Borough of Banbury before the gate of the Castle." The Castle itself was not within the Borough boundary.

The Gatehouse is mentioned in James the First's reign as being "six bays covered with slate." See pp. 64, 253.

(36) Writings in the possession of J. W. Golby, Esq.

removed from Compton House. The county of Warwick was, by the Committee of Coventry, required to slight the works at Compton.³⁷

The rebuilding of the ruined parts of Banbury soon proceeded, aided by the grants made by the Parliament of the materials of the Castle, &c. A numerous class of buildings which are now, or lately were, existing in various parts of the town, indicates the renovation which took place. These houses were built of the ferruginous sandstone of the neighbourhood, and with square windows, and slated roofs of a steep pitch; many of them had several gables facing the street. The Vicarage House (Plate 21), the building on the east side of South Bar Street which was used until recently as the borough Workhouse, and the Gaol (fronting the south side of the Market Place), were all erected at this period.³⁸ The front of the Vicarage House bears the date 1649.

House of Lords, Nov. 17th 1647. An ordinance for augmenting the Living of the Minister of Banbury was read and approved of, and ordered to be sent to the House of Commons for their concurrence. On the 23rd the Commons agreed to the same, only striking out the names of the feasts of the Annunciation and St. Michael, and substituting the corresponding days of March and September.³⁹—

“Whereas, upon the humble Petition of the Mayor, Aldermen, Burgesses, and Inhabitants, of Banbury, in the County of Oxon, shewing; ‘that the Town and Parish of Banbury consists of a great number of People, and the Maintenance for the Minister there is very small, and not above fifty pounds per annum, in the best times; and now much less, by reason a great part of the said Town hath been burned and pulled down in the time of these late Troubles, and the Inhabitants so impoverished and destroyed in their Estates, that they are not able, as heretofore they have done, to add any thing to the Maintenance of their Minister;’ The Committee for plundered Ministers did in December last Order, That the yearly rent of Forty-eight pounds, reserved out of the Improprate Rectory of Banbury aforesaid to the Bishop of Oxford, and the yearly sum of Two pounds of the Rents reserved to the said Bishop out of the Improprate Rectory of Croppredy in the said County,

(37) Dugdale's Diary.

(38) The grant made by the Parliament in 1646 (see p. 424) was partly for rebuilding the Gaol and the Vicarage House. Nearly all the houses which were recently standing (some of which yet remain) on the northern side of the Market Place were erections of this date. Many of these houses were built on piles, being on a part of the site of the Castle-moat.

(39) Lords' and Commons' Journals.

should be paid yearly for the increase of the Maintenance of such Minister as the Assembly of Divines shall approve of, to officiate the Cure of the said Church; and whereas the Mayor, Aldermen, Burgesses, and Inhabitants of Banbury aforesaid have, by their like humble Petition, humbly addressed themselves to both Houses of Parliament, and desired thereby that the said Fifty pounds per annum may be by both Houses of Parliament settled and confirmed, for the further and better Maintenance of such Minister as shall from time be legally settled amongst them, to officiate in the said Parish Church: The Lords & Commons in this present Parliament assembled, taking into consideration the heavy pressures that have lyen upon the said Town, and the great losses they have had, and the reasonableness of the desire and humble request of the Mayor, Aldermen, Burgesses, and Inhabitants of the said Town and Parish; and withall considering how acceptable a Work it is to Almighty God, to provide for the complete Maintenance of able and godly Ministers; have thought fit to Order and Ordain, and do hereby Order, Ordain, and appoint, That the said yearly sum of Fifty pounds, videlicet, Forty-eight pounds out of the Rents and Profits of the Improprate Rectory of Banbury, and Two pounds out of the Rents and Profits of the Improprate Rectory of Cropredy aforesaid, shall be, for ever hereafter, yearly paid to such Minister, for Increase of his Maintenance, as shall from time to time be legally settled and appointed to officiate in the said Parish Church, and to be paid by equal portions, half-yearly, on the 25th day of March, and 29th day of September."

"Ordered, by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, that the Corporation of Banbury shall have liberty to sell the Timber in the place where it is by former Order assigned unto them for repair of their Town, and with the proceed thereof buy so much Timber in some place more convenient for those purposes; the Timber so assigned being so far remote and distant from the Town of Banbury, where it is to be employed, that the Charge and Expende of Carriage will near amount to the value of the Timber."⁴⁰

On the 13th September 1648, it was "Ordered" by the House of Lords "that Doctor Bennett give institution and induction

(40) Lords' Journals. A MS. of about the date 1718, states that the VICARAGE of Banbury was then of the value of about £80 per annum, and the dues £29. 0s. 4d. The living was worth £600 per annum, Mrs. Hunt having the impropriation. (Rawlinson's MSS., Topog. Com. Oxon.) At a later period, the Neithorp Enclosure bill states the Vicar to be entitled to all the Small Tithes (except of wool and lamb) arising upon and out of all the orchards and gardens and all the open and common fields in the township and liberties of Neithorp (except three yard lands, being glebe land, belonging to the impropiator under a lease from the Bishop of Oxford): or in lieu thereof a yearly modus of £5. 14s. 6d. The Rector impropriate is stated to be entitled to the said three yard lands; to the Tithes of all corn and grain within the township; to the Tithes of wool, lamb, and hay, or else to a modus of 1s. 6d. for every yard land; to the Tithes of three pieces of pasture called Stokes's or Burford's Leys; to the Tithe of Leaver's Ley; and to the Tithes of certain antient enclosed pastures in the township or liberties of Neithorp, or a modus in lieu thereof; by virtue of a lease from the Bishop of Oxford.

There is at present an Endowment of the Vicarage of 45 acres of land at Shutford, and 4ac. 1 ro. 18 p. of land at Nethercot. In 1838, the total annual income of the Vicar was

unto Sam. Wells clerk, to the Vicarage of Banbury, in the County of Oxon, void by resignation; *salvo Jure cujuscunque*: Granted by the Great Seal."⁴¹

The proceedings which had been taken with respect to the King were at this time rapidly advancing towards their fatal termination. In January 1647, John Crewe Esq., the same that had been member for Banbury in 1628, and who was now sitting for Brackley in the Long Parliament, had been appointed, with five other commoners and three peers, to receive the King from the Scots and convey him to Holdenby. There Crewe was present at, and ineffectually endeavoured to prevent, the violent seizure of the King by Joyce.⁴² In September 1648, Lord Saye was named one of the Commissioners at the treaty of the Isle of Wight: when the King's arguments upon several matters had their weight with his lordship, and on his return to London he sided with that party in the House who voted that the King's answers were ground sufficient to proceed on for a peace.⁴³ Nathaniel Fiennes supported the motion of Hollis to the same effect in the House of Commons, and was himself imprisoned shortly after.⁴⁴

Against the foul murder that was now about to be perpetrated many voices began to be ineffectually raised. There is preserved an old quarto pamphlet, entitled "THE HUMBLE ADVICE and Earnest Desires of certain well-affected Ministers, Lecturers of BANBURY in the County of Oxon, and of Brackley in the County of Northampton, To his Excellency Thomas Lord Fairfax, General of the Forces raised by the Authority of Parliament; and to the General Councill of Warre: Presented January 25, 1649, by two of the Subscribers. Also, A Letter to the Reverend Ministers

	£.	s.	d.
Land at Shutford, deducting land-tax	50	2	8
Land at Nethercot, deducting ditto.....	23	5	4
Modus in lieu of small tithes, deducting expense of collection	14	13	10
Proceeds of a private Subscription aided by the Governors	90	0	0
of Queen Anne's Bounty, nearly			
Paid "To the assistant Preacher of Banbury" by the Receiver	5	17	4
of Her Majesty's Land Revenue for the County of Oxford			
Surplice Fees (averaging).....	56	7	0
	£240	6	2

The income is so inadequate that it has for a long time been customary for the inhabitants to make a half-yearly subscription "for the afternoon lecture."

The living is a Discharged Vicarage, of which the Bishop of Oxford is the Patron; but it is a Peculiar within the jurisdiction of the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln and not subject to episcopal visitation.

(41) Lords' Journals.

(42) Baker's Northamp.

(43) Wood's Athenæ.

(44) Parl. Hist. Eng.

of the Gospel within the Province of London, Dated the 21 of this instant January." Printed in London 1649. The principal person concerned in this protest appears to have been the Puritan Minister, SAMUEL WELLS, who had been lately inducted to the Vicarage of Banbury (see p. 435); but it is also signed by Wilde of Aynho, Cave of Middleton Cheney, the Ministers of Croughton, Brackley, Souldern, Wigginton, Tadmarton, "Lawrence Marston," Gretworth, and several others. The remonstrance begins with acknowledging the blessing of God in the subduing of the common enemy: but states the solemn oaths of allegiance and supremacy; the Protestation and National Covenant taken by them and by so large a part of the kingdom; and their own "commission from God to be watchmen and seers to his people, to stand upon our watch-tower and give warning either of approaching sin or ruine to the nation:" and that, although they cannot in the least approve the profanation and abuse of the solemn Covenant by the late unlawful engagement from Scotland, yet they cannot but represent their utter dissent from all proceedings against his Majesty's Crown and Life: That sacred Scripture did not warrant such acts of subjects against their lawful Sovereigns; and that, when the ten tribes forsook their King, they also forsook their God, and had neither a good King, nor scarcely a good day, afterwards: That the law supposed the King could do no wrong, and if so, he could not forfeit Crown and Life to his people: That they had solemnly bound themselves by Oaths and Covenant not to prejudice the person or diminish the just authority of the King: and that the way of proceeding against his Majesty would tend to the scandal of the Kingdom, and be thought to verify the aspersions that the design of their late just defence was the ruin of his Majesty and the subversion of regal government; and would render the professors of religion odious to the common enemy. They proceed to state further reasons for this their protest; upon which grounds they desire that the secluded members should be restored: that his Excellency might be pleased by all lawful means to endeavour the suspending of all proceedings against his Majesty's Crown and Life, until advice had, in point of conscience, with the reverend Assembly of Divines and the Church of Scotland touching the oaths: and, in point of prudence, with the kingdom of Scotland also: that his Excellency and the Council might endeavour to establish a good correspondence between the King,

the Parliament, the City, the Army, and all parties, and between England and Scotland: and that in this thing they were not receding from their first sound principles, upon which their persons, prayers, and purses, were engaged with the Parliament: and "we doe therefore from our soul beseech and importune you, and every one of you, as Men, Gentlemen, and Christian Souldiers." The accompanying Letter addressed to the London Ministers is signed by eleven ministers from this neighbourhood, and states that they have "chosen and sent up our brother, Mr Samuel Welles minister of Banbury, and Mr John Bayly minister of Frenckford [Fringford], to wait upon you at London."⁴⁵

In addition to this honourable attempt on the part of the Ministers of the town and neighbourhood of Banbury to save the life of the King, efforts were used by another individual, who was born at Banbury, and who had now attained considerable note among the Puritan party. This was Joshua Sprigge (who has been already mentioned in this volume), the author of "*Anglia Rediviva*." He now printed "Certain weighty Considerations humbly tendered and submitted to the consideration of such of the members of the High Court of Justice for Trial of the King, as they shall be presented unto. There being onely One hundred Copies appointed to be printed for that purpose. By Joshua Sprigge." Lond. 1648, 4to.⁴⁶ Sprigge here begs the life of the King. He also preached at Whitehall against the King's execution;⁴⁷ which soon after followed, on the 30th January 1649.⁴⁸

(45) 4to Tract among the King's Pamphlets. The Ministers state also the dangerous consequences of universal toleration in matters of religion. Thomas Jeanes, M. D., John Fidoe, and William Shaw, published a reply to the foregoing Pamphlet, in a book entitled—"The Parliament justified in their late proceedings against Charles Stuart. Or a brief Discourse concerning the Nature and Rise of Government, together with the abuse of it in Tyranny and the People's reserve. To which is added An Answer to a certain Paper entit. The humble Advice to the Lecturers of Banbury in Oxfordshire and of Brackley in Northamptonshire." Lond. 1648, 4to.—*Wood's Fasti Oxon.*

(46) King's Pamphlets.

(47) Ant. Wood.

(48) Bishop Juxon, who attended his Royal master on the scaffold, held the rectory of Somerton near Banbury. After the execution of his sovereign this divine lived in retirement at his manor of Little Compton near Chipping Norton. At the Restoration he was made Archbishop of Canterbury, and he placed the crown on the head of Charles the Second.—*Wood's Athenæ*, &c.

THE COMMONWEALTH.

THE LEVELLERS.

During the extinction of the Monarchical power, the party called Levellers appeared in 1647, and subsequently in 1649. Oliver Cromwell, whose genius and energy were rapidly bearing him along to the summit of power, suppressed these insurrections for the time: but still, with a view to the prevention of such like discontents in the army, it was thought necessary to remove many of the troops to a distance, and accordingly eleven regiments were ordered into Ireland. This step, instead of allaying discontent, was the occasion of the breaking out of a still more formidable insurrection of the Levelling party, who, under a Captain THOMPSON, appeared, to the number of several hundred men, at Banbury. This desperado, Thompson, is stated by Calamy to have been originally a corporal in Major Bethel's troop in Colonel Whalley's regiment, the same which was present at the siege of Banbury in 1646, and which is stated to have contained the most dangerous party of the democrats.¹ It is due, however, to Colonel Whalley's regiment to say, that, immediately on the breaking out of the present insurrection, a declaration was made by a very large portion of them, on the 14th May 1649, and signed by the colonel, the officers, and men, 570 in number, proclaiming their allegiance to the Parliament and the authorities, and dissuading all from joining in the insurrection.²

The Levellers on this occasion hoisted sea-green colours, from which circumstance they were called the "Sea-green Men." The first mention that is made of them is in the early part of May, when letters from the governor of Oxford and other officers announced that the insurgents quartered about Derrington [Dedding-ton?] in parties of from five to twenty in a place. The newspaper

(1) Richard Baxter has been mentioned (p. 413) as having been chaplain to this regiment during the siege in 1646. "These people," says Calamy, "avoided Mr. Baxter as much as possible." "Thomson," he adds, "was no greater man than one of the corporals of this troop, the cornet and others being worse than he."—*Calamy's Life of Baxter*.

(2) Declaration of Col. Whalley's Regiment; among the King's Pamphlets.

in which this information is given adds:—"Many of Col. Martins regiment, and of Col. Renoldses are gone in to them, and divers of them quarter at Banbury, and others at Cirencester, where they keep guards, as if they intended to make it their headquarters: many goe privately out of London, by 2, 3, 6, at a time, to goe to them. They put up declarations against the Parliament, Councill of State, and Army; and cry out against oppression, yet leuell all upon free-quarter, without any orders, but amongst themselves. * * * The General, Lieu. Gen. and others are gone this day with 5 Regiments, the Gen. and Lieu. Gen. of Horse, and the Gen. Col. Hewsons, and Col. Ewres of foot, and other regiments are to be a reserve if need be, to reduce the Levellers, yet meanes is using (if it be possible) to prevent the shedding of blood."³

Thursday, May 10th. "Letters from Oxford, that one Cap. Smiths troop, being that county troop, and one of the great Levelers thereabouts, divers of the troop met at Banbury, and there they posted up their Declaration, containing these 4 heads: First, they declare against the present Parliament, and their proceedings. And secondly, against the Councill of State. Thirdly against the generall Councill of the Army. Fourthly, against the proceedings of the late high Court of Justice. This Captain Smith had received order from the L. Generall for his present disbanding of all such Troopers as were active and had a hand in this Declaration and other papers, and to retain and encourage all such as are true to their trust, and to the present Government. The principall Ringleader of this party is one Mr. Tompson, formerly condemned by a councill of war, but through the compassion of the L. Generall was spared, his number is conceived to be few lesse then 200,⁴ and in his march up and down he daily gains more to him. On Wednesday last he came to Coventry, where he found resistance, and the gates shut against him. Finding no entrance there he marched to Tossiter, where comming in, in the night late, he seized upon Cap. Farmer the postmaster there, who, after they had carried him as a prisoner up and down with them, they were content to release him upon his paroll, to come up to London to the Councill of State to procure the release of three of their brethren who were taken

(3) Perf. Occurrences, No. 123, from Friday May 4th, to May 11th, 1649.

(4) Elsewhere stated to be "400 men." See Declaration of Cromwell, &c., in the King's Pamphlets.

posting up of their papers about Banbury; if he could not procure this, he was to return as their prisoner to Banbury.”⁵

The same newspaper mentions that Thomson had also put out a pamphlet containing the Levellers’ Declaration. Of this pamphlet I possess a copy. It is entitled:—“ENGLANDS STANDARD ADVANCED IN OXFORDSHIRE, or, a Declaration from Mr. WIL. THOMPSON, and the oppressed People of this Nation, now under his conduct in the said County. Dated at their Rendezvouz, May 6. 1649. Whereunto is added an Agreement of the Free People of England, as the Grounds of their Resolutions. Printed in the Yeer, 1649.” The Declaration is thus subscribed:—“Signed by me William Thompson, at our Rendezvouz in Oxfordshire, neer BANBURY; in behalf of my self, and the rest engaged with me, May 6. 1649.” It makes complaint that the People have been only served with bare words and fair promising papers, through the treachery of eminent persons; of the violation of solemn engagements made at New-Market and Triplo Heaths; of the dissolving of the Council of Agitators; of the blood shed in time of peace; of Petitions for freedom having been suppressed by force of arms; that the lawful trial by twelve men of the neighbourhood had been subverted and denied, and that “bloody and tyrannical courts, called An High Court of Justice and the Councel of State” had been erected; that the power of the sword had been advanced and the civil laws subverted, leaving no visible authority but “a factious Juncto and Councel of State, usurping and assuming the name, stamp, and authority of Parliament, to oppress, torment, and vex the People, whereby all the lives, liberties, and estates, are all subdued to the wills of those men; no Law, no Justice, no Right or Freedom, no ease of Grievances, no removal of unjust barbarous Taxes, no regard to the cryes and groans of the poor to be had, while utter beggery and famine (like a mighty torrent) hath broke in upon us.” Wherefore, (it states,) no other means being left under heaven, they (the Levellers) are enforced to betake themselves to the law of Nature, and are resolved as one man, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes, to endeavour the redemption of the magistracy from under the force of the sword, to vindicate the Petition of Right, to set the imprisoned free, to relieve the poor, and settle the Commonwealth upon the grounds of

common Right, Freedom, and Safety:—that, “chusing rather to die for freedom than to live as slaves,” they are gathered and associated with their swords in their hands; and will have justice for the blood of Arnold shot at Ware, and Lockier and others murdered by martial law in London:—that at the hazard of their lives they will endeavour the deliverance of Col. John Lilburn, Walwyn, Prince, Overton, Bray, and Sawyer, unjustly imprisoned; and that if a hair of the heads of these first perish, they will, as God shall enable them, avenge it seventy times seven fold upon the heads of the Tyrants and their creatures:—that they will not disband: but will behave with soberness and civility to the country; will abuse no man, but protect all, in all places where they come, from violence and oppression; will stop the payment of all taxes whatever; and, having obtained a new representative power, will then freely lay down their arms and return to their habitations:—that they own and avow the late proceedings of Col. Scroop’s, Col. Harrison’s, and Maj.-Gen. Skippon’s regiments, resolving as one man to live and die with them:—and they implore all who have any sense of the bonds and miseries of the people, any bowels of compassion, any Piety, Justice, Honour, Courage, or Affection, any love of Neighbour or of Country, to rise and come in to help a miserable nation, to break the bands of cruelty, and set the people free.

One of the periodicals of the day gives the following account, dated Friday, May 11th:—“The House this day took into debate the businesse concerning Mr Thompson, and those that adhere unto him (called Levellers) and that the nation might take notice of their judgments therein, They ordered and declared that the said Mr Thompson, and all that do or shall adhere unto him, and all others that bear or shall bear armes without authority of Parliament, are Rebels and Traytors; and, that no man might plead ignorance herein, they ordered that a Proclamation should be forthwith drawn to this purpose, and that it should be proclaimed throughout all the Nation.” Instructions were forwarded to the Lord General, and prompt measures were taken for the security of London. The House further ordered the postmaster of Towcester “that he should not deliver himselfe up to Thompson, notwithstanding his paroll given unto him.”⁶

(6) *Perf. Diurnall*, No. 302.

Saturday, May 12th. Reported that Letters were received from Col. Reynolds's quarters at Banbury. The following is given :—

“ SIR,

It hath pleased God to bring this great Bubble of the Levellers about Banbury to a sudden breaking, for this day Col. Reynolds commanded a party of about sixty horse to fall into their quarters, who by some treachery in the towne had intelligence wee were comming, drew into a body, but held up at a lanes end, by Lieutenant Parry and Captaine Owen, untill they finding it difficult to force us called out to parley, which they having no power to do refused but would forbear fighting until the Colonell advanced, upon whose comming, they were contented to submit upon the delivery of his two colours; he hath discharged the rest disperced them to their severall homes and granted them passes, but will secure two or three of the chiefe Ringleaders and such as were Officers in Commission in this businesse; Corporall or Captaine Thompson was the chiefe, who was forced to flic upon the first approach of our party: under the town of Banbury a party of Oxfordshire horse stood, where Thomson fled for assistance; they marched with him to fight us, but being prevented they fled forwards towards Chipping Norton through Banbury. They killed Captaine Parry, and as I am informed Thompson was the man who did it, it was in the Colonells power to have killed them all upon the place but he forbore but since Oxfordshire hath begun, we shall make an end. Sir,

“ Banbury, May 10. 1649.”

Your humble Servant.”

Another account states that Thompson, after he had dismounted three of his adversaries, “got away with some 60 others, who (as its said) went towards Col. Seroops regiment: this party was about 300, the residue either went to the Col. or shrunk away.”⁷ The desperate character of this ringleader of the Levellers is more fully developed in the accounts reported on Saturday, May 12th. “On Wednesday Coll. Reynolds with 3 troops of Horse that stucke to him, resolving to oppose the Levellers, marched towards Banbury, and discovered a party commanded by Captain Thomson, marched up to them, and the scouts having met and parlyed, Coll. Reynolds men brought word to him, that the Levellers desired to know a reason of their approach, and what it was they desired; Col. Reynolds sent word that he demanded their colours, and their leader to be delivered up to him: This begat a short parley, and Captaine Tompson called a Councell; but the mean while, divers of the souldiers went some one way, and some another, some with their horses and some without:

(7) Perf. Diurnall, No. 302.

(8) Moderate Intelligencer, No. 217.

They were all of horse, both one party, and the other; some moved that Captaine Thomson and the colours might be delivered up, but his Quarter-Master said No, and that they were all equally ingaged and that as they had joyned together, so they would all live and dye together. But at last, Captaine Thomson was advised to escape away if hee could, and accordingly hee mounted, and attempted to be gone with his Lievtenant and some others; but by advertizement from the rest, Coll. Reynolds had notice thereof, and sent out his Lievtenant, with two more after him, who approaching near him, C. Thomson wheeled about & shot Liev. Parrey dead,⁹ the other two being some space behind, they came up to them, and after a short dispute, one of them was wounded and the other dismounted, and Reynolds [?] with the rest, who are about twenty, are gone to those that deserted Coll. Scroope; But in the interim, it was agreed upon parley, by the rest of Captain Thomsons men, who were about one hundred and twenty, that they should deliver up their colours, and Captain Thomsons corporall and another to Colonell Reynolds, and those that would to come in to Collonel Reynolds, the rest to march away: And some threescore of them being ill-armed went away, and forty came in to Collonel Reynolds. The colours were delivered, and Captain Thomsons corporall and another delivered prisoners, besides some other prisoners that are taken. But afterwards the Oxford troop, commanded by Lievtenant Rawley, Captaine Smiths Lievtenant, comming up to joyn with Captaine Thomson (not knowing what was done, nor of any approach of Collonel Reynolds against them, but expecting some from Rutland and other parts to have joyned with them), Coll. Reynolds sent out Captaine Everards troop, commanded by his Lievtenant, who in a parly with them, demanded whether they marched; they answered, to their friends; it was asked who they meant, it was answered Captain Thomson: hereupon Collonel Reynolds men charged them, and they answered them again: some were hurt on both sides, but the Oxford troop took some prisoners; After which another party were sent after to pursue them, and have taken and dispersed them."¹⁰

(9) "Lieutenant Parry liest to Capt. Eyres in the regiment of Colonell Reynolds was buried ye 10th day [of May 1649]. He was slaine the day before in Ast-mead." (Register of Banbury.) Ashe meadow is in Warkworth field.

(10) Weekly Intelligencer, No. 311. It is stated in 1657 (Feb. 5th) that the witnesses concerning the design of Sindercom to take away the life of the Lord Protector were heard before the grand Jury at Westminster, and that on Monday the 9th February Sindercom was

The other discontented regiments had been invited to join with Thompson. Several accordingly confederated. Colonel Scroop's regiment cast off the authority of their officers, and marched from Salisbury towards Burford to join with the regiments of Harrison, Ireton, and Skippon. Thither Thompson also went, with his fugitives from Banbury. On the 10th, the Sea-green Men put out another address, entitled "The Levellers Remonstrance, concerning the Parliament and Army; and their Proclamation to be published throughout the counties of Oxford, Gloucester, Worcester, Warwick, and Hertfordshire."¹¹ The extraordinary activity and vigilance and the overreaching character of Cromwell were now seen. By a march of forty miles in one day, he overtook Colonel Scroop's regiment at Abingdon before the rendezvous, and offered a treaty wherein satisfaction should be mutually given; and, until this was effected, neither party was to come within ten miles of the other. Upon such agreement, the Sea-green Men, who had increased their numbers to about five thousand, lay in fancied security at Burford, and put their horses into the adjacent meadows, thus giving Cromwell ample opportunity to execute his own designing measures. By his direction, Colonel Reynolds, about 12 o'clock at night, fell upon the Levellers' quarters from one point; while Cromwell himself, at the head of two thousand men, appeared on the opposite side. The surprise was attended with complete success: four hundred of the insurgents were made prisoners; nine hundred horses were seized. The rest of the men, with the exception of a few who escaped, were allowed to return to their respective regiments. Captain Thompson was once more fortunate in being one who effected his escape. A letter from Lord Fairfax, addressed to the Speaker of the House of Commons and dated from Burford, May 14th, at midnight, conveyed the intelligence of this victory.¹² Three of the Levellers were doomed to death; of whom the chief was Cornet Thompson, brother to the Captain. Letters from Oxford, dated May 19th, state that—"This day in Burford

brought to trial. This Sindercom had previously been a quarter-master in Colonel Reynolds's regiment when it was ordered to Ireland: he engaged his troop in the mutiny which occurred, was apprehended near Banbury, and was one of those who were then reserved for execution, but he escaped in the night from Burford. (*Mercurius Politicus*.) Sindercom was now found guilty and was sentenced to death; but he was found dead in his bed on the morning before his intended execution. Whether he poisoned himself (as was given out by authority), or whether he was smothered by private orders from Cromwell lest he should make some discoveries at the gallows to the prejudice of the Protector, (See "Killing no Murder,") remains a question.—*Parl. Hist. Eng.*

(11) Copy in the Brit. Mus.

(12) *Perf. Diurnall*, No. 303.

churchyard, Cornet Thomson (brother to Thomson the chief leader) was brought to the place of execution" and shot.¹³

On the 19th, news came to London that Captain Thompson with two troops of horse had possessed himself of Northampton:¹⁴ it appears however from an after account, that there were only twelve or fifteen of this party. On the 20th May, as the General was going to church at Oxford, a letter was brought to him from Colonel Reynolds, who had been sent in pursuit of Thompson. The latter had been overtaken near Wellingborough and his party surprised. Thompson again effected his escape as far as a neighbouring wood, which was immediately beset and explored. His pursuers "found him wel mounted, who being alone, yet rid up to our party, and desperately shot a cornet, and wounded another, and retreated to his bush, receiving two shots; when they began again to draw near unto him, he charged again his pistol, and received another shot, and retreated; the third time he came up (for he said he scorned to take quarter) Major Butlers corporall had Col. Reynold his carbine, which being charged with seven bullets gave Thompson his deaths wound."¹⁵ Another account says that there were ten in the party which rode up to Thompson in the wood; and that, when the latter fell, he was "exceeding cut by the souldiers."¹⁶ The lieutenant of the Oxfordshire troop of the Levellers (who had seized on the magazine at Northampton) was also captured.¹⁷ Thus was the insurrection quelled.

THE PROTECTORATE.

In an account prepared under an Act for selling all the Fee-

(13) Perfect Diurnall, No. 303. Six of the principal Levellers who were suffered to escape, afterwards published a Vindication of themselves; in which they state that—"divers of us had faire quarter promised us by Colonel Okey, Major Barton, and the rest of the officers then with them, as that not a hair of our heads should perish, yet did they suffer their souldiers to plunder us, strip us, and barbarously to use us, worse then Cavaliers, yea Cromwell stood by to see Cornet Tomson, Master Church, and Master Perkins murdered, and we were all condemned to death, although Colonel Okey, Major Barton and others of the Grandees had ingaged that not a hair of our heads should perish, when they surrendered themselves unto them, Tompson being then at the head of a party of two troops of horse, and the other with their fellow souldiers made good their quarters while they had the conditions promised them, and then Cromwel after this horrid murder was committed upon the three forementioned, contrary to Okeys, Bartons and others of their promises at their taking them, came to us in the church, and making his old manner of dissembling speeches, told us it was not they that had saved our lives, but providence had so ordered it;" &c.—*The Levellers (Falsely so called) Vindicated, &c., &c., by a faithful remnant, late of Col. Scroops, Commissary General Iretons, and Col. Harrisons regiments, that hath not yet bowed their knee unto Baal.*" Aug. 1649. In my own collection.

(14) Perf. Diurnall, No. 303.

(15) Perf. Weekly Account.

(16) Perfect Occurrences, No. 125.

(17) Perf. Weekly Account.

farm Rents &c. which were formerly payable to the Crown (passed 11th March 1649-50), is entered the fee-farm rent (namely £12) of two watermills with appurtenances in Banbury, parcel of the Castle and Manor of Banbury, with the meadow called the Hame containing two acres; described as being granted in the 7th James I. to Edward Ferrers and Frances Phelipps of London to hold as of the manor of Eastgreenewich. Then follows the fee-farm of the Borough of Banbury, as granted 5th Charles I. to White and others, to hold as of the manor of Eastgreenewich (described in a following deed of sale in 1651). And lastly the fee-farm of the Castle and Hundred of Banbury, as granted in the same year to Lord Saye and Sele (also described in the deed of sale in 1651).¹⁸ Appended to this account is the "Memorandum" concerning the property belonging to the Chantry of the Blessed Mary, which has been inserted in p. 214 of this volume.

A Particular for sale of Fee-farm Rents, dated 8th February 1650 [51], also mentions "Parcel of the lands and possessions purchased of John late Earl of Warwick and before part of the possessions of the Bishoprick of Lincoln;" namely, fee-farm of the Calves Close 20s.; "and of all that narrow close with appurtenances there called the Procession Way lately in the tenancy of William Pennard by the year 12s.;" of the Cowlease 26s. 8d.; of the two fishpools with garden adjoining 10s. 8d.; another close 4s.; the Little Eynsham £4; the Great Eynsham 100s.; all parcel of the manor of Banbury, granted 4th Charles I. in fee-farm to Edward Litchfeild and others citizens of London, to hold as of the manor of Eastgreenewich.¹⁹

On the 10th September 1650, an Indenture, made by virtue of the Act for selling the Fee-farm Rents belonging to the Commonwealth of England, disposes of the fee-farm rent of £6. 13s. 4d. to be received under Queen Mary's charter from the Bailiff Aldermen and Burgesses of Banbury for privileges before-mentioned, to Thomas Butler of Dadington.²⁰ On the 17th June 1651, a similar conveyance, made to Francis Martyn of Ewelme, disposes of the Borough of Banbury and the rents of assise of the Free Tenants and Tenants at will, amounting to £14. 6s. 0½d.;

(18) Rolls of Fee-farm Rents reserved upon grants from the Crown, in the Augmentation Office. It appears from the roll that the Castle Orchard, at the rent of 40s. was granted to White and the others with the Borough, in the same words as to Lord Saye with the Castle.

(19) Particular in the Augmentation Office.

(20) Deed of Sale in the Augmentation Office.

also of the tenement in the tenure of John Pitman, the tenement near the Shambles late in the tenure of Robert Edans, the place or parcel of land near the Bridge late in the tenure of John Luter, and all and singular houses and edifices belonging thereto late in the tenure of John Wase; also the close of land called Castle Orchard within the borough or lordship of Banbury late in the tenure of William Viscount Say and Seale and others; and the tenement and garden late in the tenure of John Wase; the whole being of the yearly rent or value of £20. 15s. 8½d., and granted 5th Charles I. to White and others for the yearly rent of £19. 15s. 8½d. Also of the Castle of Banbury, the close called the Stewe containing one rood of land, and all profits and emoluments within the limits and precincts of the Castle Walls, together with certain ditches and banks without the circuit and near the Walls of the said Castle: the Hundred of Banbury, with the annual rents paid to the said Hundred in certain villages, and all Court-Leets, Views of Frankpledge, &c. &c. to the said Hundred belonging (except all courts and profits of courts of the manor and borough of Banbury): also of the close called the Castle Orchard; the whole being of the yearly rent of £5. 18s. 0d., and granted 5th Charles I. to William Viscount Saye for the fee-farm rent of £3. 18s. 0d.²¹ Also of certain lands in Banbury granted 36th Henry VIII. to Richard Taverner and others.

In July 1653, a Survey was made of Tenements &c. in Banbury, parcel of the possessions of Charles Stuart late King of England, by virtue of an Act for Sale &c. This survey enu-

(21) In December 1652, certain commissioners made a "Survey of y^e rents issues and p^rffits of y^t halfe Hundred of Banburie within y^e County of Oxon now enjoy'd by y^e Right Honorable y^e Lord Say or his assignes and reputed to bee p^rcell of y^e possessions of Charles Stuart late King." This enumerates rents commonly called Certain Money, Common Fine Money, or Tything Silver, out of the several townships and of certain lands within the said half Hundred, £3. 9s. 4d.:—Court-Leets and Three-weeks' Courts, and fines &c. of the same; Waifs, Estrays, Deodands, Goods of Felons and Fugitives, Hawking, Hunting, Fowling, Fishing, with the office or offices of the Bailiwick, and all the profits thereunto belonging by serving of writs &c., £5. 3s. 4d. The said Courts are stated to be held at a house remaining in the late demolished Castle of Banbury. At the Three-weeks' Courts all actions under 40s. could be tried and determined. The particulars of the fore-named rents of the said half Hundred were, from the township of Williamsote 5s. per annum; Great and Little Borton 10s.; Cleydon 7s. 8d.; the township of Shutford 9s.; the township of Neithropp 7s.; Calthropp 1s.; Prescott 5s.; the township of Swakliffe 13s. 4d.; the manor of Wickham 3s. 4d.; Mr. Wickham for land there 3s.; and The Lea 5s. To the account is appended the following Memorandum:—"Y^e rents and Royalties belonging to y^e aforesaid halfe Hundred of Banbury are claymed in fee farme by y^e right Honorable y^e Lord Say but by what Grant wee know not and therefore referr y^e said Lord to cleere his Interest therein before y^e Honorable y^e Trustees for Sale of the aforesaid p^rmises. Hugh Webb: Will^m Mar: Richard Sadler: Fr. Coingrave. P^rfectd y^e 22th day of January 1652."—*Among the Parliamentary Surveys in the Augmentation Office.*

merates a messuage &c. in St. John's Street worth £8 annually; a tenement there worth 40s.; a tenement there 45s.; a tenement there 40s.; a piece of ground in North Bar Street where two tenements stood which were destroyed by fire in the late War, 20s.; a tenement there 20s.; a tenement there 16s.; a tenement there burned in the late war and partly rebuilt 16s.; a tenement there 60s.; a tenement in West *alias* Bull Bar Street 40s.; a tenement there 40s.; three tenements in Sheep Street £5; a tenement there 40s.; a tenement there £5; a ten^t there 30s.; a ten^t there 30s.; a ten^t there £4. 10s.; a ten^t there 60s.; a ten^t there £4. 10s.; a ten^t there £6; a ten^t there 40s.; three ten^{ts} there £8; two shops in the Shambles on the east side of the Leather Hall 60s.; a ten^t in Church Lane 40s.; a ten^t in Coule Bar Street £4; a piece of waste ground in Colthorpe Lane whereon a malt house stood destroyed by fire in the late War 15s.; a ten^t in the Beast Market 70s.; a ten^t there £5; two cottages there 30s.; a piece of ground there where a malt house stood also destroyed by fire in the war 12s.; a garden near the Bridge 12s.; a plot of ground where a tenement stood destroyed by fire in the late war, Bridge Street being on the south and Mill Lane on the north, 2s.; a piece of waste ground where stood another ten^t destroyed by fire in the war, the Beast Market being south and the Hog Market west, 5s. 4d.; a piece of waste ground where two tenements stood, destroyed as aforesaid, in the Beast Market 3s. 4d.; part of a house occupied by the Mayor 20s.; a piece of ground where a barn stood, destroyed by fire in the late war, near Mill Lane 6s. 8d.; "and all wayes liberties pri'ldges p'fitts and advantages to the aforesaid Tennements belonging and app'taining." It is added that:—

"The valuac'on of ye forenamed p'misses according to the foremen-
c'oned p'ticul^{rs} cometh vnto p' ann " £90. 13s. 4d.

"The forenamed seu'all persons claymeth the said p'mises in fee farme,
butt they making forth noe such title to vs vpon Survey thereof, by
reason whereof wee referr the same to be cleared before ye Honnor^{ble} the
Trustees &c.

HUGH WEBB

WILL' MAR.

"P'fected y^e 22th day of August 1653."

ROW. BRASBRIDGE."²²

In letters from Lieut.-Gen. Fleetwood, dated from Banbury on the 25th August 1651, it is stated that his forces were then at Banbury, and that he purposed on that day or the next to

move towards Worcester, the Lord-General being then at Warwick with the same intent.²³ The fight at Worcester, from which the Second Charles was obliged to flee, occurred on the 3rd September following. One of the prisoners of note who was taken in the flight, Mr. Charles Giffard, is said to have made his escape from an inn at Banbury where he and some of the Royalist party were for a time kept prisoners.²⁴

In 1651, the Mayor of Banbury and fourteen others made a loan (the sums put down varying from five pounds to one pound each person) "towards the buying and paying for a new mace for the said Burrough and repaireing the old mace." Auditors, Bridgemasters, Constables, Tithingmen, Tasters of Victuals, and Searchers and Sealers of Leather, were chosen yearly on the same day and at the same time and place as the Mayor; one entry serving for all.²⁵

18th January, 1655. "Whereas the Corp'acon are indebted to Mr Nathaniel Wheatly the sume of xiiij^{li} and vpwards w^{ch} hath bine long owinge to him and layd out by the appoyntm^t of the said Corp'acon To the intent therefore that the said Mr Nathaniel Wheatly may receyve satisfacc'on for the same the sayd Corp'acon wth the consent & good liking of the sayd Mr Wheatly have agreed that he shall have to his vse a browne gelding belonging to them & forfeited in the tyme of the Maioralty of Mr W^m Allen in full satisfacc'on of his sayd debt and all other debts & accounts due to him from them."²⁶

Until nearly the close of the year 1653, "intentions of marriage" are recorded in the Parish Register of Banbury as having been published on three Lord's-days in the Church: but from that date till 1659, the bans are mostly entered as having been published in the Market Place on three market days.²⁷

NATHANIEL FIENNES, who sat in the Long Parliament as the member for Banbury, was not employed in any military matter subsequently to the surrender of Bristol by him in 1643. He was one of the Members who were forcibly seized and ejected from the House by Colonel Pride on the 6th December 1648. He was put under confinement with the rest, but was soon released by Hugh Peters.²⁸ Subsequently he became a man of much account with Oliver Cromwell; was one of the lords-

(23) Cromwelliana.

(24) Baker's Chron.; Clarendon.

(25) Book of Accounts of the Corporation.

(26) Ibid.

(27) On the 16th Oct. 1653, there is an entry that "William Higgins of the regiment and troop of Major Gen. Harison, and Sarah Goodwine daughter of Mr. Thomas Goodwine of Nethrop were married in Banbury." [Signed] "Nathaniel Wheatly" [a Magistrate].

(28) True and Full Relation of the Officers seizing divers eminent Members, &c., &to, 1648. In my own collection.

commissioners of the Great Seal and a member of Cromwell's privy council; held the office of lord privy seal; and was a member and the Speaker of the "Other House," the newly-established mimicry of the former House of Lords.

After the dissolution of the Long Parliament in 1653, Oliver Cromwell nominated 139 persons as a sort of Parliament to meet and manage affairs. In 1654 he summoned a Parliament: and, the smaller boroughs (Banbury among the rest) being deprived of representatives, Nathaniel Fiennes was chosen for Oxfordshire. Cromwell's next and last Parliament was summoned in 1656; but Banbury had no summons, and Nathaniel Fiennes was elected for the University of Oxford.²⁹ On the 9th April 1657, this Parliament appointed a committee, consisting of Nathaniel Fiennes, St. John, Glynn, Whitlock, and many others, to confer with Cromwell Lord Protector respecting his taking the title of King, which was thought necessary in order more effectually to check the power of the army. On the 11th, Nathaniel Fiennes spoke twice before the Protector. "All creatures," he told Oliver, "were brought to Adam to give them names, he gave them according to their natures. And so the Parliament considers what the thing is that they were about to advise your lordship to; the Parliament find this to be the same government as was before, and if they would have that, why not their old name? If the thing, why not the title? Truly it seems very reasonable that names should be proportioned to the thing; they have found divers reasons why the name should be King, because it is a clear thing to all the world, that the people are more willingly obedient to old things and names than to new." On the 16th Fiennes again made a long speech before the Protector; but Cromwell, after considerable delay, thought it prudent to refuse the offered title.³⁰

After the death of Oliver Cromwell, his son Richard Cromwell called a Parliament which met on the 27th January 1658-9. The elective right being now restored to the smaller boroughs, Nathaniel Fiennes junior, son of Lord-Commissioner Nathaniel Fiennes, was chosen for Banbury.³¹ On the first day of the

(29) Parl. Hist. Eng.

(30) *Monarchy Asserted to be the best, most Ancient and legall form of Government*, in a conference had at Whitehall, with Oliver, late Lord Protector, &c.; 8vo., 1660. By Nathaniel Fiennes. In 1680 this work was reprinted under the name of "Treason's Master-Piece." Copies in my own collection.

(31) Parl. Hist. Eng.

session, after Richard Cromwell had opened the Parliament, the elder Fiennes spoke "in charge from his Highness," and made this remark at the commencement:—"What can the man do that cometh after the King." This speech was published by order of the new Protector.³² Richard was soon after deposed by the Army. The Long Parliament, being restored by the Council of Officers, under the influence of General Monk dissolved itself on the 16th March 1659-60, and issued writs (in the name of the Keepers of the Liberties of England) for the immediate assembling of a new Parliament.

WILLIAM Lord SAYE, after the King's death, sided with the Independents; but when he was invited by Oliver Cromwell to partake of office or honours under him, he turned from Cromwell with abhorrence, and retired to Lundy Island, where it is said he remained, during the Cromwellian government, rather "as an independent despot than as a subject."³³ His lordship continued to be a zealous religionist; and when there were, as Wood expresses it, "no Malignants" to encounter, he "shewed himself an enemy to the Quakers, with whom he was much troubled at or near Broughton."³⁴ As the persecutor of this rising sect, in and about Banbury, Lord Saye is specially mentioned in the records of the Quakers themselves.

Indeed, the triumph of the Sects over the Church had not led to any knowledge of the principles of religious toleration, or to the slightest increase of religious charity. The records of the Quakers abound with evidences of this. In 1654, Anne Audland, one of their preachers, was sent to prison in Banbury upon a charge of blasphemy: of this she was cleared on her subsequent trial at the sessions; but the jury brought her in guilty of a misdemeanour in calling the Puritanical preacher, Samuel Wells, a "false prophet." In 1655, among other imprisonments &c. of Quakers, the following are recorded. "Sarah Timms, in the grave-yard at Banbury, exhorted the priest [Samuel Wells] to fear the Lord: for which christian exhortation some of her hearers knocked her down, and struck her violently. The mayor and magistrates, who were present, instead of restraining them from offering such illegal abuses, sent the innocent woman to prison, where she lay half a year. Also Jane Waugh, for bear-

(32) The Speech of the Right Honourable Nathaniel Lord Fiennes, one of the Lord Keepers of the Great Seale of England, &c., 4to. 1649. In my own collection.

(33) Noble's Memoirs of Cromwell.

(34) Wood's Athenæ.

ing her testimony to the truth, and against deceit, in the market-place at Banbury, was imprisoned five weeks: as were Mary Coats and Mary Lamprey, for reproving the vices of the mayor and magistrates there; the former was released the same night, but the other detained eighteen days.¹³⁵

One of Lord Saye's pamphlets against the Quakers is entitled—"Folly and Madness Made Manifest; or, Some things written to show how contrary to the Word of God, and Practice of the Saints in the Old and New Testament, the Doctrines and Practices of the Quakers are." His lordship says:—"Consider, after that prating woman Audler came to Banbury, what was done and practiced, not onely upon men and women, but upon children, falling down foaming at the mouth, Quaking, and using unnatural gestures." The Quakers replied to these statements; and Lord Saye re-published their reply, "that all men," he said, "may see their spirit." The Quakers' pamphlet states of Anne Audland, that many from her preaching at Banbury "knew the power of God manifest, which caused trembling and quaking, of which wee are not asbamed, though thou revile it." The conclusion addressed to Lord Saye is:—"Consider, William, what will all the glory and dignity of the world doe for thee, if thou goe with thy grey head laden with sin unto the grave." Lord Saye's answer to this is entitled—"The Quakers' Reply Manifested to be Railing; or, a Pursuance of those by the light of the Scriptures, who through their dark imaginations would evade the Truth."³⁶ This is addressed to Bray D'Oyley of Adderbury (a descendant of the ancient De Oily family), who gave to the Quakers their present Meeting-house at Adderbury.

(35) Besse's Collection of Sufferings of the Quakers, v. 1, pp. 563, 564.

(36) Copies of these pamphlets, with many other exceedingly curious ones relating to the early Quakers, are preserved in a collection of Anthony Wood's, marked "Wood 645," in the Ashmolean Library. The title of one bulky tract is:—"The Saints Testimony Finishing through Sufferings; Or, the Proceedings of the Court against the Servants of Jesus, who were called before them to be tried at the late Assizes (or Sessions) held in Banbury in the County of Oxon, the 26 day of the seventh Moneth 1655. Also a relation of Margret Vivers going to the Steeple House in Banbury, after the Assize (or Sessions) aforesaid: And a Testimony against False Prophets, and False Doctrine; with an Answer to the Objection about the woman forbidden to speak in the Church; And some passages about the Lords former sending of his servants and Messengers. And who are no Jesuits, Fugitives, nor Vagabonds. And the manner of Richard Farnworth imprisonment at Banbury, with a Short Examination and Answer And the cause of his detainment. Also a warning from the Spirit of the Lord (in his handmaid Anne Audland) to the Persecuting Priest and People, &c. And a letter of Robert Rich to the magistrates of Banbury, and to John Griffith, Deputy Recorder, who sate Judge in their Court, at the Assize (or Sessions) as aforesaid. Likewise a Letter of Tho. Curtis to the professed Minister called Samuel Wells in Banbury. And a Certificate wherein is manifested the diligence that was used to know the causes of the Prisoners commitments that were called to a Trial at Banbury, (Anne Audland, Jane Waugh, Sarah Tims, and Nathaniel Weston) as wel as

Nathaniel Weston, mentioned in the note (36) on p. 452, was a Banbury man who had gone into the Church while Samuel Wells was preaching. On seeing him, Wells gave over preaching, and said—"there was one, he feared, come into the congregation, which would breed a disturbance;" and he called to some persons to take him out.³⁷ Farnsworth's story is thus told by Besse:—"Richard Farnsworth, walking with one of his friends up Banbury street, met the mayor and a justice of the peace named William Allen: the justice looking very angrily upon Richard, struck off his hat:"³⁸ "after this the mayor and justice sent for Richard and committed him to prison. Next day, when their pride and passion were a little abated, they sent for him, and told him, if he would pay the gaoler's fees, and promise to go out of town that night, he should have his liberty. But he would promise nothing; knowing that they had committed him illegally. Wherefore, to cover their unlawful procedure, they tendered him the oath of abjuration, which his refusing to take furnished them with a pretext for his recommitment to prison, where he lay about six months."³⁹

In 1658, the Quaker records state, that "Simon Thompson and Nathaniel Knowles, meeting William Fines, otherwise called Lord Say, and not paying him the customary ceremony of the hat, were by him sent to Oxford gaol, and detained two months. At the next sessions, he caused them to be sent to the house of correction and detained there near eight months, the said Nathaniel Knowles being several times cruelly whipped, and otherwise ill used." Also:—"William Potter and Simon Thompson, for being at a meeting at Broughton, were by the Lord Say committed to Oxford gaol, and there detained twenty-five weeks. So furious a zealot against the Quakers was this Lord Say, that for no other cause than their being such, he arbitrarily and illegally forced the said Simon Thompson and John Parsons, two of

Robert Rich, who was that day committed out of the Court to Prison in Banbury, With a paper relating the sufferings of the Innocent." Lond. 4to, 1655. It appears from the pamphlet that at the gaol delivery at Banbury, 26th 7th Mo. 1655, many Quakers came from Bristol, Gloucestershire, Berkshire, &c., out of sympathy with their brethren. Robert Rich, above-mentioned, was a citizen of London; he preached in the Court at Banbury, and was thereupon committed to prison.

(37) Saints Testimony (see note 36).

(38) Another account, contained in Wood's collection, says that Allen struck or plucked off Farnsworth's hat, and "grinned at him, and heaved his fist in his wrath, and could scarce hold his hands."

(39) Besse's *Suffering's*, v. 1, pp. 564, 565. Farnsworth used to preach through the bars of his prison to the people in the street. (See the Life of John Roberts, who came from Cirencester to Banbury on purpose to hear the newly-broached doctrines of the Quakers from Richard Farnsworth.)

his tenants, out of their houses, had their goods thrown into the street, and obliged them, their wives, and seven children, to lie in the streets three weeks in a cold wet season; and their goods were much damnified."⁴⁰

THE REPUTED ZEAL OF BANBURY.

The people of Banbury, from the reign of Elizabeth to that of Charles the Second, had such reputation for being peculiarly zealous in matters relating to Religion, as to excite the frequent and pointed remarks not only of wits and humorous writers, but also of grave divines and historians.

When, in 1608, Philemon Holland was carrying through the press an edition of Camden's *Britannia* in English, Camden himself (it is asserted) went to the printing-office at the time when the sheet respecting Banbury was going to press; and, finding that, to his own observation that the town was famous for Cheese, the translator had added Cakes and Ale, he changed the latter word into *Zeal*, "to the great indignation," says Gibson, "of the Puritans, who abounded in the town." In Camden's MS. Supplement to the *Britannia*, which is preserved in the Bodleian Library, is this note:—"Put out the word *Zeale* in Banbury, where some think it a disgrace, when as zeale with knowledge is the greater grace among good Christians: for it was first foysted in by some compositor or pressman; neither is it in my Latin copie, which I desire the reader to hold as authentic." "Whoever put in this unlucky word," says Gough, "it is certainly in both editions of Holland's translation, and only *caseo* in Camden."⁴¹

The worthy Fuller mentions, among the proverbial expressions relating to Oxfordshire, that of "Banbury Zeale, Cheese and Cakes." He adds:—"I admire to find these joyned together in so learned an author as Mr. Cambden, affirming that town fam'd for these three things, *Quam male conveniunt?* and though Zeal be deservedly put first, how inconsistent is it with his gravity and goodness, to couple a spiritual grace with matters of corporeal repast: so that, if spoken in earnest, it hath more of a prophane

(40) Besse's *Sufferings*, v. 1, pp. 564, 565.

(41) Gibson's *Camden's Britannia*; Gough's ditto; Brewer's *Oxf.*

than pious pen : if in jest, more of a libeller than historian." Fuller adds that the word was inserted by mistake in Holland's first edition ; but says :—" what [was] casual in that, may be suspected wilful in the next and last edition, anno 1637, where the error is continued out of design to nick the town of Banbury, as reputed then a place of precise people, and not over conformable in their carriage. Sure I am that Banbury had a gracious, learned, and painful minister [William Whateley], and this town need not be ashamed of nor grieve at what scoffers say or write thereof ; only let them adde knowledge to their Zeal, and then the more of Zeal the better their condition."⁴²

Whether Camden was or was not the *first*, in 1608, to throw ridicule on the Banbury Puritans, I am not aware ; but the subject was quickly followed up by various writers of a different class. In 1614, Ben Jonson produced his celebrated comedy entitled " Bartholomew Fair ;" among the *Dramatis Personæ* of which the term " Banbury Man " seems to be intentionally given as an equivalent to " Puritan." The following passages occur in this comedy :—

" *Winwife*.—Where is she, stirring yet ?

Littlewit.—Stirring ! yes, and studying an old elder come from Banbury, a suitor that puts in here at meal tide," &c.

Afterwards Winwife is thus introduced :—

" *Winwife*.—Alas, I am quite off that scent now.

Quarlous.—How so ?

Winwife.—Put off by a brother of Banbury, one that, they say, is come here, and governs all already.

Quarlous.—What do you call him ? I knew divers of those Banburians when I was in Oxford.

Littlewit.—Rabbi Busy, sir ; he is more than an elder, he is a prophet, sir.

Quarlous.—O, I know him ! a baker, is he not ?

Littlewit.—He *was* a baker, sir, but he does dream now, and see visions ; he has given over his trade.

Quarlous.—I remember that too ; out of a scruple he took, that, in spiced conscience, those Cakes he made were served to brides, may-poles, morrisses, and such profane feasts and meetings. His christen name is Zeal-of-the-Land.

Littlewit.—Yes, sir ; Zeal-of-the-Land Busy.

Winwife.—How ! what a name's there !

Littlewit.—O, they have all such names, sir : he was witness for Win

here,—they will not be called godfathers,—and named her Win-the-Fight: you thought her name had been Winnifred, did you not?"⁴³

Ben Jonson elsewhere, among King James the First's "dislikes" of seeing, hearing, &c., gives "the loud pure wives of Banbury" as one of the King's dislikes of hearing.⁴⁴

Richard Braithwait published "A Strappado for the Divell" in 1615. This contains a piece headed:—"To all true-bred Northerne Sparks, of the generous society of the Cottonneers;" in which the writer says:—

"But now for Bradford I must haste away.
Bradford, if I should rightly set it forth,
Stile it I might Banberry of the North,
And well this title with the towne agrees,
Famous for twanging *ale*, *zeale*, *cakes*, and *cheese* :
But why should I set zeale behinde their ale?
Because zeale is for some, but ale for all."

The same Braithwait, in his "Barnabae Itinerarium," or Drunken Barnaby's Four Journeys, "wittily and merrily composed" about the year 1616, celebrates the Banbury Puritan in Latin and English:—

"In progressu Boreali,
Ut processi ab Australi,
Veni Banbury, O prophanum!
Ubi vidi Puritanum,
Felem facientem furem,
Quia Sabbatho stravit murem."

"In my progresse travelling Northward,
Taking my farewell o'th' Southward,
To Banbury came I, O prophane one!
Where I saw a Puritane-one
Hanging of his cat on Monday
For killing of a mouse on Sunday."⁴⁵

(43) It is thought that Ben Jonson had an individual in his eye when he drew the character of Zeal-of-the-Land Busy. From the success which attended the play of Bartholomew Fair, on account of the ridicule with which it covered the Puritans, it is said the epiphonema "O rare Ben Jonson!" was first given, and afterwards placed on the author's tombstone.—*Collection of Ben Jonson's Plays*.

Grave historians, as well as witty writers, have given countenance to an opinion that the Puritans were in the practice of giving eccentric or absurd religious names to their children. I have not found, however, in the Parish Register of Banbury, any such absurd name whatever. "Epiphany," a man's name, and "Hopeskill," a female's, are nearly all that occur which even approach to what is represented to be the Puritanic character.

(44) The Gipsies Metamorphosed, a Masque.

(45) The story of the Puritan hanging his cat (whether true or invented) was first related by Braithwait in a short poem in the "Strappado." It probably alludes to a current story, since the inverted commas before the eighth line seem to imply that the subject was borrowed. Braithwait was born about the year 1588. The first excursion related in his "Barnaby" commences at Banbury, probably at the date when he was a student at Oxford.—*Strappado for the Divell*, 1615; *Hardings edit. of Barnaby*, 1818.

Richard Corbet, some time Bishop of Oxford, and afterwards of Norwich, wrote his "*Iter Boreale*" while he was a student at Oxford, before the year 1621. On the return of the party towards Oxford they are described as arriving at Flore in Northamptonshire; and, four days after, they get to Banbury on St. Bartholomew's day, the 24th August. He says:—

"Imagine here us ambling downe the street,
Circling in Flower, making both ends meet:
Where wee fare well foure dayes, and did complain,
Like harvest folkes, of weather and the raine:
And on the feast of Barthol'mew wee try
What revells that Saint keepes at Banbury.⁴⁶

"In th' name of God, Amen! First to begin,
The Altar was translated to an Inne;
Wee lodged in a Chappell by the signe,
But in a banck'rupt Taverne by the wine:
Besides, our horses usage makes us thinke
Twas still a Church, for they in Coffins drinke;⁴⁷
As if 'twere congruous that the ancients lye
Close by those Altars in whose faith they dye.
Now you believe the Church hath good varietye
Of Monuments, when Innes have such satiety;
But nothing lesse: ther's no inscription there,
But the Church-wardens names of the last yeare:
In stead of Saints in windowes and on walls,
Here bucketts hang, and there a Cobweb fals:
Would you not sweare they love antiquity,
Who brush the quire for perpetuity?
Whilst all the other pavement and the floore
Are supplicants to the surveyors power
Of the high wayes, that he would gravell keepe;
For else in winter sure it will be deepe.
If not for Gods, for Mr. Wheatlyes sake,
Levell the walkes; suppose these pittfalls make
Him spraine a Lecture, or misplace a joynt
In his long prayer, or his fiveteenth point:
Thinke you the Dawes or Stares can sett him right?
Surely this sinne upon your heads must light.
And say, Beloved, what unchristian charme
Is this? you have not left a leg or arme
Of an Apostle: thinke you, were they whole,
That they would rise, at least assume a soule?
If not, 'tis plaine all the Idolatry

(46) "At the signe of the Alter-stone." Edit. 1648.

(47) "Which serve for troughs in the backside." Edit. 1648.

Lyes in your folly, not th' imagery.
 Tis well the pinnacles are false in twaine ;
 For now the devill, should he tempt againe,
 Hath noe advantage of a place soe high :
 Fooles, he can dash you from your Gallery,
 Where all your medley meete ; and doe compare,
 Not what you learne, but who is longest there ;
 The Puritan, the Anabaptist, Brownist,
 Like a grand sallet : Tinkers,⁴⁸ what a Towne is't ?
 The Crosses also, like old stumps of Trees,
 Or stools for horsemen that have feeble knees,
 Carry no heads above ground : They which tell
 That Christ hath nere descended into hell,
 But to the grave, his picture buried have
 In a farre deeper dungeon then a grave :
 That is, descended to endure what paines
 The Divell can think, or such disciples braines.

"No more my greife, in such prophane abuses
 Good whippes make better verses then the muses.
 Away, and looke not back ; away, whilst yet
 The Church is standing, whilst the benefitt
 Of seeing it remaines ; ere long you shall
 Have that rac't downe, and call'd Apocryphal,
 And in some barne heare cited many an author,
 Kate Stubbs, Anne Askew, or the Ladyes daughter ;⁴⁹
 Which shall be urg'd for fathers. Stopp Disdaine,
 When Oxford once appeares, Satyre refraine.
 Neighbours, how hath our anger thus out gon's ?
 Is not St. Giles's this, and that St. Johns ?
 Wee are return'd ; but just with soe much ore
 As Rawleigh from his voyage, and noe more."⁵⁰

William Whateley alludes to the jests made on the town, in his sermon on the Fire in 1628. He says:—"I beseech you (brethren) let there be none, no not one amongst you, that

(48) In the library of Earl Spencer at Althorp there is a newspaper which relates to Banbury Tinkers. It is entitled:—"The English Post from several Parts of this Kingdome, Lately sent to London, viz. from Truro July 26. Exeter, July 29. Newcastle, July 30. Yorke, July 29. Lancaster, July 30. Dorchester, July 31. Banbury, July 28. &c. &c. &c. Printed in the yeare 1641." 4to. The Banbury portion is as follows:—"Since the memorable execution of the Tinkers in this towne, no severity of any itinerant Judge hath been filed upon our records. Here is a strong rumor of the charges and delinquencies of the Moderators in Law, who determined suites in the foure Westminster tearmes ; but what satisfaction any of them hath made either by defence or sufferance, wee are clearly ignorant of. The brethren amongst us (so tearmed & covetous to be tearmed so) are as ignorant as heretofore, but more malepert. They trust they shall bee allowed (not a Church but) a formality of discipline independant on any superiour, but whom they shall chuse out of their pack. Insolent are their presumptions, and they have an intollerable measure of the Spirit amongst them; excuse them, 'tis the evill spirit, which we hope will ere long by the lawfull exorcisme of authority be conjured."

(49) Gilchrist thinks that this lady was the same who is sung in "the Knight of the Burning Pestle."

(50) Gilchrist's and other editions of Corbet's Poems.

out of a malicious desire to scourge pietie, so nicke-named, vpon our sides, shall moeke at Puritanisme, vpon occasion of this hand of God which he hath stretched out against vs, whom the world hath pleased, but falsely, to terme Puritans."¹

John Taylor, the "Water Poet," writing in 1636, says:—"Banbury is a goodly faire Market towne, and (as the learned Cambden) it is famous for Cakes, Cheese, and Zeale."²

Sir William Davenant, in his comedy entitled "The Wits," which was published in 1636, makes the Younger Palatine say:—

"Here dwells a lady
That hath not seen a street since good King Harry
Call'd her to a mask: she is more devout
Than a Weaver of Banbury, that hopes
To intice Heaven, by singing, to make him lord
Of twenty looms."³

Joshua Sprigge, who was born at Banbury, observes (in 1647) respecting the desolation occasioned there by the Civil Wars:—"I cannot but also look upon, and observe the end, a speciall hand and intimation of God against that professing place, where in a manner judgment began, as at the house of God, and was removed with one of the last, I pray God sanctifie it to them."⁴

William Cartwright, in his comedy entitled "The Ordinary," which appeared in 1651, makes one of his characters (a gamester) say:—

"I'll send some forty thousand unto Paul's;
Build a cathedral next in Banbury;
Give organs to each parish in the kingdom;
And so root out the unmusical elect."⁵

(1) Sinne no more, 1628, p. 23.

(2) Scarce Tract of Taylor's.

(3) Davenant's Wits. Act 1. Thomas Jordan, in his Royal Arbor of Loyal Poesie, 8vo., Lond. 1664, has a Litany in which he prays for deliverance

"From Church land purchasers, from Town betrayers,
From *Weaving preachers* and extemp're Prayers."

The following lines, contained in the same work of Jordan's, are perhaps applied to the Banbury Puritans:—

"I'll tell you how the war began
The Holy ones assembled
For so they call'd their Party than
Whose Consciences so trembled—

* * * * *

They pluckt Communion-tables down,
And broke our painted glasses;
They threw our Altars to the ground,
And tumbled down the Crosses.
They set up Cromwell and his Heir
The Lord and Lady Claypole,
Because they hated Common-Prayer,
The Organ and the maypole."

(4) Anglia Rediviva, p. 252.

(5) Cartwright's Ordinary, Act 2, Scene 3.

John Cleveland, in a poem printed in 1656 "in Defence of the decent ornaments of Christchurch, Oxon, occasioned by a Banbury brother, who call'd them Idolatries," asks:—

" Shall we say
Banbury is turn'd Rome, because we may
See th' Holy Lamb and Christopher? nay, more,
The Altar Stone set at the tavern doore."⁶

The chronicler Heath mentions Banbury as "that once famous place for zealotry." Dr. Plot says:—"It is plain this town was ever zealous in matters of religion."⁷ The subject of Banbury

(6) Cleveland's Works; Harding's edit. of Braithwait's Barnaby.

(7) Heath's Chron.; Plot's Oxf. I have a scarce old tract by a quaint Puritan writer, entitled "Rome for Good News, or Good Newes from Rome: in a Dialogue between a Seminary Priest and a Supposed Protestant, at large. An Exhortation to Bishops. Whereunto is also annexed a Discourse between a Poor Man and his Wife." Lond., 4to. It contains several allusions to religious matters at Banbury. The author describes his poverty as being such that he could leave his family little more "than to each child Adams Combe, I mean their fingers." He had experienced several calls to the pulpit, but was restrained by the importunities of his wife. The first part of the pamphlet, the "Dialogue," is in verse; in which, in allusion to the measures taken by the authorities against the destruction of Church ornaments, the Romish Priest is made to say to the supposed Protestant:—

"If Banbury men will do there geere
I tro they have their doom,
Their orders are well stuffe I hear,
With welcome news to Rome.
Ye welcome news I hope ere this,
'Tis over all the town,
Your Churchmen have no thority,
To thrust our pictures down.
Your homily saith they defile,
Wherein it seems to lye,
This order writes another Style,
To wit they beautifie.
And so concludes that who so doth,
Them molish or deface,
Is justly censured as one,
That doth profane the place."

In another part allusion is made to three persons named Bates, Turner, and Sharp; the latter the Banbury Churchwarden who has been already mentioned in p. 167 of this vol., in an extract taken from another pamphlet which was probably from the pen of this same quaint writer:—

"Will Turner think you turn his coate,
And say he cares not, what
Will Sharp of Banbury change his note,
And now go sing a flat."

The "Discourse" which follows makes the husband ask the wife:—"Do you think that Jesus Christ will take the bawling squeling voices of singing men and boyes, together with the grunting squeeking noise of the Bishops Piggs, I mean the Organs, and present them with reverence, be it spoken: he will assoon accept of a pair of bagg-pipes, for its all but wind-musick." In another place he says to her:—"A Boy was seen to offer a candle to the picture of the Devil which was drawn behind the door, one demanded wherefore he did it, he answered, I do not know what need I may have of him; friends, if you have need to use him, he will be very ready to serve you without a candle, he can do his work in the dark, for nothing but merely for your souls sake." The discourse thus concludes:—"Wife, being time to go to bed, we will talk no more to night, but leave till another time, and then we will begin with *Magna Charta*, and talk over three or four sheets more. Good Husband you take the child and the candle, I'll take the warming-pan and some coles, and so to bed."

I have another very scarce tract, entitled "The Brownist Hæresies Confvted, their knavery anatomized, and their fleshly spirits painted at full, in a true History of one

Zeal has not been forgotten in later times. Addison, in 1710, says:—"That facetious divine, Dr. Fuller, speaking of the town of Banbury near a hundred years ago, tells us it was a place famous for cakes and zeal, which I find by my glass is true to this day, as to the latter part of this description; though I must confess, it is not in the same reputation for cakes that it was in the time of that learned author."⁸ The venerated John Wesley speaks (Oct. 24th and 25th, 1784) of the religious feeling at Banbury. The Old Dissenting (Presbyterian) Meeting-house, wherein he preached, would not nearly contain the congregation who came to hear him; and, Wesley says, "God uttered his voice, yea, and that a mighty voice: neither the sorrow, nor the joy, which was felt that night, will quickly be forgotten." On the second day, notwithstanding the darkness and rain, the house was filled both above and below: and never, he says, "did I see a people who appeared more ready prepared for the Lord." At the same date the Brackley people are represented as understanding Wesley no more than if he "had been talking Greek;" and Towcester is recorded as a "poor dead" place.⁹

Sir Walter Scott has made his Presbyterian preacher at Woodstock (in Cromwell's time) remind his hearers of the superior zeal of the people of Banbury.¹⁰ The subject of the Banbury

Mistress Sarah Miller of Banbury in Oxfordshire. Wherein is contained the Preaching of a Barber, his zeale towards this new Sister, how the spirit of the flesh moved him, how shee granted, how she fell mad, and how by the mercy of God she was released of all. Printed in the yeare 1641." 4to. The story is briefly this. "In a town called Banburie, in the Countie of Oxford, a place alwaies too much encumbered with Brownists and Separatists, dwelt a gentleman of a very honest and upright heart, who had a daughter about the age of nineteene, she was witty, but withall proud, which the devil alwaies inveigled her with, that it might prove a cloud to eclipse all her other vertues." The young lady, disguising herself, goes to a meeting of the Brownists which was in a large barn, that "she might behold and see the manner of their living, and how they were affected in their Religion." On her inquiring of a sister of the Sect as to who was the preacher for the day, she was told that a very honest chimney-sweeper had been appointed for that purpose, but was dismissed because he went in black like our corrupted Popish scholars; however they should have a worthy man, because it was Mr. Bryan's turn to elect the man for the day. The preacher turned out to be a Barber; and he, after noticing the new sister at the meeting, followed her away and made love to her; while she, yielding to his passion, "lost more than she could ever gain again with Ganges riches." After keeping the Brownist company some days, the young lady returned to her father, in "pensive sorrow;" but soon after betrayed symptoms of insanity, and in her madness "these were all her words, 'I'm dam'd, I'm dam'd.'" Her father bereupon sent for a friend, one Mr. Gill of Oxford, a "reverend divine;" who immediately rode to Banbury and endeavoured to pacify the unhappy maniac. She however interrupted the divine, calling for wine, and declaring that what he spake was false; "and having a Venice-glasse in her hand filld with wine, shee threw it to the ground with these words, That it was as impossible for her to be saved, as for that glasse to rebound into her hand unbroken, which contrary to the expectation of all the beholders, the Glasse did." This encouraged the lady to tell her father and the divine her miserable tale. "Reader, this I have publishd," says the writer, "that you may read and rejoyce and take heed, and that the Brownist may see their divellish heresies, and repent."

(8) Tatler, No. 220.

(9) John Wesley's Journal.

(10) Sir Walter Scott's Woodstock.

Puritan hanging his cat, as told by Braithwait, served for one of the caricatures which were published in 1833 and 1834, during the Parliamentary discussions on Sir Andrew Agnew's Sabbath bills.

BIOGRAPHICAL.

WALTER GOSTELOW, a religious enthusiast of the Cromwellian period, was the son of Richard Gostelow of Prescott House near Cropredy, and born there about the year 1600. Prescott House, Gostelow says (writing in 1655), had, within his memory, "groves and good walks about it; some religious house I conceive it to have been; an altar and chappel I have known in it, the parish is Cropredy in Oxfordshire, scituate some three miles from Bambury. My elder brother, bearing his [*i. e.* his father's] name, now lives in it, but truly I never knew my father to have any the least repute to be a prophet."¹¹ Gostelow was a staunch Royalist, and was in the company of Charles the First, at Southam, on the day before the battle of Edgehill.¹² He published, in 1654, "A Letter to the Lord Protector;" Lond., fol. In 1655 came out his principal work, entitled:—"Charls Stuart and Oliver Cromwel united; Or, Glad Tidings of Peace to all Christendom; To the Jews and Heathen, Conversion; To the Church of Rome, certain downfall: The Irish not to be Transplanted. Extraordinarily declared by God Almighty to the Publisher, Walter Gostelow. Printed for the Author;" 8vo. This work abounds with visions and absurd stories. Gostelow also published "The Coming of God in Mercy and Vengeance," Lond., 8vo., 1658.

The learned writer Sir EDWARD LEIGH became a resident at Banbury in consequence of being a great admirer of Whateley's preaching; but, Whateley dying in 1639, Sir Edward returned to London. Some of his children were born at Banbury.¹³

SAMUEL NEWMAN, who was the son of Richard Newman, was born at Banbury (according to the author of the History of New England) in 1600, but his baptism is recorded in the Register on the 24th May 1602. He was sent to St. Edmund Hall,

(11) Gostelow's Charls Stuart and Oliver Cromwel united, pp. 204, 205.

(12) The same book, p. 224.

(13) Wood's Athenæ; Register of Banbury.

Oxford, and, having taken the degree of B. A. on the 17th October 1620, soon afterward quitted the university. He became possessed of a living in Oxfordshire, but, being Puritanically inclined, the prosecutions of the spiritual courts obliged him to make seven removals; and, in 1638, he retired to New England and became a "congregational man," minister of the church of Rehoboth there. It is said that he was zealous in the way he professed, of a heavenly conversation, a lively preacher, indefatigable in his studies, and "marvellously ready in the holy scriptures." He wrote the Concordance of the Bible, by S. N., London 1643, in folio. He died in New England on the 5th July 1663, and was buried at Rehoboth.¹⁴

JOHN LANGLEY was born at Banbury. He became a commoner of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, about the year 1612; was admitted B. A. on the 5th July 1616, and M. A. on the 24th April 1619; and some time after was made master of the college-school in Gloucester, and a prebendary of Gloucester Cathedral. He taught at Gloucester about twenty years, and was then elected chief master of St. Paul's School in London in 1640. He was learned, says Anthony à Wood, "in the whole body of learning, and not only an excellent linguist, grammarian, historian, cosmographer, and artist, but a most judicious divine, and so great an antiquary, that his delight and knowledge in antiquities, especially those of our own nation, doth deserve greater commendation than I can now in a few lines express. He was beloved of learned men, particularly of Selden, and those that adhered to the Long Parliament, but had not much esteem from the orthodox clergy, beause he was a Puritan, and afterwards a witness against Archb. Laud at his tryal." Langley died, in his house adjoining to St. Paul's School, on the 13th September 1657; and was buried in Mercers' Chapel in Cheapside on the 21st; on which occasion a sermon was preached by Dr. Reynolds, afterwards Bishop of Norwich. He is said to have had "a very awful presence and speech, that struck a mighty respect and fear in his scholars," which however wore off after they were a little used to him, so that, through his management, they both feared him and loved him. "He was so fearful of any miscarriage in the duties of his place, that in a former sickness he desired, if he

(14) Register of Banbury; Bliss's Wood's *Athenæ*, and *Fasti Oxon*; Neal's *Hist. Puritans*.

should then have died, to have been buried at the school door, in regard he had in his ministration there come short of the duties which he owed unto the school." He was so much in favour with the Mercers' Company that they accepted of his recommendation of his successor. When he was buried, all the scholars attended his funeral, walking before the corpse (hung with verses instead of escutcheons) from the school to Mercers' Chapel, with white gloves on.¹⁵

EDWARD GEE, an author, and noted Presbyterian, was born at Banbury. The entry in the Register which appears to relate to him, is as follows:—"Edward son to John Gee was bapt ye i day" [of November 1612]. Anthony à Wood however conceives (though he pretends to no authority for the statement) that Edward Gee, though born at Banbury, was the son of an Edward Gee of Lancashire, and that his birth occurred in 1613. He was bred in Newton School at Manchester, became a commoner of Brasenose College, Oxford, in Michaelmas Term 1626, took one degree in arts, and then left the university for a time. At length, entering into holy orders, he proceeded master in the said faculty in 1636, being about that time chaplain to Dr. Richard Parr (bishop of Sodor and Man), and a minister in Lancashire. When the Rebellion broke out, he sided with the Presbyterians, took the Covenant, and, for his great activity, was made rector of the rich church of Eccleston before 1648, in the place of Dr. Parr. He was also, in 1654, an active assistant to the Commissioners for Lancashire for the ejection of [such as were called] scandalous and ignorant ministers and schoolmasters. He died on the 26th May 1660, and was buried in the Church of Eccleston.¹⁶

SAMUEL WELLS, a noted Puritan divine, was by order of the House of Lords inducted to the vicarage of Banbury on the 13th September 1648 (as before recorded pp. 434, 435).¹⁷ He was the

(15) Wood's *Athenæ*, and *Fasti Oxon*; *Magna Brit.* Langley wrote "*Totius Rhetoricæ Adumbratio in Usum Scholæ Paulinæ*," Camb. 1644, Lond. 1650, &c.; and an "Introduction of Grammar," several times printed. He also translated into English the book of Polidore Virgil entitled "*De Rerum Inventoribus*." Langley also made several collections of histories and antiquities which he had gathered in his travels through various parts of England; which, after his death (it is said), coming into the possession of his brother living near Banbury, were sold, with his collection of coins, for "money's sake."

(16) Wood's *Athenæ*. He was the author of "*A Treatise of Prayer and of Divine Providence*," 1653; and "*The Divine Right and Original of the Civil Magistrate from God*, grounded on Rom. xiii. 1;" 1658. Soon after, says Wood, there "was another part of this put out, concerning the oath of allegiance, which I have not yet seen."

(17) The entry made of his induction, in the Register of Banbury, is as follows:—"Novemb. 27^o 1648. Samuel Welles Artium Magister, qui vicesimo tertio die Septemb'

son of William Wells of St. Peter's in Oxford, where he was born on the 18th August 1614. He was brought up in Magdalene College, and took his master's degree in 1636. In 1637 he married Dorothy Doyley of Auborn in Wiltshire. He was ordained December 23rd 1638; at which time he kept a school at Wandsworth. In 1639 he was assistant to Dr. Temple at Battersea. In 1644, he left his family in London for security during the war, while he went to serve as a regimental chaplain to Colonel Essex. In 1647 he held the rectory of Remenham in Berkshire, where his income was about £200 per annum, and there were not more than twenty families in the parish. "In 1649," says Calamy [but the foregoing extracts show that it was in 1648], "he accepted of a call to Banbury, though the profit was much less, that he might have an opportunity of doing good to the more souls." His honourable efforts to preserve the life of the King have been already mentioned (p. 436).

In 1654, while Wells continued at Banbury, commissioners were appointed, with assistants to them chosen from the clergy of every county, for ejecting such ministers and schoolmasters as were considered scandalous, ignorant, and insufficient. Samuel Wells of Banbury, and John Taylor minister of Broughton, together with the celebrated John Owen, Thomas Goodwin, Thankful Owen president of St. John's College, and several others, were appointed assistant-commissioners for the county of Oxford. Calamy says that Wells was offered the presentation of Brinkworth, a rich parsonage, but refused it, and continued in Banbury till August 1662; and then remitted an hundred pounds of what was due to him: and when he had done, he cheerfully declared, "that he had not one carking thought about the support of his family, though he had then ten children, and his wife was big with another."

In 1662, subsequently to the Restoration, three months having been allowed to the then incumbents of livings for conformity on Church matters, the nonconforming ministers were ejected on St. Bartholomew's day, and Wells was one among the num-

1648 inductus est in realem, actualem et corporalem possessionem Vicariæ de Banbury per Thomam Lodge Rectorem de Dreyton, legiti die p'dicto triginta et novem Articulus Religionis cum ratificatione; nobis presentibus

William Whately Maior

Nathaniell Hill

John Webb

Thomas Halhed

William Hawkins

James West

William Pym

Rowland Hawse

Da Eyre

ber. It appears, however, from an entry in the Register, that he continued to reside at Banbury. But in 1665, the Five-Mile Act¹⁸ obliged him to remove from Banbury; and he thereupon took up his abode at Deddington, from which place he wrote every week to his friends at Banbury. Afterwards, when no longer prohibited, he returned to Banbury; where he purchased "a pleasant dwelling, and continued in it till his death."

At the date of Samuel Wells's return to Banbury, RICHARD WHITE, afterwards Dr. White, was Vicar here; and he and Wells, says Calamy, "had a very fair and friendly correspondence. He often heard Mr. White, and Mr. White (though secretly) would sometimes hear him in private; and he often used to say to him, 'I pray God bless your labours in private, and mine in publick.'" It is recorded that, one day, when White was paying a visit to Wells, the former made this remark:—"Mr. Wells, I wonder how you do to live so comfortably. Methinks you, with your numerous family, live more plentifully on the providence of God than I can with the benefits of the parish." Calamy says that Wells "was of a cheerful disposition, and of a large and liberal heart to all, but especially to good uses. It was the expression of one that had often heard him preach, that the ears of his auditors were chained to his lips." He published one tract, entitled "A Spirituall Remembrancer, The Substance of a Farewell Sermon at Banbury, on Acts. xx. 27;" and also his Letters to his Banbury friends.¹⁹

JOHN FRENCH, the son of John French of Broughton, was born at Broughton in 1616, became a physician, and, through the patronage of the Fiennes family, was appointed one of the two physicians to Sir Thomas Fairfax's army. He wrote several works, and died in 1657.²⁰

JOSHUA SPRIGGE (several times mentioned in this volume as the author of "*Anglia Rediviva*,") was born at Banbury in 1618. In April of that year it is recorded in the Register that "Josuah Sprig sonn to W^m Sprigge was baptized the 19 daye." According to Anthony à Wood, this William Sprigge had been

(18) This severe and impolitic Act exacted an oath from the Sequestered Ministers that it was not lawful, on any pretence, to take arms against the King, and that they would not at any time endeavour an alteration in the government of Church or State. Those who refused the oath were not permitted to come, except upon the public road, within five miles of any city, corporation, or place where they had been ministers.

(19) Bliss's Wood's *Athenæ*, and *Fasti Oxon*; Calamy's *Lives of Ejected Ministers*; Kennet's Register; Chalmers's Biog. Dict.; Register of Banbury; Palmer's *Nonconformists' Memorial*.

(20) Wood.

at one time a servant to Lord Saye, and afterwards steward of New College, Oxford. A William Sprigge is however mentioned in the Borough accounts, in 1621, as being a lawyer at Banbury. The Puritanical principles of the father may be guessed from the Scriptural names which he gave to some of his children, namely, Joshua, Rebecca, Hester, Caleb, Seth, Jonathan, and Sarah. Joshua Sprigge mentions having seen the strange sights (*Aurora Borealis*) in the air over Banbury in 1631. (See p. 281.) He became a commoner of New Inn in midsummer term 1634, at the age of 16 years; but he left it without a degree, went into Scotland, and became M. A. at Edinburgh, and a preacher. A little before the Rebellion broke out, he went to London, where he became preacher at St. Mary's Church, Aldermanbury: he afterwards took the Covenant, was made minister of St. Pancras Church in Soperlane, and at length became a retainer of Sir Thomas Fairfax, general of the Parliament's army. In 1648 he was constituted one of the fellows of All Souls' College, Oxford, by the committee and visitors who were appointed by Parliament to reform the University; and in the following year he was incorporated M. A. as he had stood at Edinburgh. While he continued in All Souls' College, Wood says he was "of civil conversation, but far gone in enthusiasm; and blamed much by some of the fellows then there, for his zeal of having the history of our Saviour's ascension, curiously carved from stone over that College gate, to be defaced, after it had remained there since the foundation of that house." Sprigge's efforts, in the beginning of the year 1649, to save the life of Charles the First, have been mentioned in p. 437. Mr. Ashmole has left an account concerning Sprigge's sermon at Whitehall, that on a fast there on the 21st January, Joshua Sprigge preached from the text:—"He that sheds blood, by man shall his blood be shed." Mr. Foxley preached next, on the same side; but when he had done, Hugh Peters got up and preached for "doing justice on the King," which was esteemed by the auditory there as making amends for the two other sermons.

Joshua Sprigge became a noted Independent; and afterwards, says Wood, was "a great favourer of factious and blasphemous persons, particularly that grand impostor James Naylor quaker, in whose behalf he did, in the head of an hundred men, deliver a petition in favour of him to Oliver Lord Protector." This

act of Sprigge's cannot fairly merit censure; the barbarous punishment, which was inflicted on the poor fanatic Naylor by the equally fanatical Parliament, being enough to excite the sympathy of any one who was possessed of proper feelings of humanity.²¹ This was in 1656. After the Restoration, Joshua Sprigge retired to an estate which he had purchased at Crayford in Kent, and lived privately there, but "frequented conventicles." Subsequently to the death of James Lord Saye (which occurred in 1673), he married the widow of that nobleman (Frances, the daughter of Edward Viscount Wimbledon), with whom scandal had accused Sprigge of having familiarity during the life of her first husband. "But she being a holy sister," says Wood, "and [having] kept, or caused to be kept, conventicles in her house, they, upon trouble ensuing, removed to Highgate near London, where our author Sprigge died." His death occurred in June 1684; and his remains were interred at Crayford, in the church there. "About a fortnight after," says Wood, "his beloved wife Frances dying, was, I presume, buried near him. So that the estate of him the said Joshua Sprigge went to his younger brother William."²² By his last will, dated June 6th 1684, Joshua Sprigge bequeathed £500 to the Corporation of Banbury, to build

(21) The Parliament was occupied from the 6th December to the 17th of the same in considering of Naylor's guilt and punishment. On the 16th, on a motion made that the punishment should be death, the said motion was lost by a majority of ninety-six to eighty-two. The brutal punishment which was actually inflicted will be found recorded in the Parliamentary Hist. Eng. (v. 21, p. 45.) It is recorded in the Quakers' writings that this same Parliament permitted themselves to be addressed in a Petition which declared that "more than the terrors of Mount Sinai dwelt on their honourable House." Such were they who punished Naylor's blasphemy!—*J. G. Bevan's Observations on the Religious Peculiarities of Friends.*

(22) Wood's *Athenæ*; Register of Banbury. Joshua Sprigge was the author of various Sermons, printed from 1640 to 1649; as,—1. *God a Christian's All, himself nothing*; on Gen. v. 24, printed 1640;—2. *The Dying and Living Christian*, &c.; on Rom. xiv. 8; Lond., 8vo., 1648;—3. *A Testimony to approaching Glory*, in five Sermons delivered at St. Pancrass Church in Soperlane; sec. edit., Lond., 1649;—4. *A Farther Testimony*, &c., 8vo. In some of these sermons there are said to have been "several blasphemies." The celebrated John Owen wrote "upon occasion of a late book published by Mr. Joshua Sprigg, containing erroneous doctrine." Baxter mentions Sprigge as the "chief" of Sir Harry Vane's more open disciples, "too well known by a book of his sermons:" and other Puritanical writers express the same opinion.

The work by which Joshua Sprigge's name is now chiefly known is his "*ANGLIA REDIVIVA* ; England's Recovery : Being the History of the Motions, Actions, and Successes of the Army under the conduct of Sir Thomas Fairfax Knight, Capt-General of all the Parliaments Forces in England:" Lond., 1647, folio. Wood surmises that Nathaniel Fiennes had some hand in writing this work. Whether Joshua Sprigge's sermon respecting the proceedings against the King (see pp. 437, 467) was ever published, is not known. Other works of Sprigge's were,—"*Solace for Saints in the Saddest Times*," 8vo.; and—"News of a New World from the Word and Works of God compared together; evidencing that the times of the Man of Sin are legally determined, and by the same right the days of the Son of Man are already commenced; with an Account of the Times of Gog and Magog, and of the three last Vials:" Lond., 1676, 8vo. Besides these, Wood says, "he hath other things, without doubt, extant, but I cannot yet in all my searches find them out."—*Wood's Athenæ.*

a Workhouse and set the poor to work at Banbury, "the place of his nativity."²³

WILLIAM SPRIGGE, the younger brother of Joshua Sprigge, was born at Banbury, and baptized there on the 9th July 1633. He was admitted B. A. at Oxford on the 12th October 1652; and, on the following 11th December, was, by the recommendation of Oliver Cromwell (Chancellor of the University) made a fellow of Lincoln College. On the 15th June 1655, he became M. A. there; and in 1657 he was made one of the first fellows of the College founded at Durham by Oliver Cromwell. That college being dissolved in 1659, William Sprigge retired to Lincoln College, Oxford; and, being ejected therefrom in the following year by the King's commissioners, he settled for a time at Gray's Inn (of which he was then a barrister), and had some expectations relating to his profession from James duke of York. Soon after, being invited into Ireland, he settled in Dublin, followed his profession, married, and lived there till his brother Joshua died in 1684; "much about which time," says Anthony à Wood, "he settled at Crayford in Kent, where, I think, he now lives."²⁴

(23) Reports of the Commissioners on Charities. In a Chancery suit in 1706, it was ordered that William Sprigge should pay to the Corporation of Banbury £1015, for principal and interest; and the Corporation were required to give security that they would lay out the money according to the terms of Joshua Sprigge's will. The Corporation subsequently laid out (on account of the Workhouse which was established in a building on the east side of South Bar Street) £440. 11s. 8d.; and the remainder of the money was placed in the hands of Lord Guilford and others. The amount of money thus put into Lord Guilford's hands was increased by other sums until, in 1750, his Lordship acknowledged the receipt of £750; the payment of which, with interest, was secured on property in Neithorp and Drayton. The interest, £30 per year, is stated to be paid to the Chamberlain of the Corporation, who repays £26 per annum to the Poor Rate, and the remaining £4 to a baker who provides twenty loaves on the first Sunday in every month for distribution by the Churchwardens.—*Reports on Charities.*

(24) William Sprigge was the author of—"Philosophical Essays, with brief Advisos; accommodated to the Capacity of the Ladies and Gentlemen sometime Students of the English Academy lately erected at London," 1657:—"Miscellaneous Discourses:—"An Appendix of Advice to Students:—"A Modest Plea for a Commonwealth against Monarchy: In which the genuine Nature and true Interest of a Free State is briefly stated: Its Consistency with a National Clergy, mercenary Lawyers, and hereditary Nobility, examined; together with the Expediency of an Agrarian, and Rotation of Officers, asserted;" Lond., 4to., 1659:—"Apology for Younger Brothers, the Restitution of Gavelkind, and Relief of the Poor; with a lift at Tythes, and Reformation of the Laws and Universities." This last was printed with "A Modest Plea," and published in August 1659; but both being full of errors, were corrected and printed in 8vo. in December following. They were greedily bought up, says Anthony Wood, "and taken into the hands of all curious men, and being by them highly commended, some malicious persons there were, particularly Henry Stubbe of Christ Church, that reported, that William Sprigge was not the author of them, but Franc. Osbourne, who died in Feb. 1658; some of whose papers coming after his death into the hands of the said Sprigge, his intimate acquaintance, he published them therefore as his. Yet all that knew Sprigge well, knew him to be an ingenious man, and able to write such a book, as elsewhere it hath been told you." They were answered in a pamphlet called "A Modest Reply, in answer to the Modest Plea for an equal Commonwealth, against Monarchy," 1659, in three letters to a worthy gentleman: but Sprigge considered the letters as unworthy of a reply. He also wrote "The Royal and

ROBERT WILD, D. D., a Puritan minister, poet, and satirist, held the living of Aynho during the Commonwealth; having been intruded by the Parliamentary visitors, and inducted 22nd July 1646, on the presentation of John Cartwright Esq. It is related that another divine, besides Wild, preached as a candidate for the living of Aynho; and that Wild, on being asked whether he or his competitor had been successful, answered:—"We have divided it; I have got the *Ay*, and he the *No*." The famous Baxter, taking offence against Wild on hearing some alleged instances of his injudicious facetiousness, took occasion, while on his way from Kidderminster towards London, to stop at Aynho for the purpose of reproving him. When Baxter reached Aynho, Wild was gone to Church (it being a fast-day), and Baxter placed himself in an obscure corner of the Church to hear him. After the service, Baxter asked Wild to rebuke him for his own uncharitableness and folly in listening to reports; stating the object of his visit, and his conviction that he had been misled. It is further said, that Wild, on preaching before the Judges on the 4th March 1654, used such witty and tart expressions (reflecting partly on the times and partly on the persons present), that Dr. Owen the vice-chancellor said:—"he knew not the man, but by his preaching he guessed him to have been begotten by Hugh Peters in his younger years." In 1662, Wild was ejected for nonconformity; when he retired to Oundle. He died in 1679. Anthony à Wood describes him as a "fat, jolly, and boon Presbyterian;" and Calamy owns that he was a witty man, and very pleasant in conversation; but adds that he has "heard him commended by those that knew him, not only for his facetiousness, but also his strict temperance and sobriety, and his being very serious in serious things." Wild was the author of several works: amongst them, "The Tragedy of Christopher Love at Tower Hill," a Poem; and some Pieces, published with others by John Wilmot Earl of Rochester and others, in a collection entitled "Rome Rhym'd to Death."²⁵

Happy Poverty: Or a Meditation on the Felicities of an Innocent and Happy Poverty," grounded on Matt. v. 3; Lond., 8vo., 1660. This was by him preached while he was at Durham. The author is styled M. D. "What else he hath published," says Wood, since his abode at Dublin, and afterwards at Crayford, I know not.—*Bliss's Wood's Athenæ, and Fasti Oxon; Kennet's Register.*

(25) Wood's Athenæ, and Fasti Oxon; Calamy's Ejected Ministers; Baker's Northamp., p. 552. Other publications of Wild's are enumerated by Mr. Baker.

EVENTS TO THE RESTORATION:
RICHARD ALLESTREE.

We have heretofore seen how the counsels and secret movements which led to the Great Rebellion against Charles the First were carried on in the immediate neighbourhood of Banbury, namely at Broughton and at Fawsley. It is remarkable that some of the secret movements, and those not the least important ones, which led to the Restoration, were also carried on in the same neighbourhood; namely at HANWELL CASTLE (the seat of Sir Anthony Cope bart.), situated two miles and a half from Banbury, and which has been already described in p. 191, and the remains of it engraved in Plate 20 of this volume.

Young Sir ANTHONY COPE, who has been already mentioned in p. 288 of this volume (note 17), was the son of Sir John Cope bart. of Hanwell. On the death of his father in 1638, the youth, then aged only six years, probably fell into the hands of the Fanes,²⁶ who were Parliamentarians. If however he inherited, or, while under the care of these his maternal relatives, imbibed any feelings hostile to the Court, he appears, almost before the time he arrived at man's estate, to have cast them away and devoted himself to the cause of loyalty. We must here step aside to notice some occurrences in the life of RICHARD ALLESTREE.

This divine, the son of a decayed Derbyshire gentleman, was born in 1619; and, in 1636, was placed as a commoner at Christ Church, Oxford, where he gained the notice of Dr. Fell by the reputation which he at once obtained for his parts and industry. In 1642, on the issuing of the Commission of Array, Allestree was one of the first in the University to enlist in the Royal service. He continued a soldier until Sir John Byron quitted Oxford with his forces, (see. p. 306,) and then he returned to his studies. After Lord Saye's entering Oxford with his troops from Banbury, Allestree, having a key to one of Dr. Fell's chambers where Lord Saye had deposited all the riches he had found in the deanery, contrived to remove the treasure in the night to a place of concealment. For this he was arrested, but he

(26) Sir Anthony's mother was the daughter of Francis Fane, first Earl of Westmorland. See p. 288, note 20.

was soon released in consequence of Lord Saye's troops being called away by the Earl of Essex. In the same year, Allestree was in the Royal ranks at the battle of Edgehill on Sunday the 23rd October. After passing unhurt through the dangers of that day, he was hastening towards Oxford to make preparations at the Deanery of Christ Church (which was in part left to his care in the absence of the Dean) for the reception of the King; when he was made prisoner by a party of Lord Saye's troopers from Broughton Castle. However, on the garrison of Broughton surrendering to the King's forces on the following Thursday, Allestree obtained his liberty. He afterwards pursued his studies at Oxford; but at the same time (though then M. A. and a fellow of his college) he was one of the volunteers who served his Majesty in the University and its neighbourhood without fee or reward. In this duty he was often seen bearing his musket in one hand and a book in the other. After the downfall of the Royal cause he devoted himself to his studies, and entered into holy orders.

When the Parliamentary visitors came to Oxford in 1648, Allestree, with hundreds more of the loyal collegians, was ejected from the University. In 1651 he was at the battle of Worcester; and, after the escape of Charles the Second therefrom, he was selected by the secret managers of the King's affairs to attend on the latter at Rouen in Normandy, from which place he bore the King's dispatches to his friends in England. Coming on that errand to Oxford, he found there two of his own friends who, like himself, had been banished the University, but who had again ventured there for the purpose of secretly performing the services of the Church of England. Allestree joined them in this work of danger; and continued to do so until such time (it is said) "as S^r Anthony Cope, a loial young gentleman of considerable quality and fortune in the county of Oxford, prevail'd upon him to live in his family; which he did for several years, having liberty to go or stay as his occasions requir'd, whereby he was enabled to step aside without notice upon messages from the King's friends; which service he managed with great courage and dexterity."²⁷

The proceedings which were carried on from Hanwell were conducted with the strictest privacy. Indeed, such was Cromwell's vigilance, that both Allestree and Sir Anthony Cope had

(27) Life of Allestree prefixed to the vol. of his Sermons, Oxford, fol., 1684.

good reason to exercise the utmost caution, lest the movements of the former should be traced. It is however certain that Allestree performed several difficult journeys to the King while in his exile.²⁸ The letters which passed between Hyde and Dr. Barwick repeatedly mention Allestree as being the bearer of communications and dispatches. On one occasion Hyde says:—"I am much troubled, that the person which it seems is so well instructed in all particulars, is not yet come to us: I hope he hath met with no ill accident, but his arrival is most impatiently longed for."²⁹ In the winter preceding the King's Restoration, Allestree, having been employed by the bishops to go to the King (in order to provide for the succession of episcopacy by filling up the vacant sees), was, on his return from Flanders, taken prisoner at Dover by a party of soldiers who waited for him. This was in consequence of the spy who was employed in Charles's court having given notice of Allestree's journey, with a particular description of his person and habit. Allestree however contrived to secrete his letters from the soldiers, and to shift them into friendly hands by whom they were secured and conveyed to their destination. He was himself taken to London, and examined by a Committee of the Council of Safety; but examinations and threats alike failed to draw any thing from him, and, in consequence, he was committed a prisoner to Lambeth House. After a confinement of six or eight weeks' duration, Allestree was set at liberty; partly, it is said, by the exertions of some of the principal men, who saw that events were moving towards the Restoration of the King, and hoped to obtain favour by his enlargement. Allestree thereupon returned to Hanwell.³⁰

A marginal note to a letter of Hyde, dated from Brussels January 22nd 1659-60, states that the gentlemen of Northamptonshire had been disposed to rise for the King, but were discouraged by the "Rump" [of the Long Parliament] possessing the house and name of Parliament. "I should be glad," says the

(28) Life of Allestree. One of the organs of communication was a Mistress Ann Booth, an English woman resident at Dunkirk, who seems to have been a lodging-house keeper. (King James the Second's Papers.) Sir Anthony Cope's brother John Cope was in command of a troop at Dunkirk at the time of the Restoration: he married a Mistress Ann Booth, who appears to have been a person of low origin, since in the pedigrees of the Cope family she is described as being the daughter of Mr. Philip Booth. Sir Anthony in his will left Hanwell and his other estates away from his brother's issue by Ann Booth, and declared the issue of the said Ann Booth incapable of inheriting under his said will.

(29) Kennet's Register.

(30) Life of Allestree, prefixed to his Sermons.

letter itself, "to find that our friends in Northamptonshire have done themselves no harm by their late motions, and that as many honest men get into the House upon the new elections as is possible."³¹ In the same month of January, the gentlemen of Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire presented addresses to General Monk (then on his way to Dunstable) for the restitution of the Members secluded in 1648 and the filling up of vacancies, or for the calling of a full and free Parliament. On the 15th February, a "Declaration of the County of Oxon," embodying similar sentiments, and desiring the preservation of the Protestant religion, a succession of godly and able ministers, and the preservation of the Universities, (signed by upwards of 5,000 considerable persons,) was presented to General Monk in London, by Lord Falkland, Sir Anthony Cope, James Fiennes, Sir Henry Jones (of Chastleton probably), Captain William Cope, and Edward Hungerford.³²

Monk having been successful in his endeavours for the calling of a new Parliament (which was summoned to meet on the 25th April 1660), Sir Anthony Cope was chosen for Banbury, and James Fiennes and Sir Thomas Wenman for Oxfordshire.³³ On the 28th, the gentlemen of Oxfordshire signed a Declaration, disclaiming all revenge against their adversaries, and desiring peace for the country.³⁴ Monk was immediately appointed General of all the Land Forces of the Kingdom; and shortly after, the Restoration being voted by the Parliament, Charles the Second took possession of the throne.

Sir Anthony was one of those Royalist gentlemen who were selected by the King in the same year, 1660, to form his intended order of Knights of the Royal Oak, in honour of the Restoration: but Charles was advised to lay aside his design of founding that order, lest such a step should re-inflame animosities which otherwise would slumber or die. In Le Neve's MS. list of the order, it is noted that Sir Anthony's estate was £4,000 per annum—larger than that of any other intended knight of the new order who was selected from Oxfordshire. His name occurs hereafter.

Richard Allestree was made a canon of Christ Church: he sub-

(31) Kennet's Register.

(32) Broadsheet in the British Museum. The Capt. William Cope here mentioned was William Cope Esq. of Icombe co. Gloucester, second son of Richard Cope formerly of Calthorp and afterwards of Ireland. (See p. 262.)

(33) Parl. Hist. Eng.

(34) Broadsheet in the British Museum.

sequently preached frequently before the King at Whitehall; was created D. D.; and was appointed one of the lecturers of the city of Oxford, with a view to instil loyal principles into the citizens. In 1663 he became regius professor of divinity at Oxford; and two years after was made provost of Eton College, which college he raised to a very high pitch of reputation. This, says Anthony à Wood, "was all the preferment he enjoyed, being little enough for such a sufferer as he had been, and one that had often ventured his neck to do his Majesty service."³⁵

It was a consequence, partly perhaps of LORD SAYE'S vote in 1648 on the treaty of the Isle of Wight (see p. 435), and partly of his having some concern in the business with Monk in the new or convention Parliament, that, after the Restoration, his Lordship, having sued out a pardon from Charles the Second, was restored to favour, and made lord privy seal, and lord-chamberlain of the household. Soon after this period, Lord Saye died at Broughton on the 14th April 1662, aged eighty years.³⁶ He was interred in the church of Broughton. Two black slabs rest on a raised marble tomb in Broughton church, briefly inscribed to the memory of William Lord Saye and his Lady. The inscriptions are as follows:—"William Fiennes Viscovnt Say and Seale 1662:"—"Elizabeth Viscovntesse Say and Seale 1648." Around the tomb are carvings of arms.

JAMES FIENNES succeeded to his father's titles. Wood says of James Fiennes that he had "always been reputed an honest cavalier and a quiet man." Perhaps it was some family considerations that led him also to take out a pardon in 1660.³⁷ He died in 1674, without issue.

(35) Life of Allestree; Wood's *Athenæ*.

(36) Lord Nugent says that "Lord Saye is generally described as of a shrewd mind, and a persevering and resolute temper. It is difficult to come to a true conclusion as to the moral character of a man whose motives it was the business of the contending writers of those times to extol or vilify in an almost equally exaggerated measure. * * * Clarendon admits that he was of 'good reputation with many who were not discontented.' May and Viccars speak of his great abilities and unimpeached honour, in terms which shew that the party to which they belonged considered him as one with whom it might be proud to associate its own character and that of its cause; and Whitelocke, writing after the Restoration, represents him as 'a person of great parts, wisdom, and integrity,' imbued with the loftiest spirit of patriotism.—*Nugent's Memorials of Hampden*, v. 2, pp. 26—29.

Anthony Wood, a prejudiced writer of a different class, says of Lord Saye:—"At length this noble author, after he had spent 80 years mostly in an unquiet and discontented condition, had been a grand promoter of the rebellion which began in 1642, and had, in some respect, been the promoter of the murder of King Ch. I., did die quietly in his bed, but whether in conscience, I cannot tell, on the 14th day of April in sixteen hundred sixty and two: whereupon his body was buried in Broughton Church among the graves of his ancestors, and had over it, soon after, a rich and costly monument erected, more befitting a hero than a rebel."—*Wood's Athenæ*.

(37) Original instrument in the possession of the Hon. T. W. Twistleton Fiennes.

OF NATHANIEL FIENNES it remains to record the closing history. Lord Nugent says, he "enjoyed favour under the restored Government without any imputation of dishonourable compliance with the altered spirit of the times." He retired however from public life to Newton Toney near Salisbury, where he had an estate that came to him by his second wife, who was Frances, daughter of Richard Whitehead of Tuderley in Hampshire. There he continued in much privacy, and, Noble says, "much neglected," till his death, which occurred on the 16th December 1669. He was buried in the church of Newton Toney, where a monument was erected to his memory and that of his two daughters (by his second wife) who died in the flower of their age. His portrait, and that of his Lady (both by Sir Peter Lely), are preserved at Broughton Castle, and the former has been engraved in Lord Nugent's "Memorials of Hampden." Nathaniel Fiennes's son William (by his first wife, who was the daughter of Sir John Eliot,) succeeded to the viscounty of Saye and Sele on the death of James Viscount Saye in 1674 without issue male; but the barony, descending in the female line, remained in abeyance between the two daughters of that nobleman.³⁸

JOHN FIENNES, the third son of William Viscount Saye, who has also been repeatedly mentioned in this volume, was another of Oliver Cromwell's "Lords;" "and though a sectary," says Wood, "yet he was no great stickler, notwithstanding guided partly by Nathaniel, but more by old subtilty, the father."³⁹ One of his sons succeeded to the viscounty of Saye and Sele upon the death of the grandson of Nathaniel Fiennes; and he also leaving no issue, the title devolved on the descendant of Richard

(38) Wood's *Athenæ*; Noble's *Memoirs*; Fiennes' *Pedigree*. Nathaniel Fiennes published,—1. Several speeches in Parliament, two of which are—"Speech containing unparallel'd Reasons for the Abolishing of Episcopacy," 1642; and—"Speech or Relation made in the House of Commons concerning the Surrender of the City and Castle of Bristol, 5 Aug. 1643, with the Transcripts and Extracts of certain Letters, wherein his Care for the Preservation of the City doth appear." 1643. This was answered by William Prynne and by Clement Walker.—2. "True and exact Relation of both the Battels fought by his Excellency Rob. E. of Essex and his Forces against the bloody Cavaliers. The one of the 23d of Oct. last near Keynton below Edghill in Warwicksh. the other at Worcester, by Col. Browne, Capt. Nath. and Joh. Fiennes and Col. Sandys and some others." Nov. 9, 1642.—3. Some pamphlets relating to the Bristol affair.—4. "Monarchy asserted to be the best, most antient, and legal Form of Government, in a Conference had at Whitehall with Oliver L. Protector and Committee of Parliament, &c. in Apr. 1657." Lond. 1660.—5. "The Scots Designe discovered. Relating their dangerous Attempts lately practised against the English Nation, with the sad Consequence of the same. Wherein divers Matters of publick Concernment are disclosed. And the Book called Truths Manifest is made apparent to be Lyes manifest. London, Printed and are to be sold at the Marygold in S. Pauls Church-yard. 1654." He was also represented as having had some share in Sprigge's *Anglia Rediviva*.

(39) Wood's *Athenæ*.

Fiennes, the fourth and youngest son of William Viscount Saye ; upon whose decease it became extinct. The barony, which had been in abeyance, fell to Thomas Twistleton, the descendant of the eldest daughter of James the second Viscount Saye. His descendants have lately taken the name of Fiennes.⁴⁰

JOHN CREWE (also before mentioned), who is stated as having "by his great prudence with no small hazard" contributed his best endeavours "in order to his Majesty's happy restoration,"⁴¹ was in 1661 created Baron Crewe of Steane. He died in 1679, and lies buried in the church of Steane.

Shortly before the Restoration, namely, on the 30th March 1660, "Fulk Grevill, being at or neare Banbury, of the antient and gentile familie of the Grevills of Warwickshire, was condemn'd at Oxford assize, for robbing on the high way, and killing, as 'twas said, a man."⁴²

TRADESMEN'S TOKENS.

During the Protectorate and the early part of the reign of Charles the Second, many tradesmen, for convenience, made their own halfpence. These were small thin pieces made of brass or copper. The following relate to Banbury:—

1. In the centre of the obverse are the letters $\begin{smallmatrix} S \\ W \quad I \end{smallmatrix}$; inscribed "IN BANBURY 1650." In the centre of the reverse is a Unicorn, inscribed "AT THE VNICORNE." (See Plate 26, fig. 5.)

2. On the obverse is a fleur-de-lis, inscribed "IAMES WAGSTAFE." On the reverse, "IN BANBVRY 1651," and in the centre $\begin{smallmatrix} W \\ I \quad M. \end{smallmatrix}$

3. On the obverse, the crest of the Mercers' Company, inscribed "IOHN VIVERS." On the reverse, "OF BANBVRYE 1652," and in the centre $\begin{smallmatrix} V \\ I \quad E. \end{smallmatrix}$

4. On the obverse, figures of Adam and Eve, the Tree and Serpent; inscribed "MANASSES PLYMTON." On the reverse, "IN BANBVRY 1653," and in the centre $\begin{smallmatrix} P \\ M \quad B. \end{smallmatrix}$

5. On the obverse, a man dipping candles; inscribed "WILLIAM MAN- DER." On the reverse, "IN BANBVRY 1656," and in the centre $\begin{smallmatrix} M \\ W \quad E. \end{smallmatrix}$

(40) Pedigree of the Family. The Misses Trotman, daughters of the late Fiennes Trotman Esq. of Siston Court near Bristol, claim to be Ladies of the Hundred of Banbury, as being the representatives of the elder branch of the Fiennes family with whose extinction in the male line the viscounty also became extinct.

(41) Kennet's Register.

(42) Bliss's Wood's Athenæ.

6. On the obverse, the letters $\begin{smallmatrix} S \\ H \quad M \end{smallmatrix}$; inscribed "HENRY SMITH IN." On the reverse, "BANBVRY, IRONMONGER," and in the centre "1656."

7. On the obverse, the crest of the Mercers' Company, inscribed "JOHN WAGSTAFFE." On the reverse, "IN BANBVRY," and in the centre $\begin{smallmatrix} W \\ I \quad A. \end{smallmatrix}$

8. On the obverse, the arms of the Apothecaries' Company, inscribed "BENIAMEN HIBBERDINE." On the reverse, "APOTHECARY IN BANBVRY," and in the centre $\begin{smallmatrix} H \\ B \quad A. \end{smallmatrix}$

9. On the obverse, a windlass and rope, inscribed "THOMAS PYM MERCER." On the reverse, "IN BANBVRY, 1664," and in the centre $\begin{smallmatrix} P \\ T \quad I. \end{smallmatrix}$

10. On the obverse, the crest of the Mercers' Company, inscribed "NATHANIELL WHEATLY." On the reverse, "IN BANBVRY 1664," and in the centre $\begin{smallmatrix} W \\ N \quad M. \end{smallmatrix}$

11. On the obverse, a Raindeer, with the letters T. S. below it, and S. above it; inscription, "THOMAS SVTTON AT THE." On the reverse, "RAINDEAR IN BANBVRY," and in the centre, "HIS HALF PENY 1666." (See Plate 26, fig. 6.)

12. On the obverse, a sugarloaf; inscription, "MATHEW ANSLEY." On the reverse, "IN BANBVRY," and in the centre M A.

13. On the obverse, a fleur-de-lis, inscribed "WILLIAM WAGSTAFFE OF." On the reverse, "BANBVRY. HIS HALF PENY," and in the centre $\begin{smallmatrix} W \\ W \quad M. \end{smallmatrix}$

14. On the obverse, a spread eagle; inscribed "JOHN HALL IN." On the reverse, "BANBVRY 1666," and in the centre $\begin{smallmatrix} H \\ I \quad E. \end{smallmatrix}$

15. On the obverse, an inscription "JOHN ALLINGTON 1666;" and in the centre "HIS HALF PENY." On the reverse, "APOTHECARY IN BANBVRY;" and in the centre the arms of the Apothecaries' Company, with I A above.

16. On the obverse, Adam and Eve, the Tree and Serpent; inscribed "NATHANIEL VIVERS." On the reverse, "IN BANBVRY 1668," and in the centre "HIS HALF PENY."

17. On the obverse, the arms of —————, inscribed "HENRY SMITH. IRONMONGR." On the reverse, "IN BANBVRY 1668," and in the centre, "HIS HALF PENY."

18. On the obverse, an inscription "MATHEW SMITH GARDNER," and in the centre "HIS HALFE PENY $\begin{smallmatrix} S \\ M \quad M. \end{smallmatrix}$ " On the reverse, "IN BANBRY 1669," and in the centre Adam and Eve, with Tree and Serpent.


19. On the obverse, the crest of the Mercers' Company, inscribed "GEORGE ROBINS MERCER." On the reverse, "IN BANBVRY 1669," and in the centre "HIS HALF PENY."

20. On the obverse the letters $\begin{smallmatrix} T \\ P \quad I \end{smallmatrix}$; inscribed "HIS HALFE PENNY." On the reverse, pieces of silk piled up; inscribed "MERCER OF BANBARY."

21. THOMAS DEIBELL IN BANBVRY. $\begin{smallmatrix} D \\ T \quad E. \end{smallmatrix}$

The following tokens relate to villages in the immediate vicinity :—

1. On the obverse, a Crown, inscribed "HENRY HVNT IN." On the reverse, "ADDERBURY 1656," and in the centre $\begin{smallmatrix} H \\ H \ E. \end{smallmatrix}$

2. On the obverse, the arms of , inscribed "RICHARD SHORT IN WARDENTON." On the reverse, "IN Y^e COVNTY OF OXON MERCER," and in the centre, "HIS HALF PENY."

3. On the obverse, "EDMVND CHANDLER," and in the centre "HIS HALF PENY." On the reverse, "IN KINGS SVTTON," and in the centre $\begin{smallmatrix} C \\ E \ E. \end{smallmatrix}$ 1666

4. On the obverse, "THOMAS NORRIS IN," and in the centre "HIS HALF PENY." On the reverse, "AYNHO VPON THE HILL," and in the centre a lion rampant.

5. On the obverse, the inscription, "THOMAS NVTT OF;" and in the centre T N. On the reverse, the inscription, "DADINGTON. MERCER;" and in the centre "1653."

6. On the obverse, an Eagle and Child; inscribed "ANN MAKEPACE IN." On the reverse, "DADINGTON, MERCER," and in the centre A M.

7. On the obverse, the arms of the Apothecaries' Company, inscribed "SAMVELL BELCHER 1668." On the reverse, "IN DEDINGTON," and in the centre $\begin{smallmatrix} B \\ S \ B. \end{smallmatrix}$ "43

(43) Specimens in my own collection, or in those of the Rev. T. Symonds, vicar of Ensham, Charles Faulkner Esq. of Adderbury, and Mr. J. G. Rusher of Banbury; or in the British Museum.

PERIOD AFTER THE RESTORATION.

THE REIGN OF CHARLES THE SECOND.

On the 3rd September 1660, a record occurs on the journals of the House of Lords, stating that "there are very great assemblies of Quakers and Anabaptists (conceived to be of Lambert's party) who meet frequently in very great multitudes in the towns of Culworth and Eydon in Northamptonshire, and in other parts of that county, plotting and contriving against the peace of the Church and State, as appears evidently by their casting out and dispersing several scandalous papers against the ministers," &c: orders were thereupon sent to the sheriff to prevent and suppress such meetings.¹

The precautions which were taken subsequently to the Restoration against any fresh attempts that might be made on the part of the Sectaries, fell heavily upon the Quakers; who, refusing to take any oath, and therefore the oath of allegiance, thus lay open to the charge of disloyalty, and often became subject to legal proceedings. In January 1660[61], Edward Vivers, John Long, James Wagstaff, and other Quakers, were summoned by the justices sitting at Banbury, and, upon their refusing to take the oath of allegiance, were committed to Oxford gaol. On the 11th of the same month, twenty-nine persons were apprehended at a meeting at Banbury (by the mayor's order); and, because they would not take the oath of allegiance, were committed to the gaol there.² Lord Falkland, lord-lieutenant of the county of Oxford, was at this time taking active measures against any movement of the sectarian party. But in May 1661, Charles the Second issued a Proclamation of Grace for the enlargement of persons called Quakers.³

The first Parliament called by Charles the Second met on the 8th May 1661: to this Parliament, Sir Anthony Cope bart. was

(1) Kennet's Register.

(3) Kingdom's Intelligencer.

(2) Besse's Sufferings of the Quakers, v. 1, p. 567.

chosen for Oxfordshire, and Sir John Holman knt. for Banbury.⁴ Sir JOHN HOLMAN (who is styled of Banbury and of Weston Favell) was the second son of Philip Holman Esq., who had been a scrivener in London, but who, in 1629, purchased the estates of the Chetwode family at Warkworth and Grimsbury.⁵ The manor-house at Warkworth is described by Anthony à Wood as being "a stately house," partly built by the Chetwodes, and partly by Philip Holman. The building, which occupied three sides of a quadrangle, stood on the eminence near the church, which commands an extensive view over the northern parts of Oxfordshire. It was entirely taken down in 1806.⁶

At the time of Anthony à Wood's visit to Warkworth (namely in 1659) the property belonged to George Holman (the eldest son of Philip Holman), who had embraced the Romish religion, and appeared to be "a melancholy and begotted convert."⁷ This George Holman's daughter Mary married Thomas Eyre Esq. of Hassop in Derbyshire, a Roman Catholic warmly attached to his religion, who, on the death of George Holman's eldest son in 1740, became possessed of a moiety of the estates, and afterwards purchased the remainder.⁸ Sir John Holman, the member for Banbury, was created a baronet in 1663. He was living in 1698, and dead in 1704.⁹

The measures taken against the Sectaries were continued, and with frequently the same consequences to the Quakers. The following record occurs:—

1661. "Friday" } "Whitehall. A letter from the Lords of the
Octob. 11. Letter from } Council to the Lord Viscount Falkland, lord
the Council to Lord } lieutenant of the County of Oxford, upon in-
Falkland on a Conven- } formation that every Sunday there is a numer-
ticle at Banbury. } ous conventicle of insolent Fanaticks, who
usually assemble in the town of Banbury, and
refuse to disperse themselves; but obstinately continue their meetings:
Praying his lordship to be very serious and circumspect in examining this
information, and to prevent and dissipate all conventions of Sectaries,
or like dangerous persons within his jurisdiction."¹⁰

On the 6th October 1661, it is stated that "a party of soldiers went into a meeting at Banbury, and barbarously abused the as-

(4) This Parliament continued for nearly eighteen years, it being dissolved on the 24th January 1678-9.—*New Parl. Register*.

(5) See p. 407, note 3.

(7) Life of Wood.

(9) Baker's Northamp., p. 741.

(6) Wood's Life; Baker's Northamp., p. 741.

(8) Baker's Northamp., pp. 740, 741.

(10) Kennet's Register.

sembly, beating and bruising many of them, and wounding one in the breast with a sword, dragging them by violence out of the house, and when out, continuing to beat and abuse them."¹¹

On the 16th July 1662, Thomas Robins, mayor of Banbury, with nine Aldermen, all the six Capital Burgesses, six of the Assistants, and the under officers of the Corporation, took the oaths of allegiance and supremacy.¹² On the 24th August following (being St. Bartholomew's day) the Nonconforming ministers were ejected from their livings; and amongst the rest, Samuel Wells of Banbury (see p. 465), Christopher Nevil of Bloxham, ——— Coney of Broughton, and Dr. Robert Wild of Aynho. Francis Wells, minister of Adderbury, was another; but he afterwards conformed.¹³ At various dates from 1663 to 1665, the name of Thomas Mathew, M. A., occurs as Vicar of Banbury.¹⁴ In 1665, the measures taken under the impolitic Five-Mile Act (see p. 466) compelled Samuel Wells to remove from Banbury, and he took up his residence at Deddington. The Nonconformists, soon after, established a Meeting-house at Milton (a small hamlet belonging to Adderbury), which was probably served by Samuel Wells and his fellow Nonconformists. In September 1665, Edward Vivers, a Quaker of Banbury, was committed to prison: he was subsequently brought up at several assizes and sessions at Oxford; and, though nothing appeared against him, was from time to time remanded to prison. At length James Lord Saye, lieutenant of the county of Oxford, ordered Vivers to be brought before him at the sessions; when the only cause which was shewn for his commitment was an information that he had built a Meeting-house and caused a burial-ground to be walled round (evidently the first Meeting-house and burial-ground of the Quakers in Banbury):¹⁵ whereupon, after an imprisonment of two years and seven months' duration, he was set at liberty.¹⁶

(11) Besse's *Sufferings of the Quakers*, v. 1, pp. 567, 568.

(12) Book of Accounts &c. preserved by the present Town Clerk.

(13) Palmer's *Nonconformists' Memorial*.

(14) Register of Banbury.

(15) The title-deeds of the Friends' [Quakers'] Meeting-house and Grave-yard at Banbury commence from 1664-5. In the Register of Banbury it is recorded that "The wife of Edward Vivers was buried in Quaker yard" 31st May 1668.

(16) Besse's *Sufferings of the Quakers*, v. 1, p. 570. The imprisoned Quakers used frequently to pass away the hours of their confinement, and endeavour to obtain necessary support, by making a kind of laces, which (from this circumstance of their manufacture at this period by the imprisoned Friends) were known in the shops, even until recent times, as "Quakers' Laces." The late Mr. Timothy Burberow of Neithorp possessed the pillow which had been used in this manufacture by his grandfather, Timothy Burberow of Aynho, during a confinement of more than two years' continuance in Northampton gaol. This last-named Timothy Burberow is mentioned in the printed collection of the Quakers' Suffer-

Dr. RICHARD WHITE, Vicar of Banbury, has been already mentioned in p. 466. His name occurs in connection with his ministerial office at Banbury in 1670.¹⁷ Wood says he was "sometime of the University of Oxon." In 1675 he married Mary, eldest daughter of Charles Fox Esq., of Chacombe.¹⁸ In 1678, he is mentioned in the Quakers' records as being "priest of Broughton."¹⁹ He was afterwards removed to Kidderminster, where he is said to have lived on most friendly terms with the ejected nonconformist Baldwin (as he had done with Samuel Wells while at Banbury), and he was selected to preach the funeral sermon of that divine in 1693.²⁰

February, 1669-70. "In this year following the Towne was visited with the Small Pox."²¹

Sir John Holman was again returned for Banbury to the second, third, and fourth Parliaments of Charles the Second, namely, twice in 1679 and once in 1681.²²

House of Commons, March 25th, 1681.—"A Petition of Thomas Wise esquire, touching the Election for the Borough of Banbury in the County of Oxon, was read.

"Ordered, That the said Petition be referred to the consideration of the Committee of Elections and Privileges; to examine the matter thereof; and to report the same, with their Opinion thereon, to the House."²³

ings as having been imprisoned in 1683 on a writ *de Excommunicato capiendo*, for not bringing his children to be baptized. In 1685, his neighbours at Aynho signed a certificate on behalf of him and two others; which certificate was presented to the justices assembled at the quarter sessions. It stated that all three of them were imprisoned "for no other cause but nonconformity," and that they were "persons of a peaceable and honest conversation, and not at any time, as we know, guilty of any disloyal practices against the government." On such grounds the certifiers humbly represented that they conceived the prisoners to be pardonable under the King's warrant of the 18th April in that year for the relief of those who had testified their loyalty and affection to the government. The certificate is signed by the churchwardens, overseers, constable, and many others, styling themselves "neighbours ancient" of the prisoners. An accompanying certificate to the same effect was forwarded by two county magistrates. The prisoners at Northampton joined in a representation of their case to the members for the county, which states that nearly fourscore Quakers had been in prison there at one time, and threescore crowded together during the last winter; four having died prisoners during the year. The representation concludes thus:—"We are not willing to particularize our sufferings, which have been long and many; rather desiring that the Lord may move upon your hearts with bowels of pity and compassion, to the easing of a poor afflicted people, who have done neither King nor nation any wrong, and who are in sincerity and truth,

Your Christian Friends,

JOHN LANE

JOHN ASHBY

TIMOTHY BURBOROW [and several others].

"Northampton Prison, the 13th
of the 4th Month, 1685."

"Signed on the behalf of ourselves and our fellow prisoners."

Towards the close of this year the Quaker prisoners were set at liberty by virtue of the proclamation of James the Second.—*Besse's Sufferings*, v. 1, pp. 543-551.

(17) Register of Banbury.

(18) Baker's Northamp., p. 591.

(19) Besse's Sufferings of the Quakers, v. 1, p. 574.

(20) Kennet's Register; Palmer's Nonconformists' Memorial, v. 2, p. 526.

(21) Register of Banbury.

(22) Beatson's Register of Parliament.

(23) Commons' Journals.

Sir Anthony Cope continued to sit in Parliament for the county of Oxford until his death. He had been educated at Oriel College, under Robert Saye, who afterwards became Provost of that college. He married his first cousin, Mary, the daughter of Dutton Lord Gerard of Gerards Bromley, by Lady Mary Fane (his mother's sister), daughter of Francis first Earl of Westmorland. Sir Anthony's children all died before him, "which loss," says an annotator in the Register of Hanwell, "proved fatal to him and his lady." Grief hurried Sir Anthony to an early grave in 1675, at the age of 43 years; and deprived his unfortunate lady of her reason. She died in 1714.²⁴

There is a circumstantial account of Sir Anthony's funeral preserved in the Heralds' College, which shews it to have been attended with great pomp and ceremony. Dr. Allestree was one of his executors. Sir Anthony, by his will, gave Hanwell and his other estates away from his brother John Cope's children by his wife, Ann Booth, and declared the issue of the said Ann Booth to be incapable of inheriting under his said will. By this step, while Sir Anthony's desire was (as stated in the will) that Hanwell should ever continue in his name and family, he contrived to dis sever it and his other estates from the family altogether.²⁵ He was succeeded in the title by his brother Sir John Cope, the fifth baronet.

In the 35th Charles II (1683), the Corporation of Banbury surrendered to the Crown their Charters granted by Queen Mary and James the First; and a new Charter was granted by the King, in compliance with a petition of the Corporation, which enlarged the jurisdiction of the Borough to the Parish, including by name the hamlets of Calthorp, Easington, Wickham, Neithorp, and Hardwick:²⁶ but, the surrender of the former Charters not having been enrolled, the Corporation afterwards resumed them under the Proclamation of James the Second in 1688 for restoring surrendered charters.

(24) Information from the Rev. W. H. Cope.

(25) Ibid.

(26) Municipal Report in 1833. The Book of Accounts &c. of the Corporation contains a list of eighteen persons who subscribed money for this renewal of the Charter and for the defence of an action concerning the Poor. In 1684 and the two following years, a Mayor of the "Borough," and a Justice of the "Borough and Parish," were elected and sworn.

BIOGRAPHICAL.

WILLIAM COLE was born at Adderbury, and was the son of John Cole B. D., sometime fellow of New College, Oxford, and "minister of God's word at Adderbury." The son was entered one of the clerks of New College in 1642; and was made, soon after, one of the portionists of Merton College. In 1650 he took the degree of B. A. He afterwards lived at Putney, and was considered the most famous "simpler," or herbalist, of his time. He died in 1662 (while secretary to Dr. Duppa bishop of Winchester), aged about 36 years.²⁷

JOHN COLE was an elder son of the aforesaid John Cole of Adderbury; and was born there in or before the year 1624. He became probationer-fellow of New College, Oxford, in 1643, and taught the grammar-school there in the cloister, but was ejected by the Parliamentary visitors before he had taken a degree. He resided afterwards at Wolverhampton, "taught there, and married, but not to his content." He had a principal share in translating from the French into English—"Hymen's Prælua; or Love's Master-piece; being that so much admired Romance, entit. Cleopatra."²⁸

JOHN KERSEY, a mathematician of much eminence, was born at Bodicot. The entry concerning him in the Bodicot Register is:—"John the sonne of Anthony Carsaye and Alice his wife was baptized the 23 day of November Anno Dom. 1616." His mother's maiden name was Fenimore.²⁹ John Kersey practised as a teacher of the mathematics and a surveyor in London. He published in 1673, in two folio volumes, "The Elements of Algebra," which is considered to be one of the clearest and most comprehensive works of the kind in any language. Kersey also published an improved edition of Wingate's Arithmetic, with an Appendix equal in bulk to the original volume: and "Dictionarium Anglo-Britannicum, or General English Dictionary." He died of a consumption, about the year 1677, in Chandos Street

(27) Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.*; Chalmers's *Biog. Dict.* W. Cole was the author of several works. One of them, published in 1656, is called "The Art of Simpling: or an introduction to the Knowledge of Gathering Plants." With this was printed "*Perspicillum microcosmologicum, or a Prospective for the discovery of the Lesser World, wherein Man is a Compendium,*" &c. He afterwards published "*Adam in Eden: or, Nature's Paradise. The History of Plants, Herbs, Flowers, with their several original names,*" &c. Lond. 1657, fol.

(28) Bliss's *Wood's Athenæ.*

(29) Register of Bodicot.

near St. Martin's Lane, Westminster. A fine engraved portrait of Kersey, by Faithorne, is prefixed to his *Algebra*.³⁰

GEORGE ASHWELL, a Royalist who, during the Rebellion, several times preached before the King at Oxford, and who subsequently was ejected from the University by the visitors who were appointed in 1648, became rector of Hanwell on the death of Dr. Robert Harris in 1658, on the presentation of Sir Anthony Cope, to whom he had been chaplain. Ashwell is said to have been a quiet and pious man, every way worthy of his function, a sound logician, and well read in the fathers and schoolmen. He was the author of several theological works. He died at Hanwell, after being rector there thirty-five years, on the 8th February 1693; and was buried in the church, in the south aisle of which there is a tablet to his memory.³¹

THOMAS HUNT, Anthony à Wood says, was "famous in his generation among certain schismatical persons for several things that he hath written and published." He was born in London about the year 1627, became fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge, went to Gray's Inn and was made a barrister, and was soon held in repute for his practice. About the year 1660 he came to reside at Banbury, where he followed his profession. He was by Charles the Second appointed to be lord-chief-baron of Ireland; but the patent was superseded while he was on his way to Ireland, at the instance, as it appears, of the Duke of York, to whom he was not acceptable. Upon the Duke's accession to the throne as James the Second, Hunt retired into Holland; and afterwards died on his passage from Holland back to England in company with the Prince of Orange. To the loss of his office Wood attributes the fact that Hunt became "one of the worst and most inveterate enemies both of church and state." Dryden, Roger L'Estrange, and others, wrote against him.³²

WILLIAM BEW, D. D., who was vicar of Adderbury soon after the Restoration, had been, about 1644, major of a regiment of horse under Charles the First. In 1679 he, having proceeded in divinity, became Bishop of Llandaf, with liberty to hold Ad-

(30) Wood's *Athenæ*; Chalmers's *Biog. Dict.*

(31) Wood's *Athenæ*; Tablet at Hanwell; and information from the Rev. W. H. Cope.

(32) Wood's *Athenæ*. Hunt published—1. "Great and Weighty Considerations relating to the Duke of York, or Successor to the Crown, &c. considered. And an Answer to a Letter." Lond., fol., 1680, and 8vo., 1682.—2. "An Argument for the Bishops Right in judging in Capital Causes in Parliament, &c. To which is added A Postscript for rectifying some Mistakes in some of the inferior Clergy, mischievous to our Government and Religion." Lond., 8vo., 1682; and some other works.

derbury *in commendam* with it. He died in 1705. His tomb is beneath the east window of the church of Adderbury.³³

SIR WILLIAM SCROGGS, lord-chief-justice of the King's Bench in the reign of Charles the Second, was born at Deddington in 1623. He was educated for the church, but entered into the Royal army, and afterwards at Gray's Inn, where he was called to the bar. In 1669 he was knighted and made serjeant-at-law, and in 1678 chief-justice of the King's Bench. He was however removed from this high office in 1681, on the ground of having acted with partiality in the trials of those who were accused of having been concerned in the "Popish Plot." He died in 1683.³⁴ Dean Swift says:—"I have read somewhere of an eastern King, who put a judge to death for an iniquitous sentence, and ordered his hide to be stuffed into a cushion, and placed upon the tribunal, for the son to sit on, who was preferred to the father's office. I fancy such a memorial might not have been unuseful to a son of Sir William Scroggs; and that both he and his successors would often wriggle in their seats, as long as the cushion lasted."³⁵

JOHN KNIGHT, D. D., was born in 1650, entered at New Inn Hall, Oxford, and received the degree of B. A. in 1673, and that of M. A. in 1675. Upon the removal of Richard White from Banbury to Broughton, Knight became Vicar of Banbury, previously to January 1677-8. Wood says that Knight was "a good scholar, very loyal, and of a good name and esteem where he lives, and might have been Prebendary of Lincoln, which he much deserves, had not Dr. B. [Barlow] bishop thereof shew'd him a dog trick." He continued vicar of Banbury in 1683. He subsequently became D. D., and rector of Broughton, at the same time vacating Banbury. He died on the 6th June 1704; and a grave in Broughton church contains his remains and those of his wife, who was Hannah, the daughter of Colonel John Fiennes.³⁶

JOHN WILMOT, Earl of ROCHESTER. Henry Wilmot, Baron Wilmot of Adderbury and Earl of Rochester, died in 1659. (See p. 359.) His son John Wilmot succeeded to the titles and es-

(33) Bliss's Wood's Athenæ; &c.

(34) Chalmers's Biog. Dict.

(35) Drapier's Letters.

(36) Bliss's Wood's Fasti Oxon.; Register of Banbury; Besse's Sufferings of the Quakers, v. 1, p. 574; Inscription at Broughton. Knight was the author of "The Samaritan Rebels perjur'd by a Covenant of Association, in a Sermon at the Assizes held at Northampton, 30 March 1682;" 4to.

tates, and resided at Adderbury. He is well known as the profligate Earl of Rochester. The village chroniclers of Adderbury relate many traditional tales of the eccentricities and libertinisms of this worthless personage. Amongst others, it is stated that it was at Bodicot (a chapelry to Adderbury) that Rochester made his extempore lines addressed to the psalm-singing clerk or sexton :—

“Sternhold and Hopkins had great qualms,
When they translated David's Psalms,
To make the heart full glad :
But had it been poor David's fate,
To hear thee sing, and them translate,
By Jove, 'twould have drove him mad.”

The Earl died in 1680, leaving a son Charles, the third Earl, who however died in his minority, and the titles became extinct.³⁷

WOMAN OF ADDERBURY. There is an old 4to. tract, entitled “Gods Terrible Judgement in Oxfordshire; a True Relation of a Woman at Atherbury, having used divers horrible Wishes and Imprecations, was suddenly Burnt of Ashes on one side of her Body, when there was no Fire near her. 1677.”³⁸

WILLIAM MORRELL, sometime of Banbury, was a notorious impostor who lived in the reign of Charles the Second and subsequently. The origin of this person was obscure. His first start in the world was as a journeyman shoemaker at Worcester. He afterwards went abroad; and, when he returned to England, came to reside at Swalcliffe (near Banbury); where he amused the country people with so many rhodomontades of his travels, that he began to be looked upon in the neighbourhood as a

(37) The Earl's mansion at Adderbury was afterwards the abode of the great JOHN Duke of ARGYLE; at which period ALEXANDER POPE slept there on the night of the 9th July 1739, in the Earl of Rochester's own bed, and left behind him the following verses :—

“With no poetic ardour fir'd
I press the bed where Wilmot lay;
That here he lov'd, or here expir'd,
Begets no numbers grave or gay.
Beneath thy roof, Argyle, are bred
Such thoughts as prompt the brave to lie
Stretch'd out in honour's nobler bed,
Beneath a nobler roof—the sky :
Such flames as high in patriots burn,
Yet stoop to bless a child or wife;
And such as wicked Kings may mourn,
When freedom is more dear than life.”—*Pope's Works.*

Several years ago the magnificent mansion at Adderbury, which had been the abode, successively, of the Earls of Rochester, the Duke of Argyle, and the Duke of Buccleugh, was reduced to the dimensions of a commodious modern mansion, which is now the residence of W. H. Chamberlin Esq.

(38) Gough's Topog. ; Brewers Oxf.

prodigy. He was at that time a professor of chirurgery; and, receiving some notice from Captain Humphrey Wickham of Swalcliffe, he set up in the profession at Banbury, where he resided many years, and maintained his wife and family in respectable circumstances. About the year 1674, however, he began to neglect his business, from seeking after the society of the gentlemen of the neighbourhood: his trade thereupon fell off, and his wants put him upon many shifts. At length, having secured the services of a young countryman as a servant and accomplice, he quitted his home, and went, first, to Brailes fair; where, by personating a brother of Sir William Walters, he cheated a countryman out of a drove of cattle. He then proceeded through the fair, and took notice of a young village lass, a mason's daughter; who, struck with his assumed name and quality, permitted him to accompany her home, where her father made the best provision for his guest. Morrell tendered his hand to the maiden; and her doting parents not only gave consent to their union, but borrowed all the money they could for the occasion, and the marriage was solemnized.

Morrell, having now his pockets full of cash, metamorphosed himself into a dashing gentleman, and went to Ludlow; where he obtained the affections of the daughter of a wealthy tradesman, and married her. He then went, with considerable spoil, to Bristol, where he assumed the character of a salesman; and at Bath he obtained for a fourth wife the daughter of an inn-keeper who possessed some money. He then bought a stately gelding, and pranced away to Slough, where he appeared as a merchant, and soon formed an intimacy with a country gentleman who had a very pretty daughter to whom he was able to give five hundred pounds for a portion. Morrell's design at Slough appears to have been difficult of accomplishment, since it is said he had to cope with judgment in the father of the girl, wit and sense in the lady herself, and some ingenuity in her brother. Every difficulty, however, was overcome, and the marriage was accomplished. The whole party set off for London immediately after the ceremony: and Morrell, first contriving to raise a cry of "Thieves" on the road, galloped off with the property they had taken, in order, as he pretended, to secure it from depredation. The bride, her father, and brother, sought

through London in vain to find either the bridegroom or their treasure.

Morrell now spent some time in London, where he pursued the same sort of practices. It happened, however, after a time, that his third (or Ludlow) wife came to London in quest of her deceiver, whom she imagined she might hear of at Newgate. She took up her abode at an inn at Holborn Bridge, and there she fell into the company of a good motherly woman who was just arrived from Oxfordshire. The sorrow marked in a face so young as that of the Ludlow wife, induced the elder female to ask the cause of it; and, an explanation being given, the matron also disclosed her own sufferings. It turned out that both the women had been deceived by the same person, and that the elder female was the old Banbury wife. The two thereupon agreed together; and means were used to capture Morrell, who they soon found was about to marry another wife. But just before this plan against Morrell was to take effect, the Banbury wife went to visit a relation, and, on the way, met her husband. After some high words, Morrell succeeded in persuading his first wife that his conduct was the result of his necessities; and that, now he had got gold, he would be faithful to her. The Banbury wife was thus induced to disconcert the scheme which had been prepared with the Ludlow wife; and sent for all her goods up from Banbury to London, where a house was furnished with them. However, she had not lived in it three days before an errand was contrived to take her from home; and, on her return at night, she found neither husband nor goods in the house, and was compelled to return to Banbury and live upon the alms of the parish.

Another act of villany was now done, at Wells, where Morrell took the name of a brother of Sir Charles Bowyer, and married a boarding-school miss who had a portion of £180, of which he soon contrived to deprive her. At Kidderminster he married an innkeeper's daughter. In Holborn he courted a rich vintner's widow, by personating Sir Charles Bowyer himself, and obtained £200 from her. He also forged a bill for £700, and obtained the amount. England appeared now to be dangerous ground for him, and he went abroad as a volunteer in the service of the Duke of Monmouth. In Flanders he made a long campaign, and did not return until his money was gone; upon

which he sold his horses, came to London, and married a clergyman's daughter with a portion of £500, by again personating Sir Charles Bowyer.

But now an adverse turn of fortune fell upon him; for his Ludlow wife discovered him, and threw him into Worcester gaol. Thence, at the charge of the London clergyman whose daughter he had married, he was removed to Newgate; and, six of his wives appearing against him on his trial, he pleaded Guilty to those six marriages, besides twelve more. After sentence he removed himself to the King's Bench, where he behaved so winningly to his keepers that he obtained some privileges which enabled him to effect his escape. A reward of £100 was thereupon set upon his head, and he was compelled to resort to many shifts in order to obtain small sums of money. About the year 1687, he made another attempt in his old line, and under the old name of Sir Charles Bowyer succeeded in taking to wife Nan, the cook-maid at the Castle tavern in Fetter Lane. For this he was tried and convicted as an impostor, and was set in the pillory before the door of the Castle tavern.

A few days before Christmas-day 1691, Morrell went to one Cullen's, a baker in the Strand, to seek for a lodging. His stock of money was not above two shillings; but he claimed to be a person of worth and honour, the before-mentioned Captain Humphrey Wickham of Swalcliffe, whose name, it seems, was known to Mrs. Cullen. The family supplied his wants, and paid him all the respect due to the character whom he personated. Falling sick at Cullen's, Morrell, on the 28th December, made a will, in which, in the name of Humphrey Wickham Esq., he bequeathed large property at Swalcliffe, Sulgrave, Apeltree, Cropredy, and other places, together with money in the hands of Ambrose Holbech Esq. (of Mollington and Farnborough), and other sums, to divers persons, some of whom were his pretended relations, friends, and servants; but the family of the Cullens were especially remembered. His design on this occasion was cut short by his death, which occurred on the 3rd January 1691-2, after he had received the Sacrament, and pretended the settlement of his conscience, and his peace with heaven. A coffin of ten-pounds' value was provided by Cullen, the embalmers were paid, and a sumptuous funeral was prepared. Cullen sent a letter addressed to Mr. William Wickham of Garsing-

ton in Oxfordshire (who had been named in the will as one of the executors), to whom Captain Wickham's mansion at Swalcliffe was bequeathed. In answer to the letter, there came up to London a gentleman from Oxford, to say that the Christian name of Mr. Wickham of Garsington was mistaken, which gave some alarm of an imposture. Cullen also dispatched a messenger to Swalcliffe; for, in the mean time, Major Richardson and Mr. Compton had inspected the corpse, and pronounced that it was not the body of Humphrey Wickham, but that of the man who had been formerly convicted of having six wives, and been more than once a prisoner in Newgate. The messenger returned from Swalcliffe to London on the 12th January, having been received very civilly at Swalcliffe by the real Captain Wickham. Upon this full proof of the imposture, the corpse was taken, with no accompaniment but a watchman and a lantern, and in a coffin of four-shillings' price, to a nook in St. Clement's church-yard. The nurse and her assistants afterwards testified, that they once or twice observed Morrell laugh to himself on his deathbed, as if from the pleasure he took in cheating the world he was leaving.

Of Morrell's man Tom it is said, that he, having learned some of the art of his master, ran away with and married an heiress of £150 per annum. For this he was taken at Puttenham, near Godalming: but further particulars respecting him are not known.³⁹

MONUMENTS AND INSCRIPTIONS IN THE FORMER CHURCH OF BANBURY, AND IN THE CHURCH-YARD.

Bray, writing in 1777, says that Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, is supposed to have been buried in the chancel of Banbury Church, "under a tomb on which is a mutilated figure recumbent." He adds:—"The remains of two other figures in the

(39) "The Notorious Impostor, or the History of the Life of William Morrell, alias Bowyer, sometime of Banbury, chirurgeon. With an authentick copy of his Will, taken out of the Prerogative Court;" &c., Lond., 4to., 1692; dedicated to Capt. Wickham.—"The Second Part of the Notorious Impostor," &c., Lond., 4to., 1692.—"The Compleat Memoirs of the Life of that Notorious Impostor Will. Morrell, alias Bowyer, alias Wickham, &c. who died at Mr. Cullen's the Bakers in the Strand, Jan. 3. 1691-2;" Lond., 8vo., 1694; dedicated to Gabriel Balam Esq. by Elkanah Settle the Poet. These three scarce Tracts are in my own collection. The reader must give as much credit to the story about Morrell as he thinks it entitled to.

chancel, said to be those of Judge Chamberlain and his wife, shew the folly and fanaticism in the last century." The first-named effigy was probably that which has been mentioned in p. 153, and engraved in Plate 17, of this volume: it certainly was not erected over the remains of Bishop Alexander, as that prelate was buried in Lincoln Cathedral.

There is preserved, in the British Museum, an account of the monuments and inscriptions in the church and church-yard of Banbury, taken on the 19th July 1660. It is as follows:—

"Against the south wall of the chancell an ancient raised mon^t within an arch of the wall, by it two proporc'ons of a man & a woman throwne downe by the soldiers & broken. it is reported to have belonged to one y^t was a judge [Chamberlayne]. the armes upon it are. On a fesse bet. 3 birds 3 mullets. the supporters a cocke & a porcupine. the crest a demi peacock displayd.

"Above the last by the same wall a great arched mon^t the arch supported by 8 pillars of blacke marble. Under the arch are these armes

Gu. an escutcheon Ar. within an ovle of starres. Or. q'

1. Gu. a chevron bet. 3 escallops Or.

2. Sa. 6 lyons rampt. Or.

3. Er. a cheife indented Gu.

4. B. 2 lyons pass^t Or. a label Ar.

5. as the first. Impaling

Ar. a fesse bet. 3 lyons heads couped Gu. q'

1. B. a saltire Ar. bet. 4 eagles displayd Or.

2. Gu. on a bend Ar. 3 trefoils v^t

3. Per pale indented Or. Ar. a chevron bet. 3 cherubs heads Gu.

On the out side of the arch

Chamberlaine alone, & Fermor alone.

"On a gravestone on the ground, this

To the Memory of Mr Richard Hill merchant who dyed the 21 day of October 1658.

From rockes secur'd, from stormes and waves set free

God brought me backe my native soyle to see.

Casting up my accounts, though blest with gaine

I found the earths advantage all *but* vaine.

At last wain'd from below, I tooke advice,

From heaven sought y^t pearle of greatest price.

Reader do thou the like, learne to be wise,

To trade for Christ is the best merchandize.

"By the side of the south wall an ancient raised mon^t sans inscrip^on or armes.

course in the true faith; and was here laid up in the hope of a glorious resurrection. 20th Sept. 1631.

His life, his breath, his faculties are gone,
Yet virtue keeps him from oblivion.
Those arts and parts that beautify'd his mind,
Like precious ointment leave his name behind.
His lamp is out, yet still his light doth shine;
His faith and works survive as things divine.
To God he lives, though dead to us he be;
The bury'd seeds do spring, and so shall he!

Died 1631. *Ætatis* 73.

Chron. { BeatI ILLI InqVIt spIrItVs qVI In DoMIIno obIerVnt.
annis { SenIo bono aggregatVs est popVLarIbVs sVIs.⁴¹

Gen. xxv. 8.

Hodie Mihi, Cras Tibi.
Cerne Vale.

Upon a wreath about him, this

Æternum vivit post funera virtus
Deteriora cadunt, sed meliora vigent

Over all his armes. Ar. 3 Bends within a border Gu. On a canton sa. a spur. Or.

“Against the east wall of a chappell on the south side of the Church, this,

To the memory of William Randall Esq^r, late inholder of Banbury deceased who was here buried 17 Apr. 1642. among other of his works y^t follow him, he gave a stocke of a 100^{ld} for the benefit of the poor of this burrough.

“In the middle of y^t chappell a raised mon^t of blacke marble the armes pulled of. it is said to belong to one of the family of the Cope's.

“On banners hanging up on the south side of y^e church. Gu. 3 chevrons A. q

“In the south windows

England Qu. Or. Gu. a border Er.

England with a label Ar. Qu. Or. Gu.

Er. on a cheife B. 3 roses Or. Or. a cross ingr. Sa.

Or. a chevron. V^t Ar. a chevron Gu.

Ar. 2—Gu. in cheife 3 torteaux

“In the west window

Or. an eagle Sa. Or. a cheife B. q'. Ar. a lion ramp. Sa.

(41) The Capitals in the first Latin line tell the year of Knight's decease; those in the second line his age. See a similar fancy in the epitaph of William Whateley, in p. 272 of this vol.

“ In the church yard

On the side of a great raised mont, this

[Namely, the inscription to William Whateley vicar; and following it, the stone and inscription to his widow Martha Whateley; which have been given before in pp. 272, 273.

“ On a stone erect, this

To the memory of Mr William Whately late Alderman & once major of this Burrough who dyed 24 Jan. 1647.

On the other side these verses

He was like Enock in his walk	A foe to error & false wayes
In zeale like Phineas more than	A strict observer of gods dayes,
talke	Cast up the account & w ⁿ you have
Job-like a perfect upright man	done
In mercy the Samaritan	Say we have lost many in one.

“ On another, this

To the memory of Thomas Whately who departed this life 25 July 1659 Anno ætatis 21.

On the other side these verses

My web though spun, my thread though cut it bee
 Reader, twill lead to true felicity.
 Take thou the end, loe here it lyeth, I dye
 To warne thee of thine owne mortality.
 Farewell toyes whereon my fond mind fed,
 My joy's in heaven, my grave's the nuptiall bed.
 * * * * * Loe here I ly
 Untill the dawning of eternity.

“ On the side of a raised monum^t, this

Here was laid the body of Timothy Harris one of the sons of Doctor Rob^t Harris who dyed 11 June 1659.

by it the armes with this description

He hath exchanged sin & paine
 For rest with Christ, thus death his gaine.
 Sound in the faith he liv'd & dyde
 Wee're blest who do not turne aside.

“ On a stone erect, this

To the memory of Edward Beale once major of this Burrough who departed this life 3 day of Oct. 1657

How great is our losse but greater is his gaine
 Hee lyeth in heaven we on earth remaine
 His righteousnesse he did wholly disowne
 (Those were his dying words) & Christ alone
 Reader make hast see thou his steps do trace
 If ever you think to see Jehovas face
 Who sings Hosanna's in the highest blisse
 We live in hope while he the spouse doth kisse.

“ On another, this

Here lyeth the body of M^{rs} Anne Slade wife of M^r Will. Slade daughter of M^r Nathaniel Whitley who dyed 17 of Apri. & Mary their daughter 10 day of the same month in the year of o^r L^d Christ 1658.

Here with the daughter resteth the tender mother
Together laid, yet knowne not each of other
Sleep blest saints secure till the last trump do blow
Then wakeing rising know as ye are knowne.”⁴²

Another manuscript in the British Museum contains the following:—

“ In Banbury Church

To the Memory of James White, son of M^r Ric. White of London, who dyed Dec. the 4th 1669 having almost finished the 22^d year of his age.

Brother yo’ve outstript me, I first born,
You first unto the Womb of Earth return.
But I shall follow you ere long, & then
One womb shall us enclose yet once agen.
Which Womb shall open, that like Twins we may
Be born on one, the Resurrection Day.

Sic litavit Frater ejus natu maximus R. W.

“ In Banbury Church Yard

To the Memory of Ric. Richards, who by a Gangreen first lost a Toe, afterwards a Leg, & lastly his Life on the 7th day of April 1656.

Ah! cruel Death, to make 3 Meals of one!
To taste, & eat, & eat ’till all was gone.
But know, thou Tyrant! when the Trump shall call,
He’ll find his Feet, & stand when thou shalt fall.”⁴³

The flooring of the chancel of the new Church is in great part made of slab-stones bearing inscriptions, which were taken from the former Church. The dates vary from 1702 to 1743. On one stone is the following inscription:—

Daniel Waldo Gent;
Died the 29th of January
1725 Aged 44

Full forty four my glass hath run
And now it’s out good Lord I come
Receive my Soul for y^e sake of him
Who paid a Ransome for my Sin.

None of the ancient monuments have been re-erected in the present Church, but a few fragments of some of them are remaining in the room which is over the clergyman’s retiring-room.

(42) Harl. MSS., No. 4170.

(43) Cole’s MSS., v. 30.

ASTROP WELLS.

The small village of Astrop is situated in Northamptonshire, four miles southeast from Banbury, and is partly in the parish of King's Sutton and partly in that of Newbottle. In that portion of the village which lies within the parish of King's Sutton is situated the Well, long ago considered Holy, which received its name from St. Rumbald. (See p. 51.) In the seventeenth century, long after the supposed sanctity of the waters came to be disregarded, medicinal virtues were believed to be discovered therein, and the names of two claimants are put forth for the honour of having made the discovery. Anthony à Wood records, that Richard Lower, afterwards an eminent physician, going with Dr. Thomas Willis (to whom he was assistant) in April 1664 to visit his patients at Astrop, made the discovery of the virtues of Astrop waters while the Doctor was asleep as usual, or nearly asleep, on horseback; and that, on Lower's communicating the discovery to Dr. Willis, experiments were made which led the latter to recommend the waters. "Soon after," says he, "the water was enclosed in a well, and upon the said commendations 'twas yearly, as to this time it is, frequented by all sorts of people."⁴⁴ But Aubrey refers the discovery to Dr. Willis himself, at a date seven years earlier. It is said of the Doctor, that, on observing that the stones in the little rill were discoloured,—“thought he, this may be an indication of iron; he gets galls, and puts some of the powder into the water; and immediately it turned blackish; then said he, ‘He not send my patients now so far as Tunbridge;’” and so he brought Astrop waters into notice.⁴⁵ In 1668, there was published “A Brief Account of the Virtues of the Famous Well of Astrop, not far from Oxford, of late so much frequented by the Nobility and Gentry. By a learned Physician. Lond., 4to.”⁴⁶ In 1685, the Lord Keeper Guilford, during his last illness, came from London to Wroxton that he might obtain the benefit of the then

(44) Wood's *Athenæ*.

(45) Letters from the Bodleian. If the following entry in the Register of Banbury refers to Astrop (which perhaps is hardly probable), the Well there is of far earlier medicinal note than the dates assigned by Wood and Aubrey. This entry dates in November 1579:—“Richard Halse of Saru' [Salisbury] in the countie of Wiltshire was buried the 24 day in coming from the newe Well.”

(46) Scarce Tract in my own collection.

famous Astrop waters.⁴⁷ On the 23rd August 1689, a letter from Lady Russell, the widow of Lord William Russell, addressed to Dr. Fitzwilliam, says :—"I knew not where to find you good Doctor because your last said you would go to Lord Gainsboroughs, & then to Windsor. Now I hear Lord Gainsborough and his lady are at Banbury waters."⁴⁸ In 1694, Anthony à Wood says :—"July 10th. I went to Astrop Wells, took up my lodgings at W^m Upton's at Kings Sutton near thereunto, and continued there till the 15th of Aug. 12s. for my carriage backwards and forwards, and 5*l.* for my being there. 4s. 6*d.* I gave for my lodgings per week."⁴⁹ Morton, writing in 1712, says that the successes which attended the use of these waters, "particularly upon the scurvy, asthma, chlorosis, and other like diseases," were such that in a short time their fame extended itself over the kingdom.⁵⁰ Dr. Radcliffe, of Oxford, is said to have patronised Astrop very warmly.⁵¹ In 1749, a new well, called Sutton Bog, was opened at King's Sutton, half a mile from the Astrop well ; on which occasion a breakfast was given with great ceremony by Anthony Keck Esq. of Leicestershire, in gratitude for benefits he had received at Astrop. At this period Astrop could boast of its public ball every Monday, and breakfast, cards, dancing, and ordinaries for ladies and gentlemen, every Friday during the season.⁵² In 1754, the "Great Room" at Astrop was opened on the 15th July, in which were to be breakfast every day, and a public breakfast every Friday.⁵³ Bray, in 1777, says the place "is now out of fashion. The lodging-houses are miserable. Near the spring an assembly-room was built by subscription some years ago, and is still used for that purpose in the summer by the neighbouring gentry. Dr. Short says, nature and art have combined to make this place a paradise of pleasure. I doubt it will require a warm imagination to discover in it any resemblance to what we suppose Paradise to be."⁵⁴ Astrop has long been completely deserted as a place of fashionable resort : but the Well

(47) North's Life of the Lord Keeper Guilford.

(48) Lady Russell's Letters.

(49) Life of Wood, prefixed to Bliss's Wood's Athenæ.

(50) Morton's Northamp., p. 281.

(51) Baker's Northamp., p. 703. But Granger states that the waters were decried by Radcliffe; and he gives as a reputed reason, that the parish of King's Sutton insisted upon the Doctor's maintaining an illegitimate child which was laid to him by an infamous woman of the place. Upon this occurrence the Doctor is said to have declared "that he would put a toad into their well," and accordingly he cried down the waters. (Granger's Biog. Hist. Eng.) I have heard the same tale on traditional evidence.

(52) Northampton Mercury ; Baker's Northamp., pp. 703, 704.

(53) Oxford Journal, 1754.

(54) Bray's Tour.

is preserved, at which there is a stone seat, and a rural cottage beside it.⁵⁵

THE REIGN OF JAMES THE SECOND: THE NORTH FAMILY.

At the election which occurred at the commencement of James the Second's reign, in 1685, Sir Dudley North, knight, was returned to Parliament for Banbury.⁵⁶

Sir Dudley's grandfather, DUDLEY, the third Baron NORTH, is recorded as having been one of the "finest gentlemen" in the court of James the First, or rather that of Henry Prince of Wales his son. This Baron North had a son DUDLEY, who was the fourth Baron NORTH, and was the father of Charles North (the fifth Baron), Sir Francis North (Lord Keeper), Sir Dudley North (member for Banbury), Dr. John North (master of Trinity College, Cambridge), Montagu North, Edward North, and Roger North (the author of the *Life of the Lord Keeper, &c.*). Sir FRANCIS NORTH was born in 1637; he attained successively the offices of solicitor-general (in 1671), attorney-general (in 1673), lord chief justice of the common pleas (in 1674-5), and Lord Keeper of the Great Seal in 1682, with the title of Baron GUILFORD in 1683. He married, in 1671-2, Lady FRANCES POPE, daughter of Thomas third Earl of Downe; and

(55) The following is the Analysis of the water of Astrop Well:—

Temp. 50°. The water clear and sparkling; slightly chalybeate(?). The spring yields a considerable quantity of water, which leaves a bright red sediment of Peroxide Iron on the stone channel.

In two quarts—Carbonic Acid..... 8. 8 cubic inches

Chloride Sodium.....	0. 53 gr.
Sulphate Lime	1. 2
Sulphate Soda.....	4. 9
Protoxide Iron	0. 036
Carbonate Lime.....	5. 6
Carbonate Magnesia	1. 5

(Owing to an accident, the two last constituents are not to be depended on.)

The following is the Analysis of the water of Sutton Bog Spring:—

Temp. 50°. The water is clear, and has a brackish taste. It gives off a little gas on standing, which is Carbonic Acid.

In one quart—Carbonic Acid.....	
Chloride Sodium.....	10. 4 gr.
Sulphate Soda.....	20. 9
Carbonate Soda.....	1. 5
Carbonate Lime.....	0. 6
Carbonate Magnesia	0. 6
Silica	a trace.

These Analyses are by Mr. Thomas Beesley.

(56) New Parl. Reg.

sister and coheirress of Thomas, fourth and last Earl of Downe, who died at Wroxton, at an early age, in 1668.¹ From the date of the Lord Keeper's marriage until the present time, Wroxton has continued to be the residence of the North Family.

The Lord Keeper's younger brother, Sir DUDLEY NORTH, is described as having been a precocious and beautiful child. He was stolen by a beggar in London, but was recovered. He afterwards had the Plague. At school he proved "an indifferent scholar;" by reason that he had "too much spirit, which would not be suppressed by conning his book." He was therefore devoted to a mercantile life, and bound to a Turkey merchant. He afterwards removed to Constantinople, and, by his eminent abilities for business, became entrusted with the chief management of the English factory there. After his return to England, he was, in the reign of Charles the Second, made a commissioner of Customs, and subsequently a commissioner of the Treasury. He was again appointed a commissioner of the Customs by James the Second; and, it being necessary that he should sit in Parliament, although, "as a commissioner of the customs, he might have been chosen at some one of the outports, yet, to make room for another of the King's friends, he chose to serve for the corporation of Banbury, where, on account of the young Lord Guilford's trust [his nephew], he had a sure interest." In Parliament, he was the manager of all the affairs of the Government which related to the revenue.

Sir Dudley, and his brother, Roger North, during the minority of their nephew (the Lord Keeper's heir), sometimes spent their summers at Wroxton, where they entertained themselves with all sorts of amusements and exercises. They formed a laboratory, in which they worked during the mornings, and made themselves as "black as tinkers;" and on the afternoons, as a cleaner exercise, they became in turn carpenters, turners, planners, and measurers. Roger North says of Sir Dudley at this time:—"here for many afternoons together he hath sat, perhaps, scraping a stick, or turning a piece of wood, all the while singing like a cobbler, incomparably better pleased than he had been in all the stages of his life before."²

(1) There are pictures of the two last Earls of Downe preserved at Ditchley.

(2) Roger North's *Lives of the Lord Keeper Guilford and Sir Dudley North*; Baker's *Northamp.*, p. 527.

From the *Life of the Lord Keeper*, the following curious particulars are extracted:—

"To shew that his lordship's court enemies, the Earl of Sunderland in particular, were

The Lord Keeper died at Wroxton on the 5th September 1685: his remains lie buried in the church, with no other memorial

hard put to it to find, or invent, something to report, tending to the diminution of his character, I shall give an account of the most impudent buffoon lye raised upon him, and, with brazen affirmations of truth to it, dispersed from the court one morning, that ever came into fools head; and Satan himself would not have own'd it for his legitimate issue. It fell out thus: a merchant, of Sir Dudley North's acquaintance, had brought over an enormous Rhinoceros, to be sold to shew-men for profit. It is a noble beast, wonderfully arm'd by nature for offence; but more for defence, being cover'd with impenetrable shields, which no weapon would make any impression upon; and a rarity so great, that few men, in our country, have, in their whole lives, opportunity to see so singular an animal. This merchant told Sir Dudley North, that if he, with a friend or two, had a mind to see it, they might take the opportunity at his house, before it was sold. Hereupon Sir Dudley North proposed to his brother, the Lord Keeper, to go with him upon this expedition; which he did, and came away exceedingly satisfied with the curiosity he had seen. But whether he was dogged, to find out where he and his brother housed in the city, or flying fame carried an account of the voyage to court, I know not; but it is certain that, the very next morning, a bruit went from thence all over the town, and (as factious reports use to run) in a very short time, viz. that his lordship rode upon the Rhinoceros; than which a more infantine exploit could not have been fastened upon him. And most people were struck with amusement at it; and diverse run here and there to find out whether it was true or no. And, soon after dinner, some lords and others came to his lordship to know the truth from himself; for the setters of the lye affirm'd it positively, as of their own knowledge. That did not give his lordship much disturbance; for he expected no better from his adversaries. But that his friends, intelligent persons, who must know him to be far from guilty of any childish levity, should believe it, was what roiled him extremely; and much more, when they had the face to come to him to know if it were true. I never saw him in such a rage, and to lay about him with affronts (which he keenly bestow'd upon the minor courtiers that came on that errand) as then; for he sent them away with fleas in their ear. And he was seriously angry with his own brother Sir Dudley North, because he did not contradict the lye in sudden and direct terms; but laugh'd, as taking the question put to him for a banter, till, by iterations, he was brought to it. For some lords came, and because they seem'd to attribute somewhat to the avow'd positiveness of the reporters, he rather chose to send for his brother to attest, than to impose his bare denial. And so it passed; and the noble Earl, with Jeffries, and others of that crew, made merry, and never blush'd at the lye of their own making; but valued themselves upon it, as a very good jest."

Another extract relates to the Lord Keeper's last illness, at Wroxton:—

"At length, the doctors threw up, and said their medicaments had no effect, and his blood afforded him no kind of nourishment; and he had no way left but to repair to his seat at Wroxton, which was near to Astrop Wells, and drink those waters, which they hoped would cleanse his blood, and restore his decayed spirits. After this sentence pronounced, we straight packed up our alls, and made as full a family of relations as we could to divert him. The family physician went with us, and he had his chests of medicines, as if we were going a voyage to the Indies. We, that rode in the coach with him, had a melancholy journey; for he was hopeless of life to continue long, and of any comfort while it did continue, and declared expressly that this was to be his last journey. There were pillows, and all contrivances that he might be easy. He complained of no inconvenience in the journey, by joggling and tossing, though he could not but feel a great deal; but his patience was extraordinary; and, as he had resolved before-hand, he made the same stages he formerly had been used to. We had a great rout attending, that belong to the Seal, a six-clerk, under-clerks, wax-men, &c. who made a good hand of it, being allowed travelling charges out of the Hanaper; and yet ate and drank in his lordship's house. I must own that, bating his lordship's illness, (which was bitterness with a witness) I never was in a more agreeable family. For it was full as a city, and with persons of good value and conversation; all under the authority of one whom all revered; and, out of decency, as well as respect to him, not the least intemperance, or disorder of any sort, committed. And what crowned all, was, first, the chief table almost filled with the dearest of his lordship's relations, and the hopes that, sometimes, were afforded us in the country, of his lordship's recovery.

"The Gentlemen of the country were very humane and obliging; for they all came and dined with him, and, with deference to his case, invited him. But his regimen permitted him to go no where; nor did his relations make many excursions: but some he obliged them to, for excuse for himself, where he had great respects. He took the waters in bed, for they did not agree with him up. * * * Our course was, in the morning, to attend his lordship in his chamber with merry entertainment while he was drinking his waters; and then, being up, we, that took the post of being his architects, fell to measuring, mapping, and debating about our projects concerning his gardens, buildings, and plantations: and I cannot pass by a diverting passage; one Mr. Barber, a neighbour, observed how busy

than a large slab, bearing a short inscription, placed over them. Sir Dudley North died in 1691. His "Discourses upon Trade" have been lately reprinted, and are highly valued.

The King (James the Second) paid a visit to Banbury in 1687. The following entries referring to this visit occur in the Register of Wardington:—

"An Account of those that were touched by King James the Second at Banbury 1687 for the distemper called ye Kings evil.

"September ye 2^d Anno Domini 1687.

"A Certificate was then granted to John Davis of Williamscott for Richard the son of the aforesaid John Davis."

Same date. "A Certificate granted to William Meacock of Wardington in behalf of James the Son of the aforesaid William Meacock

"per me Francis Stanier Vicar."

Sept. 2nd, 1687. "A Certificate was then granted to Isabell _____ of Williamscott to recommend her to his Majesty's favour to be touched for the evil.

"by me Francis Stanier Vicar."

The interferences with Corporations which occurred during Charles the Second's reign (see p. 484) were among the chief grievances of that period; and the cancelling of the acts performed under them was one of the last means which were resorted to by James the Second in order to preserve his throne. This he did by proclamation, on the 17th October 1688. The Proclamation recited, that several deeds of surrender which had been lately made by several Corporations of their charters and franchises, had not been recorded; and that proceedings and judgments on *quo warrantos* had not been entered on record, but that fresh Charters had been granted by Charles the Second and the then King. It declared that all such surrenders, proceedings,

we were; and, coming near to us where his lordship stood, 'You may measure and measure,' said he, 'but my lord is not such a fool as to be ruled by you.' His lordship, who had scarce laughed since he came down, could not hold at that. * * * I remember I had laid out the plantation of his avenue, which was a wretched position; for the entrance was at one corner, and, not in the streight. I had shaped a demilune before the court-gate, and at the farther end, a whole sweep, with rows detached from that to the entrance. He put out my whole sweep, and ordered the rows of trees to be refracted that way. At which I was very angry, and declared that no architect was ever so used as I was. This pleased him much; and he very often made a jest to his company of this rant of his architect. These were harmless amusements, and beneficial to him, as much as any thing might be. After dinner, the coaches were usually got ready, and, with his nearest relations, among whom I was always one, he used to go to Edgehill to take the air; but I did not perceive any great good he had in it: but it was advised, and that was enough."

After his lordship's death, the Great Seal was carried, with much formality, to the King at Windsor. Roger North says it had been usual with former Lord Keepers for writs to bear test where the Lord Keeper resided, though the King was not there: but that the Lord Keeper Guilford, "thinking it a mere vanity," ordered none to bear test *apud Wroxton*, but *apud Westmonasterium* only.—*Life of Lord Keeper North*, pp. 264—280.

and fresh charters, should be void; that the former members of Corporations should be reinstated; and that all those who had been placed in offices in their stead should be dismissed. This proclamation, with the King's order of Council and mandamus thereto annexed, was, on the 25th October, in open market, read at Banbury, and affixed to one of the posts of the Market-house. The Mayor, Aldermen, Burgesses, Assistants, and Town Clerk, who had been lately put into office, being thus dismissed, their predecessors, by virtue of the Proclamation and their old Charter, met together at the Town-hall, and chose John West the younger Mayor on the same 25th October.³

On the following 11th December, James the Second abdicated the throne. During the interregnum which followed, a new Parliament was called by the Prince of Orange, which met on the 22nd January 1688-9. To this Parliament Sir Robert Dashwood, knt. and bart., was returned for Banbury:⁴ and the voice of the Parliament, and that of the nation, placed the Prince of Orange and the Princess Mary on the throne of England.

The Book of Accounts of the Corporation which is preserved by the present Town Clerk contains an account of licences to sell wine, granted to certain Tavern-keepers, from 1677 to 1688.⁵ The taverns enumerated are the "Rain Deare," the "Three Tunns," the "Vnicorne," and the "Read Lyon." The following list of ancient inns in Banbury, with the earliest dates at which they are mentioned, is made from a great variety of records. The Crown, 1549; Swan, 1556; Lyon, 1615; Alterstone, 1621; Red Lion, 1642; Whit Hart, 1643; Bell, 1644; George, 1644; Bull, 1645; Whit Lyon, 1645; Vnicorne, 1650; Rain Dear, 1666; Three Tunns, 1677; Plowe, 1678; King and Queen at Neithorp, 1704; Ye George without Oxford Barr, 1715. "Jacob's Well," "St. Sunday's House," "the Salutation," and the "Holy Lamb and Christopher," were, I suppose, inns also.

THE REIGN OF WILLIAM THE THIRD.

To the Parliament which was summoned by William and Mary, in the 2nd year of their reign (1689-90), Sir Robert Dash-

(3) Book of Accounts of the Corporation, preserved by the present Town Clerk.

(4) Parl. Reg.

(5) Taylor, the Water Poet, says, in 1636, that Banbury "hath three Taverns."

wood, knt. and bart., was again returned for Banbury.^a John Hawles Esq. petitioned against the return.

House of Commons, March 31st, 1690. "A Petition of Nathanaell Wheatly and others, in behalf of themselves and others the Freemen and Burgesses of the Borough and Parish of Banbury, was read; setting forth, That the Twenty-fourth of February last, the Mayor gave notice of the Election: at which time the Petitioners, to the number of One hundred and Forty, did give their votes for John Hawles, Esquire; but the Mayor refused to admit them; whereupon they demanded a Poll, but was denied it. That they then executed an Indenture of Return of the said John Hawles; but the Mayor refused to accept of it, but made a return of Sir Robert Dashwood under the Common Seal, though elected but by Ten of the Aldermen and Capital Burgesses; to the great wrong of the Petitioners, and the Freemen of the said Borough: and praying redress of the House in the Premises; and that the Indenture, so returned by the Mayor, may be taken off from the Precept, and the Indenture executed by the Petitioners affixed thereto." The said Petition being referred to the Committee of Privileges and Elections (as were also two similar Petitions presented in October 1690 and October 1691), Mr. Serjeant Trenchard at length reported (Dec. 29th 1691) "from the said Committee of Privileges and Elections, to whom the matter touching the Election for the Borough of Banbury in the County of Oxon was referred, the Case as it appeared to the Committee: The which he delivered in at the Clerk's table, in writing; where the same was read, and is as followeth;

"Upon the Petition of several Freemen and Burgesses of the Borough of Banbury, complaining of an undue return of Sir Rob. Dashwood, Knight and Baronet, to serve for the said Borough;

"The Committee have examined the merits of the Election.

"And that the sole question was, concerning the Right of Election: For if the Right was in the Mayor, Aldermen, and Capital Burgesses, as they are called, then the Sitting Member was duly elected; if in the Burgesses at large, John Hawles Esquire was duly elected.

"This question seemed to arise from some doubtful words in the Charter, granted to the said Borough 1^o Mariæ; and in several Returns to Parliament.

"The Charter takes notice of the great service the Inhabitants of Banbury had done Queen Mary against the Rebellion of the Duke of Northumberland; And grants, That the Town of Banbury shall be a free Borough; and incorporates them by the name of The Bailiff, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough and Parish of Banbury; and that they the Bailiff, Twelve Aldermen, and Twelve Burgesses, shall be one Body Corporate and Community: And provides that, in case of the death or removal of an Alderman, one of the Capital Burgesses shall be chosen in his room: And that the Serjeant at Mace belonging to the Borough should be chosen by the Bailiff, Aldermen, and Capital

(6) Parl. Reg.

Burgesses. And the Charter names the Bailiff, Twelve for Aldermen, and Twelve for Capital Burgesses: and in several other places of the Charter there is mention made of the Capital Burgesses. Then afterwards, the Profits of the Markets and Fairs is granted to the Bailiff, Aldermen, & Burgesses: And the Privilege of sending one Burgess to Parliament, is granted to the Bailiff, Aldermen, and Burgesses, and their Successors. So that the word *Capital* being left out of the Grant of sending a Burgess to Parliament, made the Doubt upon the Charter, whether this Borough should choose in their Corporate capacity by the select number, or by the Burgesses at large.

“ ‘ For the Petitioners, were produced the following returns;

“ ‘ 5. Eliz.—Bailiff and whole Community elected. The return under the Common Seal.

“ ‘ 14. Eliz.—In the same Form.

“ ‘ 28. Eliz.—Bailiff, Aldermen, Burgesses, and Commonalty elected. The return under the Common Seal.

“ ‘ 30. Eliz. The Return imperfect:—Bailiff, some Aldermen, and Burgesses by name, and Commonalty elected. The returns under * * Seal.

“ ‘ 16. Car. I.—Mayor, Aldermen, & Burgesses of Banbury elected. The return under Common Seal.

“ ‘ 13. Car. II.—Mayor, Aldermen, and Capital Burgesses elected. The return under Common Seal.

“ ‘ For the Petitioner was also called,

“ ‘ John Austin: who produced an Indenture, with about forty names, purporting an Election of Mr. Hawles; and said, It was signed by the several Persons whose names were thereto put: And that they had demanded of the Mayor to be polled; but were refused by him; saying, The Precept was directed to the Mayor, Aldermen, and Capital Burgesses.

“ ‘ The said Austin said further, That some of the Common Burgesses offered to vote for the Sitting Member; but he would not accept of them.

“ ‘ For the Sitting Member, were produced the following Returns;

“ ‘ 29. Eliz.—Bailiff, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough and Parish of Banbury elected. The return under the Common Seal.

“ ‘ 43. Eliz.—In the same Form.

“ ‘ 31. Car. II.—Mayor, Aldermen, and Capital Burgesses elected. The return under the Common Seal.

“ ‘ For the Sitting Member was also called,

“ ‘ Samuel Tateham, aged about Three score and Fourteen years: Who said, He was a Freeman; but had no Vote: That he remembered the Election of Nath. Fynes, Esquire, in the reign of King Charles First: And that the Mayor, Aldermen, and Capital Burgesses only Voted; and no other claimed a Vote: Neither did any other Vote in the Election of Sir John Holman, Anno 1661; though since they have claimed a right.

“ ‘ John Tims testified, That he remembered the Election of Sir John Holman: And that only the Mayor, Aldermen, and Capital Burgesses, voted at that Election.’

“ And that, upon the whole matter, the Committee came to several

Resolutions: The which Mr. Serjeant Trenchard read in his place, and afterwards delivered in at the Clerks table: where the same were read, and are as followeth; viz.

“Resolved, That it is the Opinion of this Committee, That the Right of Election of a Burgess to serve in Parliament for the Borough of Banbury is in the Mayor, Aldermen, and Capital Burgesses of Banbury only.

“Resolved, That Sir Robert Dashwood, Knight and Baronet, is duly elected a Burgess to serve in this present Parliament for the Borough of Banbury.’”

The said Resolutions being both read a second time, the House agreed to the same, in the same words.⁷

SIR ROBERT DASHWOOD was the owner of Wickham, he having married Penelope, the daughter and coheiress of Sir Thomas Chamberlayne, who carried this portion of the estates of the Chamberlayne family in marriage. Sir Robert Dashwood was created a baronet on the 16th May 1684.⁸ He was a third time returned to Parliament for Banbury, in the 7th William III. (1695).⁹ He died in July 1734. One of his descendants afterwards sold the property at Wickham, and the seat of the family is now at Kirtlington. (See p. 161.)

To the next Parliament, in the 10th William III. (1698), James Isaacson Esq. was returned for Banbury, but was expelled the House;¹⁰ and Sir JOHN COPE bart. was thereupon elected.¹¹ Sir John was the third (but second surviving) son of Sir John Cope the third baronet (see p. 288), and brother to Sir Anthony Cope the fourth baronet. He was born at Hanwell in 1634, was educated at Queen's College, Oxford, and afterwards travelled on the continent. At the period of the Restoration, he was in command of a troop at Dunkirk. He married a Mistress Ann Booth (see the note 28 on p. 473) daughter of Philip Booth, by whom he had one daughter and seven sons. He succeeded his brother, Sir Anthony, in the baronetcy in 1675, and was elected M. P. for Oxfordshire in his room. He resided for a long period at Chelsea; and afterwards (in 1699) purchased Bramshill Park in Hampshire, which has ever since been the chief seat of his

(7) Commons' Journals.

(8) Playfair's Family Antiq.

(9) Parl. Reg.

(10) Parl. Reg. I have learned nothing concerning Isaacson except that he is believed to have been a London stockbroker. The Commons' Journals contain the following order, dated Feb. 10th 1698:—"Ordered, that Mr. Speaker do issue his Warrant to the Clerk of the Crown, to make out a new Writ for the electing a Burgess to serve in this present Parliament for the Borough of Banbury in the County of Oxon, in the room of James Isaacson Esquire, expelled this House."

(11) Parl. Reg.

family.¹² In 1679, Sir John Cope stood a contested election for Oxfordshire. This contest lasted three days; 3,000 votes were polled, and Sir John Cope, in conjunction with Sir Edward Norreys, won the election. In 1680, Sir John was displaced by another contest which lasted two days:¹³ he was, however, subsequently returned for Oxfordshire in 1688-9. In 1698 (as above stated) he was chosen member for Banbury. There are portraits of him and his lady at Bramshill. He died on the 11th January 1721, at the age of eighty-seven years, and was buried at Eversley in Hampshire. His eldest son and heir succeeded to the baronetcy, but not to the estates at Hanwell.¹⁴

To the Parliament of 1700-1, the Hon. Charles North (second son of the deceased Lord Keeper Guilford), and John Dormer Esq., were each returned for Banbury, by two contending Mayors of the Borough.¹⁵ Mr. North was declared by the House to be

(12) It no where appears that Sir John Cope entered into possession of his life-estate in Hanwell &c. Sir Anthony Cope, his elder brother, by his will dated 22nd January 1674, bequeathed his own soul into the hands of Almighty God, and his body to be buried in the church of Hanwell among his ancestors; and, reciting that he was then seised in fee of the manors of Hanwell and Hardwick, of Brewern, and of Shelswell, with the advowson of the church of Newton, and lands in the county of Oxford, and estates in the counties of Derby, Nottingham, and Lincoln, &c., he gave all the said estates to his brother John Cope for the term of his natural life; and, on the determination of such estate, to the eldest son of his said brother by any other wife except Ann Booth his then wife (whose issue Sir Anthony made incapable of inheriting under his said will), and to the first and other sons respectively of such eldest son: and, on failure of such issue male, to the second, third, or other son or sons of his brother John Cope by such wife other than Ann Booth, and their issue male in like manner respectively. And on failure of such sons of his brother as abovesaid, then to his trustees, Sir Francis Fane, knight of the bath, Sir Henry Chamberlayne bart., and Dr. Allestree, provost of Eton College, for the term of five hundred years, in order to raise portions for the daughter or daughters of his said brother by any wife except Ann Booth his then wife; each such portion not however to exceed three thousand pounds: and each such son of his brother as abovesaid to have power to charge jointures for their wives on the said estates, or to raise portions for their daughters, or to settle their younger sons; such portions for daughters not to exceed three thousand pounds each, or for such younger sons not to exceed two hundred pounds per annum. And on failure of such sons of his brother John Cope, or on the determination of such estate, Sir Anthony gave all his estates as aforesaid to the sons of his late uncle Jonathan Cope of Ranton Abbey in Staffordshire, (the youngest son of Sir William Cope the second baronet), and their issue male, successively; or, on failure of such issue male, to his trustees before-named for a term of five hundred years in order to raise portions for their daughters. And on the determination of such term, then to the right heirs of his great-grandfather, Sir Anthony Cope, knt. and bart.

It appears that Hanwell continued to be the residence of the Hon. Lady Cope, the widow of Sir Anthony, until her death in 1714. Grief for the loss of her husband and children seems to have deprived this lady of her reason; and, from an expression in the Register of Hanwell, it would appear that the Hon. W. Spencer, her brother-in-law, was appointed her committee under a commission of lunacy.—*Information from the Rev. W. H. Cope.*

(13) Life of Anthony Wood, prefixed to Bliss's Wood's Athenæ.

(14) As Sir John Cope never had a second wife, of course the estates at Hanwell &c. passed away from his children, under the will of Sir Anthony Cope (see note 12). Sir John Cope's sixth son, William Cope, who was a lieutenant in the Coldstream Guards, was murdered in the Tower of London on the 7th June 1706, by one Mawgridge, who was afterwards hanged for the crime at Tyburn.—*Keelyng's Reports.*

(15) British Parl. Reg. On the 13th March 1700-1, Sir Rowland Gwyn reported to the House, from the Committee of Elections, the matter concerning the double return for Banbury, and the resolution of the Committee thereupon. It appeared that, for about two years last past, there had been two contending Mayors in Banbury; and the question for

duly elected. He was again returned for Banbury, to the next Parliament, in the same year (14th William III.); and also to the several Parliaments chosen in the 1st, 4th, 7th, and 9th years of Queen Anne.¹⁶ He died in 1714, aged thirty-seven years.

William Plowden Esq., of Aston-le-Walls, (who had been a Colonel in James the Second's Guards,) being a Roman Catholic, and having resided for a short period at St. Germain's at the court of the abdicated King, was greatly suspected by the Whigs of the neighbourhood of Banbury; and particularly by Colonel Montagu, who resided at the manor-house of the Saltonstall family at Chipping Wardon. Mr. Plowden not having taken the oath of allegiance to William the Third, his six coach-horses were (by virtue of an act passed against nonjurors,) seized on entering Banbury, and impounded by a magistrate, they being of above the value of five pounds each. Mr. Plowden thereupon quitted the neighbourhood in disgust: but the estate at Aston-le-Walls has continued in the hands of his descendants.¹⁷

THE REIGN OF QUEEN ANNE.

Francis Bugg, once a Quaker, but afterwards a violent opponent of Quakerism, came to Banbury in 1702 for the purpose of disputing with the members of the sect, and made his address in the Church, where his opponents did not appear. Richard Vivers, however, a preacher among the Quakers, circulated some written remarks on Bugg's challenge, which called forth, in 1703, a reply from the pen of the Rev. Benjamin Loveling, Vicar of Banbury. A controversy of six or seven years' continuance,

the decision of the House was, which of the two was the proper Officer to make the return. The counsel for Mr. Dormer argued that the Mayor must be chosen by the major part of the whole Corporation, which was not the case with the Mayor who was first chosen after the death of Mr. Thorp in February 1698; many being absent: but that the other Mayor, who made the return on behalf of Mr. Dormer, was subsequently chosen by a majority of the whole body. The Committee decided against Mr. Dormer, and that Mr. North was duly elected. The question being put, "That the House do agree with the Committee," the House divided,—Yeas 211, Noes 111; and the Clerk of the Crown was thereupon ordered to amend the return, by taking off the return of John Dormer Esq.—*Commons' Journals*.

(16) New Parl. Reg. 1727.

(17) Baker's Northamp., p. 470. From Col. Plowden's presumed attachment to the Countess of Sunderland originated the song of Plowden of Plowden Hall, by Wycherley the comic Poet.

carried on between several writers on both sides of the question, was the result.¹⁸

BENJAMIN LOVELING was educated at Clare Hall, Cambridge, where he took the degree of M. A. in 1697.¹⁹ His son Benjamin, who was born at Banbury, was matriculated of Trinity College, Oxford, July 13th 1728, aged seventeen years.²⁰ In 1717, the elder Benjamin Loveling is mentioned as "late minister" of Banbury.²¹ He appears to have subsequently held the vicarage of Lambourn in Berkshire.²²

The BLUE-COAT SCHOOL of Banbury was established, by subscription, in 1705, when rules for its regulation were adopted at a meeting of the subscribers.²³ This school was shortly after-

(18) Among the publications sent forth by the respective parties were the following:—Bugg's "Quakerism Drooping," 8vo., 1703:—Vivers's Letter:—Loving's "Spirit of Quakerism Rebuked," 12mo., 1703:—Vivers's "Vicar of Banbury Corrected:"—Loving's "Quakerism a Complication of Heresie, Schism," &c., 12mo., 1703:—Vivers's "Vicar of Banbury further Corrected:"—Loving's "Plain Dealing of the Quakers," &c :—Vivers's "Further Correction of the Vicar of Banbury:"—Edward Cockson's (Rector of Westcot Barton) "Quakers' Pedigree Traced," 8vo., 1703:—Cockson's "Rigid Quakers Cruel Persecutors," 8vo., 1705:—Richard Claridge's "Melius Inquirendum," 8vo., 1706, containing 206 pages:—Cockson's "Quakers no Protestant Dissenters," 8vo.:—Cockson's "Quakerism Dissected and Laid Open," 8vo., 1708:—John Whiting's "Rector Corrected," 8vo.:—Cockson's "Serpent's Head Broken," 8vo., 1708:—Whiting's "Christ Owned as he is both God and Man," 8vo. (Scarce Pamphlets in my own collection). I do not know whether the controversy terminated here.

The above-named Richard Claridge was born at Farnborough in 1649. He was educated in Balliol College, Oxford; he subsequently supplied the cure at Wardington; and, in 1672, he was ordained priest. In 1673 he was inducted to the rectory of Peopleton in Worcestershire, where he continued rector nineteen years. He then became a Baptist, and quitted Peopleton in 1691. In 1697 he joined the Quakers, and became a noted preacher and writer amongst that society. He died in 1723.—*Besse's Life of Claridge*.

(19) Cambridge Graduates.

(20) Record in the Office of the Registrar of the University of Oxford.

(21) Register of Banbury.

(22) Steele's Collection for Oxfordshire, in the Bodleian Library. Besides his writings against the Quakers, Loveling published:—"A Sermon at Banbury Dec. 3, 1702, on the Thanksgiving," 4to:—"Safe Directions for a General Thanksgiving: a Sermon preached at Banbury," 7th Sept., dedicated to the Mayor, Aldermen, and Capital Burgesses: Lond., 4to., 1704:—and "The Authority of Christian Princes, and of Bishops and Pastors, in Ecclesiastical Matters, not inconsistent with the true Nature of Christ's Kingdom," a Sermon preached at Banbury June 16th 1717, occasioned by a Sermon of the Bishop of Bangor: Lond., 8vo.

(23) The Trustees of the Charity were to be nine in number, namely, the Minister (if a subscriber) and eight others to be chosen from among the subscribers. The future trustees, the Master and Mistress of the Schools, and the Children who were to be educated and clothed there, were to be chosen by the majority of the trustees; who were also to have the disposal of the surplus money (if any), for placing out some of the children as apprentices or servants. The salary of the Master was to be £25, and that of the Mistress £12. 10s., per annum, to commence from Lady-day 1706. The Master was to be a member of the Church of England, of sober life and conversation, one who frequented the holy communion, who had good government of himself and his passions, who was of meek temper and humble behaviour, who should understand well the grounds and principles of the Christian religion, who could write a good hand, and understood arithmetic. He was to be approved by the minister (if a subscriber); to attend the School at certain hours; to teach the children the principles of religion as laid down in the Church Catechism; and to bring the children regularly to church on Sundays and holydays, and on weekdays when there should be prayers. The holydays of the scholars to be at the three usual times in the year, namely, at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide. The Master was not to teach any other children, and was not to receive money from the friends of any of the scholars; to enter the accounts of the charity in a book, which book should be kept by the minister to be perused by the

wards endowed with property, left by the Norths, the Metcalfes, and others, (which is particularized in the report of the commissioners on Charities in 1824 and 1825,)²⁴ and which at present produces £75 per annum. Up to the year 1714, twenty-six children had been sent out from this school as apprentices.²⁵ Until the year 1817, the children were instructed in the rooms over the Borough Gaol, an entrance to which was made from the Market Place:²⁶ but in 1817 National Schools for boys and girls were established at Banbury, and the Blue-Coat children have since been educated in those establishments, the Trustees of the Blue-Coat charity paying £30 per annum to the funds of the National Schools for the privilege.

In 1705, Toby Chauncy Esq., of Edgcot, was a petitioner against the return of the Hon. Charles North as member for Banbury.²⁷ This Toby Chauncy was, I believe, the son of that Toby Chauncy Esq. of Edgcot who has been already noticed in p. 309. He was sheriff of the county of Northampton in 1668, and died in 1724-5.²⁸

In 1709, Stephen Davies was ordained to the office of Minister of the Presbyterian or old Nonconformist congregation at Banbury, by the following :—

“Whereas Mr. Stephen Davies hath applied himself unto us, Ministers of the Gospell whose Names are underwritten, desiring to be Ordained a Minister according to the rule of the Holy Scriptures, And haveing given Satisfactory proof of his good Learning, Soundnesse of Judgment, and Sobriety of Conversation, We proceeded by Prayer and Imposition of hands Solemnly to sett him apart to that Sacred Office on Wednesday the third day of August in the Year of our Lord One thousand Seven hundred and Nine at the Towne of Banbury in Oxfordshire, By Virtue whereof We declare him to be a Sufficiently Authorized Min-

subscribers or others; and also to teach the girls to write. The Mistress was to be qualified as the master, writing and arithmetic alone excepted; to observe the same methods as the master; and to teach the girls to knit, sew, mark, and spin. The Master, Mistress, and children, to be liable to be removed for misbehaviour, of which the majority of the trustees were to be the sole judges. Each boy was to have “a coat, breeches, cap, two bands, two shirts, two pair of stockings, two pair of shoes, and one pair of shoe-buckles.” Each girl to have “two caps, two whisks, one gown, one petticoat, two shifts, two pair of stockings, one pair of knit gloves, two pair of shoes, one pair of buckles.” The number of boys not to exceed thirty, nor that of girls twenty, during the first year.

(24) Reports on the Charities of the District surrounding Banbury, as reprinted by Mr. Rusher of Banbury in 1826.

(25) *Magna Britannia*.

(26) An engraving of the entire building, frequently to be met with at the print-shops, is erroneously lettered as representing the former “Grammar School” of Banbury.

(27) *Parl. Register*.

(28) *Baker's Northamp.*, p. 494. This Toby Chauncy had, however, a son Toby Chauncy, who was born in 1673-4, and was returned for Banbury in 1730. Perhaps *he* was the petitioner in 1705.

ister of Christ, In Witnesse Whereof we have hereunto Subscribed our Names the day and year above written.

WILLIAM TONG
JOHN TROUGHTON
JOHN LETHERLAND
JOHN IREMONGER."²⁹

There are two scarce and curious pamphlets in existence, relating to the visit of Dr. Sacheverell to Banbury (for it seems that this high-church Champion was ardently supported by the people of the town). The trial of this divine, by impeachment, before the House of Lords, terminated on the 23rd March, 9th Anne (1709-10). One of these Pamphlets is entitled—"The BANB---Y APES: or The Monkeys Chattering to the Magpye. In a Letter to a Friend in London."³⁰ The title-page is ornamented with some very curious wood-cuts representing Apes appointing a Mayor (who has the appearance of a wolf), and Monkeys holding converse with a Magpie; and on the back of the title is a large wood-cut, representing the procession which accompanied the Doctor into Banbury on the 3rd June, among the personages of which the Mayor of Banbury (as a wolf), and the Aldermen (as apes), are conspicuous figures. Dr. Sacheverell himself appears on horseback, followed by a crowd of people strewing branches, or bearing crosses and rosaries. The accompanying letter-press describes this procession as being closed by twenty-four Tinkers beating on their kettles, and a "vast mob, hollowing, hooping, and playing the devil." On the next morning, Sacheverell is mentioned as having departed for Warwick. The other Tract, which is extremely scarce, is entitled—"An Appeal from the City to the Country for the Preservation of Her Majesty's Person, Liberty, Property, and the Protestant Religion &c. Occasionally written upon the late impudent Affronts offer'd to Her Majesty's Royal Crown and Dignity by the People of BANBURY and WARWICK." Lond., 8vo., 1710.³¹

(29) Original document in the possession of the Rev. C. B. Hubbard, minister of the present congregation at the Old Dissenting Meeting-house. I have not been able to learn at what date this Meeting-house was first opened.

(30) "The Third Edition, corrected. London, Printed, and are to be sold, By R. Mawson, at the Bible and Star over against St. Magdalen's Church, near London Bridge." 8vo., "price 1d." (Copy in my own collection.) Also "The Fourth Edition, corrected." (Copy in the possession of the Rev. Dr. Bliss.) Mr. Reader, the historian of Coventry, informs me that a small bundle of this Tract was found in a mansion at Coventry, formerly belonging to the Hopkins family, more than thirty years ago. "As the Coventry Corporation," Mr. Reader says, "were all Dissenters, and the Hopkinses were intimately connected with them, it is possible that this Tract was written by one of the family."

(31) Copy in the possession of W. Staunton Esq. of Longbridge House near Warwick.

To the Parliament chosen 12th Anne (1713), JONATHAN COPE Esq. was chosen for Banbury. He was the grandson of Jonathan Cope Esq. of Ranton Abbey in Staffordshire (who has been mentioned in p. 261, note 45), was born in 1690, and was created a baronet (being styled of Brewern Abbey in Oxfordshire) by patent dated 1st March 1714. Sir Jonathan was again returned to Parliament for Banbury in the 1st George I. (1714–15). He died at Orton Longville in Huntingdonshire in 1765, aged seventy-five years, and was buried at Hanwell, where a marble tablet remains to his memory. Sir Jonathan was the first of the Copes of Ranton who inherited Hanwell, which he did under the will of Sir Anthony Cope (see p. 508, notes 12 and 14).³²

THE REIGN OF GEORGE THE FIRST.

There are many entries in the Register of Banbury respecting soldiers who were quartered here from March 1714 to October 1716, the date being that of the Earl of Mar's rebellion. Perhaps the near vicinity of the Holmans' and Colonel Plowden's property to Banbury, and the fact of there being a strong non-juring party at Banbury (which is evidenced by the contentions that existed in the Corporation and by the reception which was given to Dr. Sacheverell), may have been the reasons of these precautions being taken. In 1718 and the following year, the Small Pox raged at Banbury. In 1717 the deaths had been but 62; whereas in 1718 they were 124, and, in the following year, 113. The deaths recorded as occurring from this Pestilence, in these two years, are forty-seven and seventy-two. William Asplin is mentioned as being Vicar of Banbury in 1717 and 1723.³³

The Charter granted by James the First to the Corporation of

(32) Parl. Reg.: Inscription at Hanwell; and Information from the Rev. W. H. Cope. By his lady, Mary, the daughter of Sir Robert Jenkinson of Walcot in Oxfordshire, bart., Sir Jonathan Cope was progenitor of the baronets of the Brewern line, which family became extinct in the male line, and the title expired on the death of his grandson, Sir Jonathan Cope, the fourth baronet, at Great Malvern in 1821.

(33) Register of Banbury. The parish book of this period contains the following entry in 1723:—

"June ye 1st. The Charges of James Crooks funeral

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
a sute of head cloths & Jasey	00	: 01	: 06
paid Richard Padd for a Coffen.....	00	: 06	: 06
branns	00	: 00	: 01
The Grave	00	: 03	: 02
Beere	00	: 01	: 06
Use of ye black Cloth	00	: 01	: 06
paid Mr. Newman for Crook	00	: 03	: 00"

Banbury was forfeited in the 3rd year of this reign (1717), in consequence (as it appears) of the contentions which took place between the nonjuring party and the supporters of the Hanoverian dynasty. Among the cases of controverted elections, it is recorded that, "in the 3rd year of George the First, an information, in the nature of *quo warranto*, was exhibited against one Mr. Painton, Recorder of Banbury, for exercising that office, when the Corporation, having slipt the charter-day for the election of their Mayor, that integral part was gone. The court of King's Bench held that Painton was not legal Recorder, although he had been chosen when the Corporation was full, because it was now dissolved. The parties acquiesced in this decision, and applied for a new charter."³⁴ A copy of their Petition follows:—

"To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

"The humble Petition of your Majestys most Dutyfull and Loyall Subjects the Late Mayor, Divers of the Alldermen, Capitall Burgesses, Assistences, Freemen, and others of the most substantiall Inhabitance of your Majestys ainent town of Banbury in the county of Oxford

"Sheweth

"That by a Charter granted in the 6th year of King James ye 1th, the saide Town was Incorporated by the name of the Mayor Alldermen and Burgeses of the Burrow of Banbury in the county of Oxford; and for ye better Government thereof to consist of a Mayor; (with him) 12 Alldermen, 6 Capital Burgeses, and 30 Assistences; and that the mayor for the time being should be chosen out of the alldermen upon ye 1th munday of september yearly, by the Mayor, Alldermen, Capitall Burgeses, or the major part of them, to be then assembled in the hall of the said town; and sown upon micklemas day then next ensueing and to continue in his office from thence for j year; with a power for the saide Corperation to make By Laws as is usuall in those cases.

"That by a By Law made in ye 9th year of the saide K. James ye 1th, and confirmed by the then Justices of the Assise for that county, it was ordained that for the Election of a mayor for the sd town, the mayor, senior and junier alldermen, senier and junier capitall burgeses, should at all times coming seperate themselves from the rest of the assembly into another room, and by the moste of there voices should agree upon one of the Alldermen to stand for Mayor for the year ensueing; and if he should be disliked by the Assembly, the 5 in like maner to nominate another; and so continuing the same course, till one should be agreed to stand; which being done, the like courses to be taken for the naming another Allderman, to stand with ye other elected allderman; one of the which shall be elected Mayor for the year ensueing, from micklemas then next, by ye majority of the electors then assembled.

“That upon ye 1th munday in september last ye mayor and about 39 others assembled in ye hall of ye sd town to chuse a mayor for this present year; when ye 5 according to ye saide By Law withdrew and brought in M^r John Allinton one of ye Aldermen of ye saide town to stand for the saide office; who being rejected (though by a very small majority) the saide 5 persons to prevent any differance if possible went out a 2^d 3^d and 4th time and brought in att each time one of ye other Aldermen to stand for ye saide office; who waire all likewise rejected; upon which ye 5 going out ye 5th time, brought in agane ye saide M^r Allinton; and then declared that in regarde to there othes there majesty the peace the Peace and saefty of the town, the should not nominate any other of the aldermen to stand for the saide ofice butt those the had done (or to that effect) and your Peticioners do now most humbly beg leave to lay before your Majesty that the severall aldermen so put in nomination ware persons very fitt for ye saide ofice; and of unquestionable duty and loyallty to your Majesty.

“Whereas the person for home the utmost endeavors were used to have elected mayor for the saide town, was a person who had behaved himselfe with greate Indecency and disrespect towards your majesty and goverment.

“That the Mayor, in order to quiet matters, and that some expedient for that purpose might have been thought of and proposed by the assembled, adjorned them for some time that day; But upon there Resembling, found eurything in the same confusion it had beene which so continued till 12 o'clock that night; when ye assembly brake up whith out proceeding to any election, eather acording to ye saide Charter or By Law.

“That in regarde by the said Charter the laste mayors office absolutely determind upon Micklemas day last, no assembly can be now held or mayor chosen for the said town (as your Peticioners are advised) without a new charter, or your Majestys gracious authority for that purpose; and that if the office of mayor shall be agane made to continue only for one year, and his election left under ye government of ye saide By Law, (without explanation thereof) your Peticioners cannot but apprehend ye saide towne will be soon brought in the like confusion it is now in.

“Your petitioners therefore most humbly beseech your Majesty, that you would be graciously pleased to take there case into youre wise consideration; and grant to ye saide town a new charter for restoring and confirming to them there aincient rights and priviledges, so far as they may consist with your Majestys pleasure; and for the quiet and better goverment of the said town, and preventing all persons that may be disaffected to your majesty or your succetion in ye royall family from being chosen into such office, that for ye future ye mayor for ye time being may continue for a year and from thence till another fit person shall be elected and sworne into that office; and that the persons who are to nominate ye candidates upone such election may not be oblidged to nominate more then 4 of the then aldermen for that purpose, unles

two partes in three att the least of the electors then present shall request the same; and that youre Majesty would be gratusly pleased to apoint ye respective Persons who shall first be in there severall offices and places, for ye government of ye said town, by vertue of such new Charter; and to grant such farther and other franchyes, libertys, and priviledges to the said town as your majesty in your royal bounty and goodness shall thinke meet.

“ And your Pet^{rs} as in duty bound shall ever pray.”³⁵

On this Petition of the inhabitants, George the First granted a new charter to the Borough, July 16th in the 4th of his reign (1718).

ABSTRACT OF THE CHARTER OF GEORGE THE FIRST.

1. The Burgesses and Freemen and their successors to be a corporate and political body by the name of the Mayor Aldermen and Burgesses of the Borough of Banbury in the county of Oxford.

2. Power to hold, grant, and demise lands, &c., and to sue and be sued.

3. To have a Common Seal.

4. Limits of the Borough to be as before.

5. Power to perambulate.

6. Twelve of the Burgesses of the Borough to be Aldermen.

7. One of the Aldermen to be Mayor.

8. One good and discreet man, skilled in the laws, to be Recorder.

9. Six of the Burgesses of the Borough to be Capital Burgesses.

10. One Chamberlain to be appointed.

11. The Common Council to consist of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Capital Burgesses.

12. Thirty good and discreet men to be Assistants, who, with the officers above enumerated, shall from time to time be assistant and helping to the Mayor.

13. Power to the Common Council to make By-Laws; but such By-Laws must be reasonable, and not contrary to the laws of the realm. Transgressors against such By-Laws to be punished by fines and amercements.

14. Francis Goodwin of the aforesaid Borough, gentleman, to be the first Mayor.

15. George Wheate Esq. to be the first Recorder.

16. George Wheate Esq., John Allington, Thomas Owen, Thomas Ward, Francis Goodwin, Fulke Rainbow, Thomas Mander, John Welchman, John Kenning, Robert Greenhill, John Potter, and Anthony Haines, to be Aldermen.

17. Richard Hawten, Blagrave Gregory, Philip Penny, Thomas Stokes, John Welch, and James West, to be Capital Burgesses. The Aldermen and Burgesses to be removable for bad behaviour.

18. Trevor Viscount Hillsborough, Sir Rushout Cullen bart., Sir Thomas Wheate bart., Sir Adolphus Oughton knt., Francis Rock Esq., Alexander Denton Esq., Fiennes Twistleton Esq., Charles Crispe Esq., Thomas Wheate Esq., Charles How Esq., Ambrose Holbech Esq., Toby Chauncy Esq., John Blencowe Esq., Thomas Blencowe Esq., Nathaniel Humphrys Esq., Thomas Whorwood Esq., Edmund Denton Esq., John Hodges Esq., Richard Thompson Esq., John Moreton gent., William Goodwin gent., Sanderson Miller gent., Joseph Meddams gent., William Busby gent., John Miller gent., John Newman gent., John Burrows

gent., Robert Gascoigne gent., Thomas Bradford gent., and John Style gent., to be Assistants. Removable for misconduct.

19. Manner of electing the Mayor by the Mayor, Aldermen, Capital Burgesses, Chamberlain, and Assistants. The Mayor to continue in office for one year and until his successor be sworn.

20. Election of a new Mayor on the death or amotion of the former one. In case a Mayor deceased shall have appointed no deputy, the senior Alderman next after the Recorder shall have power to act.

21. Vacancies among the Aldermen, Capital Burgesses, and Assistances, to be filled up by the Common Council, namely, of Aldermen from the Capital Burgesses; of Capital Burgesses from the Assistants; and of Assistants from the "good and discreet men inhabiting the said Borough or elsewhere."

22. Penalties on refusing to serve in any office, namely, reasonable fines, to be determined by the Council. Not to exceed £5.

23. One great man who may and shall be a Baron of this kingdom of Great Britain or at the least a knight to be High Steward of the Borough. Francis Earl of Godolphin appointed High Steward by the charter.

24. The Council to elect the future High Stewards and Recorders. The Recorder to be *ex officio* senior Alderman.

25. The Chamberlain to be chosen by the Council from the Aldermen. His duty to receive the revenues and keep the accounts and records.

26. If the Mayor be sick or for some reasonable cause absent, the senior Alderman next after the Recorder to be his deputy.

27. A Deputy Recorder (being a good and discreet man learned in the laws) may be appointed by the Recorder, with the assent and consent of the Mayor and Aldermen.

28. Grant of emoluments and privileges, as before, on payment of yearly rent to the Crown.

29. Freedom from vexatious proceedings at law.

30. Charter to be construed favourably to the Corporation.

31. A Court of Record to be held every Monday, before the Mayor or his deputy, one other Alderman, the Recorder or his deputy, and two Capital Burgesses, or any three of them whereof the Mayor or his deputy must be one. For all kind of pleas &c. wherein the debt or damage does not exceed £40.

32. The Mayor in full court shall have power to appoint the Attorneys of the Court of Record.

33. Two Serjeants at Mace to be appointed by the Council, to serve in the Court, to execute processes, &c., and to carry gold or silver maces before the Mayor or his deputy.

34. Power to have a Gaol, whereof the Mayor shall be keeper.

35. Right of levying fines, and payment thereon to the Crown.

36. Waifs &c. to belong to the Corporation

37. The Mayor, Aldermen, Burgesses, and Freemen, not liable to serve on juries out of the Borough.

38. Sir Rushout Cullen bart., Sir Thos. Wheate bart., Sir John Cope knt., Fiennes Twistleton esq., and Ambrose Holbech esq., to be Magistrates of the Borough; as also the Mayor and Recorder, and three of the Aldermen to be elected by the Council.

39. Power to try for felony, witchcraft, incantation, sorcery, magick, trespasses, forestalling, regrating, ingrossing, and extortion; "and also concerning all and singular crimes and offences concerning which the Justices of our peace may lawfully inquire."

40. "And that the said Mayor Aldermen and Burgesses of the aforesaid Borough and their successors may and shall have authority and for the future shall be able to erect a Gallows within the aforesaid Borough the precincts limits and liberties of the same there to sentence and to hang Felons Murderers and other Malefactors within the aforesaid Borough according to the laws of this our kingdom."

41. The Mayor to have power of execution and return of all Writs.
42. Power to name a Coroner.
43. The Mayor to be Clerk of the Market.
44. The Borough exempt from intrusion of the Sheriff, &c.
45. A Wool Market to be held on Thursdays for the buying and selling of Wool, Woollen Yarn, and Foraginis. The object, as in the charter of James the First, being to set the poor to work, and the tolls &c. to go towards the expenses of the Borough and the maintenance of the poor. A court of Pie Powder, &c.
46. Power to hold two Fairs, namely, one on the eve, the feast, and the day following the feast of the Annunciation of Saint Mary the Virgin; and the other on the first Thursday which shall happen next before the feast of St. Nicholas the bishop and on the eve and morrow of the said day; together with a court of Pie Powder.
47. Power to hold a Horse Market on Thursdays, with a court of Pie Powder.
48. The Mayor and Justices shall have power for the "punishment and correction of all and singular drunkards and of all and singular harlots prostitutes and others whomsoever living lasciviously and incontinently and also of all and singular on any occasion unbecomingly or maliciously communicating or wickedly scolding who usually or in English are called Scolds Brawlers or Quarrellers."
49. Power to have and purchase lands.
50. Power to elect the Town Clerk of the aforesaid Borough.
51. Charter to be construed favourably to the Corporation.
52. Date—"The sixteenth day of July in the Fourth Year of our reign—By Writ of Privy Seal

COCKS."

"Let there be paid for a Fine in the Hanaper

Ten Marks sterling £6. 13s. 4d.

[THE SEAL]

PARKER C."³⁶

To the Parliament of the 8th George I. (1722), Monnoux Cope Esq. was returned for Banbury.³⁷ Sir William Codrington bart. petitioned against the return, but withdrew his petition.³⁸ Monnoux Cope was the son of Sir John Cope the sixth baronet, and the grandson of the before-named Sir John Cope (see p. 507) the fifth baronet. He succeeded to the baronetcy on the death of his father in 1749, and died in 1763, aged sixty-seven years.³⁹

(36) Copy in the Town Clerk's Office.

(37) Parl. Reg.

(38) The Petition of Sir William Codrington bart. was read in the House of Commons on the 25th Oct. 1722: it stated that bribery and other indirect practices had been made use of in opposition to the Petitioner's interest; and that, notwithstanding the Petitioner had a majority of legal votes, Mr. Cope had procured himself to be returned. On the following 15th January, Sir W. Codrington had liberty given him by the House to withdraw his Petition.—*Common's Journals*.

(39) Near the close of the reign of George the First appeared Dean Swift's celebrated *Travels of Lemuel Gulliver*, the ancestors of which imaginary character are represented by the Dean as having had their residence at Banbury; and he mentions their tombs as being in the church-yard. It is traditionally stated that the Dean, being at Banbury while his work was composing, but before he had fixed on a name for his hero, saw that of "Gulliver" on a tombstone in the church-yard, and forthwith fixed upon it. The name of Gulliver often occurs in the Register and other records of the period.

THE REIGN OF GEORGE THE SECOND.

In the early part of the reign of George the Second (namely in 1730) the View of Banbury which has been engraved on p. 150 of this vol. was taken.⁴⁰

To the first Parliament of George the Second, 1727, the Hon. Francis North was returned for Banbury.⁴¹ He was the son of Francis the second Baron Guilford, and the grandson of the Lord Keeper Guilford, and was born in 1704. On the death of his father in 1729 he succeeded to the title of Baron Guilford, and thus vacated his seat for Banbury. In 1734 he succeeded to the title of Baron North of Kirtling, on the death of William, the sixth Baron North, who was the son of Charles the fifth Baron North, elder brother of the Lord Keeper Guilford. In 1752 he was created Earl of Guilford. He died in 1790.⁴²

After his accession to the peerage in 1729, a new writ for Banbury was ordered, Jan. 13th 1730, when Toby Chauncy Esq. of Edgcot was chosen representative of Banbury.⁴³ This Toby Chauncy was the son of the Toby Chauncy who is mentioned in p. 511: he was born in 1673-4, and was recorder of Banbury and of Daventry. He died in March 1733;⁴⁴ and, a new writ being ordered on the 2nd April in that year, William Knollys Esq., called Viscount Wallingford, was chosen.⁴⁵ Viscount Wallingford was the son of Charles Knollys, claimant of the Earldom of BANBURY (see p. 267), whose claim to the title was disallowed by the House of Peers.⁴⁶ He was a major in the Horse Guards. Viscount Wallingford was again chosen for Banbury

(40) The principal localities shewn by it are these:—On the left hand side, the windmill marks the site of Windmill Bank (see p. 16, note 35); the buildings close on the right of it are Easington; a building a little further on the right, but lower down, is the remaining part of St. John's Hospital; the high conical hill is Crouch Hill (see p. 9); near the tower of the Church, and on the left of it, is seen the West Bar or Gate called Sugarford Bar (see p. 207); on the right of the Church is seen St. Stephen's Well, marked "A Well" (see p. 97); on the right of the well is Neithorp; below a portion of Neithorp is seen the North Bar or Gate of the town (see p. 208). On the left hand side of the sketch are also seen the Gallows, and the boundary-post upon the Bridge. The conspicuous building nearly in the centre of the picture is the old Town Hall. The buildings on the right hand side of the sketch are a portion of Grimsbury.

(41) Beatson's Reg. of Parliament.

(42) Baker's Northamp., p. 527.

(44) Baker's Northamp., p. 494.

(43) Beatson's Reg. Parl.

(45) Beatson's Reg. Parl.

(46) In Trin. Term, 6th Will. & Mary (1692), Charles Knollys, the said claimant as Earl of Banbury, was indicted at Hick's Hall, by the name of Charles Knollys Esq., for the murder of Charles Lawson Esq. (his brother-in-law), whom he had slain in a duel. The trial was removed into the King and Queen's Bench by *certiorari*, and the defendant pleaded that he ought not to answer to the indictment, because he was Earl of Banbury, entitled to be tried by his peers, though now indicted only as Charles Knollys. The at-

in 1734. He died in 1740; and, a new writ being ordered, the Hon. William Moore was chosen for Banbury. The Parliament being dissolved in 1741, the Hon. William Moore was again returned. He died in 1746. A new writ was ordered on the 18th November, when John Willes Esq. was chosen. In 1747, the Parliament was dissolved, and John Willes Esq. was again chosen.⁴⁷ This John Willes was filacer of the Court of Common Pleas, and was the son of Sir John Willes of Astrop, who was appointed lord chief justice of the Common Pleas in 1737, and who died in 1761. John Willes died at Astrop in 1784.⁴⁸

To the last Parliament of George the Second, in 1754, FREDERICK Lord NORTH, son of Francis first Earl of Guilford (see p. 519), was returned for Banbury; and was rechosen, on his elevation to office as a lord of the Treasury, in 1759.⁴⁹ He was afterwards the Premier.

A visitation of the Small Pox occurred at Banbury in December 1731, and continued till October 1733. The number of deaths from Small Pox, as entered in the Register, is ninety-four, of which number eighty deaths occurred in 1733. Joseph Gerard is mentioned as Vicar of Banbury in 1734, and John Wardle in 1739.⁵⁰

In 1739, Frederick Prince of Wales and his Princess paid a visit to Lord North and Guilford, at Wroxton. The following inscription, on the obelisk at Wroxton, records that it was by the Prince's command that the said obelisk was erected:—

FREDERICUS
WALLIE PRINCES
OPTIMUS MUNIFICENTISSIMUS
A
SERVO SUO

torney-general replied, that the defendant, by the name of Charles Earl of Banbury, had petitioned the Lords spiritual and temporal to be tried by his peers, but the Lords decided that the said Charles had not any right or title to the Earldom of Banbury. The Court however decided that the defendant was a Peer, and ought to have been indicted as Charles Earl of Banbury; and therefore that the indictment had a misnomer and ought to be abated. (Skinner's Reports.)

In 1760, five sons of the then Earl of Banbury are mentioned as having been, within a few months, foremost in action for the service of their country; one wounded at Carrickfergus, one at Guadaloupe, one killed in an engagement with two French frigates, and the fourth and fifth wounded at Minden. William Knollys, Earl of Banbury, died at Burford in 1776; and Thomas Woods Knollys, Earl of Banbury, died at Winchester in 1793. The last of these is mentioned as a respectable magistrate and country gentleman; but his estates were too small to permit him a town residence or to give him the state of a nobleman. (Dodsley's Ann. Registers.) In 1813 the claim to the Earldom of Banbury was revived by Lieut-Gen. William Knollys; but the House of Lords resolved, on the 9th March, "That the Petitioner had not made good his claim to the Earldom of Banbury."—*Brewer's Ox.*

(47) Whitworth's Succession of Parliaments; Parl. Register; Beatson's Reg. of Parl.

(48) Baker's Northamp., p. 695.

(49) Beatson's Reg. Parl.

(50) Register of Banbury. The following entry occurs in the Register in August 1740:—"William Jackman Barber kill'd himself by walking to Dadington for a wager burd 19th."

FRANCISCO
DOMINO NORTH ET GUILFORD
WROXTONIE HOSPITIO EXCEPTUS
IN
AMOEINITATIS INCREMENTUM
ET
ADVENTUS SUI MEMORIAM
OBELISCUM HUNC EXTRUI JUSSIT
MENSE SEPTEMBR MDCCXXXIX

The Corporation of Banbury presented an address to the Prince, on his coming into the town.

In the month of March 1746-7, the following record occurs in the Register of Banbury:—"Lydia Wild Wid^o & Relict of Will^m Wild Sen^r Slatter was Murdered the 7th and Buried the 11th Day." A brief account of this murder was given in the "Oxford Flying Weekly Journal," dated March 14th 1746-7,⁵¹ and is as follows:—"We hear from Banbury, that last Sunday morning Widow Wilde of that place was found barbarously murdered in her own kitchen; there were several wounds upon her head, one of which is very large and appears to have been done with a hammer, and her throat was cut almost from ear to ear. An Irish fellow, a shag weaver, is strongly suspected, his shoes being found in his lodgings bloody half way up the heels, and much blood sprinkled on the upper leather. He plundered the house of about £20." The name of this murderer was Parr: he was tried at Banbury, was convicted, and hanged in the Horse Fair, opposite the scene of his crime. He was afterwards gibbeted, on the spot which (from the circumstance) has been since called "Parr's Piece," on the south side of the way leading from Easington farm-house towards Broad Street.⁵²

(51) This is one of the early numbers (the 28th) of that Paper, and was "printed by R. Walker and W. Jackson, price 2d." Mr. Richard Heber's collection of the Oxford Journals, which is preserved in the British Museum, commences with No. 1 (not of this, but) of a later series of the Oxford Journal; the first number being dated May 5th 1753. For a considerable period, this new series of the Oxford Journal was almost exclusively devoted to the great Oxfordshire election contest which occurred in 1754.

(52) The house in which this murder was committed was the second in the Horse Fair, reckoning from West Bar Street. In a town where the extraordinary power existed of jurisdiction over life and death, but where, from the limited numbers of the population, capital crimes were very rarely committed, such an event as the above became a thing of note. It is said that Parr's body fell from the gibbet on which it had been suspended, and that some chimneysweepers thereupon made a procession with the body through the town. A tradesman, named John Baxter, who was then the chief wit of the place, wrote the following lines, on the occasion of this gibbeting, addressed to the farmer who resided at Easington:—

"Rejoice and sing, old Farmer Wells,
Proclaim your joy with ring of bells,
For now Old Parr's your neighbour;
And if the tree had been made like a T,
It would have serv'd both him and thee,
And sav'd Jack Ketch some labour."

Terror is excited, after a lapse of nearly one hundred years, by the relation which is yet

In April 1754, there occurred a contested election for the county of Oxford, the preparations for which had occasioned great excitement ever since the year 1752. The distinctions of party which were aroused in the county on this occasion were "The Old Interest" (Tory) and "The New Interest" (Whig), many of the leading nobility and gentry claiming the latter appellation. On the 28th January 1754 a riot took place, respecting this election, in the streets of Banbury.⁵³ The poll was taken at Oxford on the 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th, 22nd, and 23rd April.⁵⁴

A visitation of the Small Pox occurred at Banbury in 1760. For some years before this date, the average number of deaths in each year was about 60: in this year 1760 they were 163.⁵⁵ Owing to the fear which was excited in the neighbourhood with regard to this pestilence, the market which should have been held at Banbury was for a time kept at Weeping Cross, in the way to Adderbury.⁵⁶

BIOGRAPHICAL.

EDWARD WELSHMAN, Archdeacon of Cardigan, was the son of John Welshman of Banbury, and was baptized on the 21st August 1664.⁵⁷ He became a commoner of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, in midsummer term 1679; and was admitted B. A. on the 24th April 1683, probationer fellow of Merton College in

given to children of the execution of this murderer at Banbury. The room where he was confined is a threatened black-hole for youthful criminals; and Parr's fetters are yet preserved for the inspection of the curious. No execution has occurred at Banbury since this date. It is said that, some years before, some Tinkers were hanged in the Goose Leys, adjoining the Bridge. Tradition adds that these Tinkers had a dog, whose appeals on behalf of his masters excited the spectators to hang him up in a noose by the side of those whom he had faithfully served. It is also stated by tradition that a Woman was burned in Broad Street, about the same period, for the murder of her husband.

Goose Leys was at this period called "Gallows Leys;" and the situation of the Gallows there, in 1730, is shewn in the engraving given on p. 150.

(53) *Old Interest Fury*, 8vo., 1754 (a scarce Tract in my own collection).

(54) At the close, the numbers were declared to be:—for Lord Viscount Wenman (*Old Interest*) 2,033; Sir James Dashwood bart. (*Old Interest*) 2014; Lord Viscount Parker (*New Interest*) 1919; Sir Edward Turner bart. (*New Interest*) 1890. (*Poll Book, 1754*, Jackson's edit.) On a scrutiny, however, the majority for the successful candidates appeared so small, that the sheriff made a double return; and, the decision thus resting with the House of Commons, the House decided, April 23rd 1755, that the *New Interest* candidates, Lord Parker and Sir E. Turner, were duly elected. This election is said to have cost each of the candidates £40,000.—*Dunkin's History of the Hundreds of Bullington and Ploughley*, v. 1, pp. 55, 56.

(55) Register of Banbury.

(56) Information from Mr. John Wilson of Bodicot. In 1730, Mr. Richard Wise, of a Bodicot family, but then residing in London, put up a dial on the mutilated pedestal of Weeping Cross, with this inscription upon it:—"Given by Mr. Richard Wise, Clockmaker in London, Anno Domini 1730."

(57) Register of Banbury.

1684, and M. A. on the 19th June 1688. He took holy orders, and was presented to the rectory of Lapworth, with which living he also held the rectory of Solihull and the archdeaconry of Cardigan. He died in 1739.¹

WILLIAM BERRIMAN, D. D., a celebrated divine, was born in London in 1688. He received his grammatical education partly at Banbury, and partly at Merchant Tailors' school in London, whence he removed to Oxford. He died in 1750.²

BENJAMIN KIDD, a resident at Banbury, was an eminent preacher among the Friends or Quakers. He died in 1751, and was buried in the grave-yard adjoining the present Meeting-house of the Friends in Banbury, towards the erection of which new building (in 1750) he largely contributed.³ Two Sermons and a Prayer of Benjamin Kidd's were published in 1766.⁴

WILLIAM OLDYS, a biographer and historical writer, was the natural son of Dr. Oldys the chancellor of Lincoln, and was born at Adderbury. He held the office of Norroy king at arms; and was employed to superintend the publication of the Harleian Miscellany. He was the author of several works, and died at an advanced age in 1761.

PHILIP THICKNESSE, an eccentric traveller and writer, was born at Farthingho in 1719, and was the son of the then rector of Farthingho, the Rev. John Thicknesse. He received his education, first at Aynho school, and subsequently at Westminster. His "Year's Journey through France and Spain" was published

(1) Welshman was author of:—1. A Defence of the Church of England from the charge of Schism and Heresy, as laid against it by the Vindicator of the depriv'd Bishops [Henry Dodwell], Lond., 4to., 1692:—2. The Husbandman's Manual, directing him how to improve the several Actions of his Calling, and the most usual occurrences of his life, to the Glory of God and Benefit of his Soul; Lond., 8vo., 1695:—3. Dr. Clarke's Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity examined; 8vo., 1714:—4. A Conference with an Arian, 8vo., 1721:—5. An Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles, 8vo.:—6. An edition of Novatian's works, 1724:—7. Some Sermons. (Wood's Athenæ; Chalmers's Biog. Dict.) One of Welshman's sons afterwards kept an inn at Stratford upon Avon. In the "Spiritual Quixote" it is said:—"Whilst the coachman stopped [at Stratford] to water his horses, my landlord, out of civility, came to pay his compliments to Dr. Greville, who knew the man to be a son of the learned Dr. Welchman, well known for his illustration of the thirty-nine articles: which piece of history, as he had not much (literary) merit of his own to boast of, mine host never failed to acquaint his customers with. 'Gentlemen,' he would say, 'you have doubtless heard of my father; he made the thirty-nine Articles.'"

(2) Berriman published an answer to Whiston, on the Trinity, which introduced him to the notice of Dr. Robinson, bishop of London, who made him his chaplain, and in 1722 gave him the living of St. Andrew Undershaft. He also published an Historical account of the Controversies concerning the Doctrine of the Trinity, in Eight Sermons, at the Moyer Lecture, 8vo., 1725:—and Sermons at Boyle's Lecture, 2 vols. 8vo., on the Gradual Revelation of the Gospel from Man's Apostacy. In 1751, forty of his Sermons were published, in 2 vols. 8vo., by his brother, John Berriman: these were entitled "Christian Doctrines and Duties Explained and Recommended."—*Chalmers's Biog. Dict.; Berriman's Sermons.*

(3) Piety Promoted.

(4) A Scarce Tract in my own collection.

in 1777: he was well known as the writer of several other popular works.⁵

MANSELL SANSBURY was a noted highwayman who lived at Banbury in the reign of George the Second. His residence was at the corner-house between the north side of the Market Place and Parson's Street, which is now occupied by Mr. Edward Bennett. After many hairbreadth escapes from justice, he was at length taken, on a Banbury market-day, asleep in a corn-field near Bodicot: it is popularly stated that his faithful horse made several unsuccessful efforts to awaken him on the approach of his pursuers. He was executed at Aylesbury.

JOHN BAXTER, a goldsmith of Banbury (who has been already mentioned in p. 521, note 52, of this vol.), was the chief wit of the place during the latter part of the reign of George the Second and the beginning of that of George the Third. Many of his jocular rhymes are well remembered at the present time; but it is to be regretted that some of them do not deserve repetition. Baxter wrote his own epitaph, which, after his death, and with the blanks for the date, &c. filled up, was cut on a stone which is yet preserved in the room above the clergyman's retiring-room in Banbury Church: the epitaph is as follows:—

In Memory of
John Baxter
Goldsmith
who died Feby 14th, 1772
aged 61 Years.
Those that from sin are free
Here cast a stone
When of his faults you've thought
Think of your own.
His sins all ceas'd
When he resigned his breath
And if you know them shun them
Think of death.⁶

GEORGE HAMPTON, M. A., fifty-seven years minister to the Presbyterian congregation at Banbury, was born at Wrexham in

(5) Baker's Northamp., p. 626.

(6) One of Baxter's songs, which is sung and appreciated even at the present day, is entitled "THE JEW'S INTERLUDE, or Hob in the Well, as it was acted in Red-Lion Street, Banbury." The story is that of a Jew who fell into "JACOB'S WELL," a deep and very large well which existed behind the inn called also "The Jacob's Well." This inn (as I find since p. 504, where it is alluded to, was printed off) stood where Messrs. Cobbs' banking-house now stands in the High Street; and there was a passage through the premises for the public to go through to fetch water. The well, which was probably considered

1616 or 1617, and there received his grammar learning. He was sent to Glasgow in 1734; and, continuing there four years, studied ethics under Dr. Hutcheson, and diligently attended the lectures of the professors. In 1739 he succeeded Mr. Davies as minister to the Presbyterian congregation at Banbury. He was a diligent student and a learned man; and it is said he had proposals made to him to enter the Church, but that he could not

Holy in former times, yet remains, covered over, in the garden behind Messrs. Cobbs' banking-house. Baxter's song is as follows:—

AIR, Derry down.

"The Farce here related is certainly true,
The principal Actor therein was a Jew:
Who (would you believe it?) did certainly fly
In a wonderful manner! though not very high,
For 'twas down, down, down in the Well.

"'Twas Winter, I've oftentimes heard it reveal'd;
The cold piercing winds had the water congeal'd:
A transparent circle is form'd round the Well
From the drippings of buckets which often there fell,
Derry down, down, down round the Well.

"The Jew wanted water, nor could do without;
To the Well he repaired without fear or doubt;
When Oh! sad disaster! he slipp'd off the ice,
And down to the bottom he flew in a trice,
Derry down, down, down in the Well.

"To find a way up again puzzled his brain,
He hooted and hallo'd a long while in vain;
Till, at length being missed, the Hebrews him seek,
And, by chance going near the Well, just heard him squeak,
Derry down, down, down in the Well.

"Ah! wat hoo do down dere?" his friend Levi cries,
'Me fall from de top, from de ice,' he replies:
'Oh! holy man Moses! wat miracle dis,
To fall down so high, and get nutting amiss,
Derry down, down, down in the Well.

"Me'll let down de bucket, hold fast by de chain,
And me will endeavour to draw up again:
He mounts in a twink, better pleas'd, I am told,
Than if they had sent him a purseful of gold,
Derry down, down, down in the Well.

"His hands were quite numb'd (being long in the cold),
And when almost drawn up he no longer could hold,
But, spite of endeavours, he loosen'd the chain,
And down he went souse to the bottom again!
Derry down, down, down in the Well.

"Friend Levi now calls to him:—'Mind wat me say,
Put both arms quite round de chain, hold fast dat way,
Don't trust to hoor hands, dea'll deceive as before,
And den if hoo fall hoo will never rise more,'
Derry down, down, down in the Well.

"'Tis done as he order'd; now see him arise,
Very cold, dropping wet, many tears in his eyes
For fear he again to the bottom should go,
And never return from the regions below,
Derry down, down, down in the Well.

"But safely he landed, unhurt it is said,
Unless being cold; so they put him to bed;
And himself the next morning could pleasantly tell
How nimble he flew from the top of the Well,
Derry down, down, down in the Well."

Copy in the possession of Mr. John Cheney.

subscribe to the Articles. Mr. Hampton was greatly esteemed by his neighbours in Banbury; and so much respected by the episcopal clergy, that three of them attended his funeral, and were present at the service which took place after it in his own meeting-house. It is to be attributed to his amiable and conciliating conduct, that the members of the Established Church met for divine service in his meeting-house, for several years, while the Church of Banbury was being rebuilt. Mr. Hampton died on the 22nd September 1796, aged 80 years; and his remains were interred in Banbury church-yard.⁷

WILLIAM WHITE, a native of Shutford, published, in 1771, a "Guide to the Management of Bees," in 8vo. In 1766 he received a premium from the Society of Arts.

The Rev. MATTHEW LAMB, D. D., was of Queen's College, Oxford, and is mentioned as Vicar of Banbury in 1758. He was a capital burgess of the Borough in 1764, and in 1770 he was elected an alderman. He resigned the vicarage of Banbury, and had, in 1773, the rectory of Chipping Wardon, where he died in 1797.⁸

THOMAS WAGSTAFFE, a writer among the Friends or Quakers, was born at Banbury in 1724, and for some time carried on the trade of a watchmaker in London. When he was advanced in life, he retired to Chipping Norton, where he died in 1802. He was the author of the Eighth and Ninth Parts of "Piety Promoted, or Brief Memorials of the Quakers."⁹

The far-famed "SHEPHERD OF BANBURY," is only an apocryphal personage. In 1744 there was published,—*"The Shepherd of Banbury's Rules to judge of the Changes of the Weather, grounded on Forty Years' Experience. To which is added, A Rational Account of the Causes of such Alterations, the Nature of Wind, Rain, Snow, &c. on the Principles of the Newtonian Philosophy. By John Claridge. London: printed for W. Bickerton, in the Temple Exchange, Fleet Street, MDCCXLIV. Price 1s."* The work attracted a large share of public attention, and deserved it. A second edition appeared in 1748. In 1770 there appeared,—*"An Essay on the Weather, with Remarks on the*

(7) Protestant Dissenters' Magazine, 1796. Mr. Hampton published two pamphlets in defence of the doctrine of the Atonement; the first in answer to Dr. Taylor, in 8vo.; the second an Answer to Dr. Priestley, in 8vo., 1785.

(8) Records of the Corporation of Banbury; Register of Banbury; Baker's Northamp., p. 529.

(9) J. G. Bevan's "Piety Promoted."

Shepherd of Banbury's Rules, &c. By John Mills Esq. F. R. S." Mr. Mills observes:—"Who the Shepherd of Banbury was, we know not; nor indeed have we any proof that the rules called his were penned by a real Shepherd: both these points are however immaterial; their truth is their best voucher." It is stated in Kippis's "*Biographia Britannica*," that the real author was Dr. John Campbell, a Scotchman. The work was long a favourite with the common people, and has been frequently reprinted.

THE REIGN OF GEORGE THE THIRD.

FREDERICK Lord NORTH was thirteen times returned to Parliament for Banbury. The first occasion was in 1754 (as before stated, p. 520), when his age was twenty-two years. Being appointed a commissioner of the Treasury in 1759, a new writ was ordered on the 29th May, and his Lordship was re-elected. His third return for Banbury was in the 1st George III. (1761.)

In 1766 he was appointed joint paymaster-general of the land forces, and re-chosen for Banbury on a writ ordered November 11th. In 1767, on his becoming chancellor and under-treasurer of the Exchequer, a fresh writ was moved on the 23rd November, and he was re-elected. His sixth return for Banbury was at the general election in 1768. He was made first lord of the Treasury in February 1770: a writ was moved, and he was again elected. His lordship's eighth return was at the general election in 1774. He was appointed lord-warden of the Cinque Ports, and re-elected on a writ ordered June 5th 1778. His tenth return was at the general election in 1780. He became secretary of state in 1783, and was re-elected on a writ ordered April 2nd. His lordship's twelfth return for Banbury was at the general election in 1784; on which occasion he was opposed by Mr. Lloyd, though without any chance of his lordship's ejection. Lord North's thirteenth return was at the general election in 1790. His lordship's father, who had been created Earl of Guilford, dying on the 4th August 1790 (before the Parliament met), Lord North succeeded to the family titles, and vacated his seat for Banbury.

Lord North was Premier minister of Great Britain during the American War, until 1782. He was made a knight of the garter

in 1772, and was chosen Chancellor of the University of Oxford in the same year. He was for some years totally blind. His lordship held the title of Earl of Guilford only a short time, as he died on the 5th August 1792.¹⁰

It is a curious circumstance, with reference to Lord North's being Prime-Minister of Great Britain during the American War, that his lordship held Chipping Wardon (six miles from Banbury) by descent, in the female line, from the Saltonstalls of Chipping Wardon; and that the direct male ancestry of General WASHINGTON resided at Sulgrave, almost immediately contiguous to Chipping Wardon.¹¹

In 1785, a great fire occurred at King's Sutton on the 15th July, and in three hours destroyed about forty houses.¹²

A gang of housebreakers and highwaymen, known as the "CULWORTH GANG," were the terror of Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, and the neighbouring counties, for nearly twenty years, at this period. The gang consisted of about fifteen individuals, who chiefly resided at Culworth and the adjacent villages. The following were the most prominent persons:—John Smith, a labourer of Culworth, a man advanced in life, but of great bodily strength and daring energy of character:—his two sons, John Smith, and William Smith:—William Abbott, the parish clerk of Sulgrave, a shoemaker by trade, who is said to have always carried pistols when performing his sacred office in the church:—William Bowers of Culworth:—and Richard Law, William Pettipher, William Terrill, Thomas Malsbury, and Richard Tack, all of the same village. The six last are all designated as labourers, except Law, who was a carpenter. There were other persons connected with the gang, and who occasionally aided them in their dangerous pursuits. One of these was named Gilkes: he was the son of respectable parents in the neighbourhood, and it is supposed that his motive for joining the gang was the excitement and romance which attended their excursions.

From death, and other causes, the numbers of the gang fell

(10) Beatson's Register of Parl.; Baker's Northamp., p. 527.

(11) Robert and Lawrence Washington sold the manor of Sulgrave in 1610. This Lawrence Washington's son, John Washington, emigrated to America about 1657, and was the great-grandfather of the American patriot. (Baker's Northamp., pp. 513, 514.)

The family of Dr. FRANKLIN were connected with Banbury. The Doctor's uncle, John Franklin, was in trade there as a dyer: and to him the Doctor's father was apprenticed. Dr. Franklin's grandfather retired to Banbury in his old age, and died and was buried there. In 1758, the Doctor paid a visit there to his grandfather's grave.—*Letters of Franklin*.

(12) Baker's Northamp., p. 696.

off, and the principal actors consisted of the individuals above named. To many, their pursuits must have been well known, but none durst come forward to give testimony against them. After a while, however, Law and Pettipher went into a public house in Towcester, purposing to stay the night there, each bearing with him a bag supposed to contain fighting cocks. When they retired to bed, the landlord from curiosity opened one of the bags, and found therein two smock-frocks and a couple of masks; and having heard of the numerous robberies which had been committed in the neighbouring district by persons who were disguised in smock-frocks and masks, he sent for a constable. It was, however, agreed to take no further steps immediately. In a few days a report was spread that the house of a person named Mayho, near Blakesley, had been broken open in the night, and all the valuables therein taken away, by some robbers who were dressed in smock-frocks and had their faces blackened. The landlord and constable then gave information, and Law and Pettipher were committed to prison.

For some time the prisoners denied having been guilty of the robbery at Mayho's; but, being strongly pressed, and thinking that the connexion of the gang was broken, they impeached Bowers (one of their number, who had planned the robbery) and the rest of their confederates, who were immediately apprehended, except Tack, who had absconded. On searching their houses, a great quantity of stolen goods was found; and many also were found in Sulgrave Church, where they had been secreted by Abbott. A catalogue of the articles found was made by the Rev. Michael O'Clare, which catalogue was advertised; and Law, Pettipher, the elder Smith, Bowers, Abbott, Terrill, and the two young Smiths, were committed to take their trial at the Northamptonshire summer assizes in 1787, upon various charges. With the exception of Terrill and the young Smiths, the prisoners were all convicted and sentenced to death; and the sentence was carried into execution upon the elder Smith, Bowers, Law, and Pettipher, on the 3rd August 1787. Abbott was transported for life. After condemnation the criminals made a confession of forty-seven robberies committed by them. The elder Smith, before his execution at Northampton, wrote a letter to his wife, expressing his feelings on his approaching death, and adding in a postscript:—"Desire my son John to marry Elizabeth Beere,

and beg of him to be good to her and the child, and take warning by me that they may live in comfort. I desire you will take care of these lines, and cause them to be read to my children every Sabbath-day; and I hope that God will give them grace to take warning—it is the prayer of a dying father.”

About two years after these executions, John Smith the younger was apprehended for a highway robbery committed near Gaydon Inn, and executed for the offence at Warwick. Elizabeth Beere (above alluded to) was a young woman who resided at Claydon: she was deeply attached to young John Smith, was present at his execution, had the body delivered to her, and with a donkey and a pair of panniers conveyed it to Culworth for interment, leaving Warwick at night-fall.

One most painful incident is connected with the history of the Culworth Gang. At the Northampton spring assizes in 1785, James Tarry, labourer, of Chipping Wardon, was tried for a highway robbery committed near that village, and was convicted and executed. To the last moment Tarry persisted in denying his guilt. After the conviction of Law and Pettipher in 1787, those criminals solemnly declared that the elder and the younger John Smith committed the robbery for which Tarry suffered. Old Smith was closely pressed to reveal the fact, but all to no purpose. Afterwards, upon the trial of young Smith at Warwick, the same Judge who had tried Tarry presided. There being some discrepancy in the evidence as to Smith's identity, and the Judge commenting upon that evidence in a way which the prisoner considered unfavourable to himself, the latter interrupted his Lordship by telling him to beware, for that he had once sentenced an innocent man to execution. Young Smith was executed; but the Judge ordered an inquiry to be made respecting the observations which had fallen from him. Before his execution, Smith made a full confession of the robbery for which Tarry had suffered, and entirely exculpated Tarry from any participation therein.¹³

Of the rest of the gang, Tack absconded, and was never more heard of. Malsbury lived for some years after at Culworth, and

(13) The following entries occur in the Register of Chipping Wardon:—"1785, Burials." "July 25, James Tarry labourer:" [this is in the hand-writing of the Parish Clerk.] "Executed at Northampton, pauper:" [this is in the hand-writing of the Curate, Mr. Aspinwall.] "He was innocent of the crime for which he suffered." [This last is in the hand-writing of Dr. Hobart, the subsequent Rector of Chipping Wardon, now Dean of Windsor.]

died there. William Smith became an industrious steady labourer. The individual mentioned as having joined the gang from somewhat different motives to the rest, thought it prudent, on the apprehension of his comrades, to leave the country; and he went to the Indies, where it is said he amassed considerable wealth. After many years spent there, he yearned for his native land, and took his passage homeward, but died shortly after he came on shore. All inquiries respecting property left behind him proved unavailing.¹⁴

In the reign of George the Third, an ancient practice of tradesmen making their own copper money was revived, in a style vastly superior to that of any former copper coinage: many of this series form a beautiful part of the collections of the curious. One of the series is a halfpenny, of the size of the English copper coinage, bearing on the obverse a head, inscribed "WM RUSHER HATTER BOOKSEL' & STATIONER BANBURY." On the reverse are the Banbury arms (the Sun in Glory), with the motto "DEUS EST NOBIS SOL ET SCUTUM." On the rim is inscribed—"PAYABLE AT BANBURY OXFORD OR READING."¹⁵

On the 22nd October 1789, two celebrated pugilists, named Johnson and Perrins, fought at Banbury, on a forty-foot turf stage which was erected on the Leys. The fight lasted an hour and a quarter, when the skill and activity of Johnson, who was a "little man," prevailed over the great bulk and strength of Perrins. The event was recorded by two copper pennies (of the full size) struck for the purpose. One bears on the obverse the head of the victor, inscribed "THOMAS IOHNSON;" and on the reverse, an inscription, "SCIENCE AND INTREPIDITY. 1789," and, in the centre, "BELLA! HORRIDA BELLA!" The other penny has, on the obverse, the head of the vanquished, inscribed "ISAAC PERRINS;" and on the reverse, the inscription "STRENGTH AND MAGNANIMITY. 1789," and, in the centre, "BELLA! HORRIDA BELLA!"¹⁶

The Rev. Edward Tatham (subsequently the Rev. Dr. Tatham, rector of Lincoln College, Oxford) was curate of Banbury in 1780, and published, in that year, from Banbury, "Twelve Discourses Introductory to the study of Divinity." 8vo.

(14) Information from James Beesley Esq., who, in 1837 and 1838, furnished a more detailed account of this gang to the "Banbury Mechanics' Institute MS. Magazine."

(15) Specimen in my own collection.

(16) Specimens in my own collection.

DEMOLITION OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH OF BANBURY.

By an Act of Parliament obtained in the 30th George III., the ancient Church of Banbury was taken down in 1790. In 1686, Dr. Fell, bishop of Oxford, had given a sum of money for the repair of the Church; which Church, it is said, "being in its structure the largest in Oxfordshire, and much out of repair, would otherwise have fallen down."¹⁷ An inscription, which is preserved in the clergyman's retiring-room in the present Church, says that the sum given by Dr. Fell was £400, and that it was expended about the year 1700. Notwithstanding these repairs, the dilapidated state of the Church was the cause assigned for its destruction; with what grounds of truth will be seen by the evidences which follow:—

At a vestry held in 1760, "to consult about what is proper to be done to that shatter'd west side of the Tower," it was agreed that the loose stones should be taken out, and the parts repaired and cramped.

At a vestry in 1762, "to consult about a staircase being erected from the Belfree to the Chime floor," the same was agreed on.

Such were the whole of the repairs and alterations considered necessary from 1760 to 1772. In the latter year, a vestry was called "to consult what method to take to secure the pillars next adjoining to the Tower of the said Church;" when it was agreed that a surveyor's opinion should be taken. The entry in the Parish Book is however crossed.

On the 13th January 1773, "It being apprehended by divers of the inhabitants of the parish of Banbury in the county of Oxford that the present state of the Church is dangerous," a vestry was held, at which it was ordered that the churchwardens should immediately employ an able and experienced Surveyor to "search and see the want of reparations in the said Church."

On the 12th April 1773, at a vestry, it was the opinion of the Inhabitants that there should be a Surveyor sent for from London to survey the Church and to give his opinion concerning its state.

On the 28th July 1773, a vestry was holden to receive "the opinion of the Surveyors Mr. Samuel Dowbiggin & Mr. Richard Buddle of London who made a survey of the said Church on the 19th & 20th instant."

"A Copy of the Surveyors Opinion is as follows.

"Gent'

"We have carefully survey'd the Parish Church belonging to Banbury and find the Tower to be verry substantial and FIT TO STAND FOR AGES. The Chancel and that part of the Church north and south of

the Tower is in very good condition and will stand extremely well with a small repair. All that part of the Church west of the Tower stands in a very dangerous condition and in our opinion should be taken down and rebuilt, the old one not being fit to stand.

"Survey'd by us 1773, July
19th and 20th."

SAML. DOWBIGGIN
RICHARD BUDDLE."

After this, nothing appears to have been done towards the destruction of the Church for eleven years. On the 24th August 1784, at a vestry held "for the purpose of taking into consideration whether a Surveyor shall be had from Lincoln to look into the state of the repairs of the Church," eighteen persons put down their names to a resolution that they "deemed the attendance of such Surveyor unnecessary."

On the 7th September 1784, "at a vestry held for taking into consideration Mr. Dalton the Surveyor's opinion concerning ye repairing the Church," it was decreed that "The north west pillar of the Tower be repaired or taken down & rebuilt under the inspection of Mr. Dalton according to his judgement, and that Mr. Dalton be requested to attend the repairs or taking down & rebuilding the same and that the Arches on the south side be filled up according to his directions."

Oct. 18th, 1784. "It is" [the word "unanimously" is here crossed] "agreed that Mr. Wrighton do immediately take down the north west pillar and rebuild up the same according to the directions left by Mr. Dalton, the principal props according to Mr. Dalton's directions having [been] already set by Mr. Pain."

Dec. 27th, 1784. A vestry was held "to consult about sending for Mr. Dalton to inspect the work done by Mr. Paine and to take a further survey of the Church." Agreed to.

Jan. 14th, 1785. "At a vestry held for taking into consideration Mr. Dalton's opinion concerning the further repairs of the Church it was decreed that this vestry is adjourned till 3 o'clock this afternoon.

"Mr. Dalton having surveyed the Church and given it as his opinion that the Church IS AS SAFE AS ST. PAULS CHURCH IN LONDON, we whose names are hereunder written do agree to the said report." This is signed by Mr. Dalton, and by the following inhabitants:—John Clarke, John Pain mayor, William Pratt churchwarden, George Green, Thomas Cobb, Oliver Aplin, John Newman, William White, Joseph Hawtyn, Robert Taylor, John Roberts, James Golby, William Wilson, William Taylor, George Ashness, Samuel Clarson, John Gunn, Samuel Hill, Andrew Joad, William Welch, Thomas Sansbury, George Claridge, Robert Osborn, Joseph Bull.

November 20th and 21st, 1789. A vestry held "to take into consideration the state of the Church, and Mr. Dalton's opinion respecting the same;" at which "the report of Messrs. Dalton and Burton" was ordered to be inserted in the book, "and that the consideration of the same be adjourned until this day week."

"Copy of Messrs. Dalton and Burton's opinion.

"We the underwritten, having surveyed the Church of the town of Banbury, are of opinion that the roof over the south aisle is in a very

ruinous & unsafe state, for the security of which it will be requisite to take off the said roof, and reinstate it with additional timbers, independent of the wall over the pillars of the aisle. Also that the said wall be secured by braces over the middle aisle, with effectual buttments to prevent the building falling over to the northward. Further that as the Tower continues to press downward & injure the adjacent piers or pillars, it will be essentially requisite that the upper part of the said Tower should be taken down, to the level of the other roofs, And that a Tower (which may be hereafter adapted to a new Church) should be erected at the west end of the present building, and the arch next the north-west corner of the Tower be shoared up & the defective pillar be taken down and rebuilt, The expence of these repairs & additional buildings on the nearest judgment we can form, in the short time allowed, we estimate at £2100. But even then, we cannot assure ourselves that the building will not continue to want a material annual repair, in consequence of the general decay of the structure arising from its age and imperfect construction originally.

“We are further of opinion, that should it be determined, in preference of the repairing of the present Church, to erect a new one; that a plain substantial building may be compleatly formed & finished for a sum not exceeding £4400 & the old Materials, which may be capable of accommodating the Parishioners in a commodious way, and relieve them from those apprehensions which they will continue subjected to, so long as the present building exists. Signed

JAMES DALTON

JAMES BURTON.”

“21 Nov. 1789.”

At a vestry held on the 28th November 1789, “it was the unanimous opinion of this vestry that the said Church should be re-surveyed, and that the architect for rebuilding the Cathedral Church of Hereford be requested to make such re-survey provided the Bishop of Hereford on application being made to him by Mr. Bignell for that purpose reports him a proper person.”

March 10th, 1790. A vestry held to take into consideration Mr. Wyatt's report; and an order made that advertisements be issued “desiring any person or persons to deliver in a plan & estimate for taking down and rebuilding the Church & Tower of Banbury so that the Church shall be capable of containing three thousand persons, & the work completed in an handsome and most substantial manner.” Mostly signed by the same persons as before.

March 17th, 1790. “It was ordered that the order concerning advertisements” be rescinded; and “that a Bill be presented to the Honourable the House of Commons for taking down and rebuilding the parish Church and Tower of Banbury in pursuance of the Petition already presented—and that this meeting be adjourned until Saturday morning next.” A protest against this is signed by William Shirley, Samuel Grimby, and William Sanders.

March 20th, 1790. At the adjourned vestry it was ordered “That Mr. Cockerill be appointed to make a survey of the state of the buildings of

the Church, Tower, & Chancel of the parish of Banbury, distinguishing the state of each building; and that he report the same at a vestry; and that he shall confer with Mr. Wyatt in case he shall think it necessary."

The vestry which was held to receive Mr. Cockerill's report was adjourned to April 12th. His report is not entered. The following minute is however recorded:—

"It is the opinion of this vestry that the Church and Tower be taken down & rebuilt and that Mr. Bignell do apply to Parliament for the purpose of getting leave to take down & rebuild the same. [Signed] John Pain mayor, Richard Bignell, Joseph Wells, Robert Taylor, Richard Harberd, Richard Davis, John Lamb vicar, Joseph Snow, Richard Chapman, John Newman, W. Pargeter M. D., Oliver Aplin, William Walford, John Callow, William Pratt, Samuel Clarson."¹⁸

May 24th, 1790. At a meeting of the Corporation held by legal summons, to consider whether the seal of the Corporation shall be affixed to the Act for taking down the Church &c., in order "to testify the consent of the Corporation to the said Act passing into a law;" present—*Aldermen*, John Pain mayor, Rev. Matthew Lamb D. D., Christopher Aplin, Rev. George Lamb, Rev. Robert Spillman;—*Burgesses*, Samuel Clarson junr., Charles Wyatt, Richard Chapman, and John Callow.

"Yeas 9 }
Noes 0 } The Seal is directed to be affixed."¹⁹

It thus appears that, for a series of years, surveyors were sent for, from London, Lincoln, and other places: and their reports were, that, with the exception of some minor repairs being needful, Banbury Church was "fit to stand for Ages," and "as safe as St. Paul's Church in London." At length, two adventurous surveyors (one of whom was somehow induced to recant his former written opinion) gave in a report calculated to support the desire of the inhabitants to take down the Church and to erect a new building.

There appear to have been, however, in Banbury or its neighbourhood, some few honourable exceptions from the list of those persons who joined in this work of destruction. In the Gentleman's Magazine for July 1790, there is a notice of a letter received from a correspondent who signs himself "Veritas," with an editorial comment that—"He dates from Banbury, and adds, 'The fine old Church here is now shut up, and devoted to destruction! Public service has been long stopped, and all the pews, &c. taken out. Should we live to see the foundation of a new one laid, we may weep like the old Jews, when they recollected the glory

(18) All the foregoing are from the Parish Vestry Book.

(19) From the records of the Corporation, in the possession of the present Town Clerk.

of their former Temple; for never shall we see another building here equal to this beautiful old remain of antiquity.'” A letter inserted in a subsequent number of the same Magazine, and dated August 24th, 1790 (bearing the signature “J. Henn”), says:—“The fate of Banbury Church I lament with Veritas. I have examined the interior parts thereof, but find it barren of antique vestigia; the noble shell is its only boast: although, perhaps, now the pews are taken away, something might be discovered.”

A subsequent letter subscribed “J. Henn,” and dated from “Aldridge” (perhaps the name and residence are both fictitious) on the 10th September, says:—“A gentleman farmer writes to me thus: ‘I was the other day at Banbury:—they have gutted their noble old church of all the pews, &c., &c., and the labourers are now pulling up the pavement;—a most sad spectacle! to see skulls, legs, arms, and other bones of the defenceless dead, lie about as though it was a bone-house or a dogkennel.’”

In the same Magazine the following account is given of the progress of this work of destruction. “On Sunday morning, Dec. 12, 1790, the inhabitants of Banbury were alarmed by the sudden falling in of the principal aisle of the Church, for the taking down and rebuilding of which an Act had passed in the last Parliament. Providentially several persons had just left the church; and, had it not fallen, it was intended that the workmen should have begun taking it down on the morrow, in which case many lives would probably have been lost. The crash was heard near two miles from the spot. On the following day, the Tower likewise fell. The arches on which it stood first gave way, which occasioned the chasm from the bottom to the top, and instantly the whole tower became cracked and shivered in a variety of directions, admitting the light through each, but yet preserving a perpendicular fall, even in its pinnacles.”²⁰

The following account of the destruction of the Church has been communicated to the Author by various eyewitnesses. When the work of demolition was begun, it was soon found that a harder task than usual had been assigned to the workmen. The lead was, however, stripped from the roof, and the rain was let in upon the walls which stood as firmly as they had done for centuries. The noble tower stood nearly in the centre of the building, supported on its old Norman pillars and arches. Tim-

ber and wedges were applied beneath it, to give it temporary support; and then the pillars were partially knocked away; fire was applied, for twenty-four hours, to consume the timbers which had been substituted, and at the expiration of that time the noble pile fell down, burying the parts beneath it amid its ruins!

But, even after this execrable work had been so far accomplished, much of the building remained to be destroyed. Those parts of the walls which had fallen lay on the ground in masses, so well had the stones been cemented and cramped together; and much of the exterior of the edifice was yet standing. To the head of the great western window of the nave a team of ten horses was fastened; and, in their efforts to remove it, the spring was so great that several of the horses were lifted from the ground. Other parts of the building were destroyed by gunpowder: and at length, by such means as these, and to the lasting disgrace of the Town, the venerable Church was at length made a heap of ruins.²¹

Banbury Cross was destroyed during the fever of Puritanism, because it was considered to be a relic of Popery. Banbury Castle was taken down, from a fear that such a stronghold might be again used to the injury of the inhabitants of the town.²² It remained to complete the destruction of all the noble buildings of antiquity in Banbury by this last and far greatest act of vandalism. Let us again quote Bishop Corbet, writing as early as the year 1621. After lamenting the spoliations which had been caused by fanaticism in Banbury, he says:—

“Away, and looke not back; away, whilst yet
The *Church is standing*, whilst the benefitt
Of seeing it remaines; *ere long you shall*
Have that rac't downe, and call'd Apocryphal.”

The materials of the fabric were regarded with so little reverence that monumental stones are now to be seen in the pavements of private houses, and in some instances have been used for stiles in the fields. A weaver's loom warranted to be made of the well-seasoned oak of the Old Church is preferred to any other. The Act provided, in only an evasive manner, for the preservation of the monuments: they were to be restored in the new Church

(21) Information from the late Mr. Robert Gardner of Banbury, T. Tims Esq. of Banbury, Mr. John Wilson of Bodicot, and others.

(22) See further information, relating to the destruction of the Castle, than has been previously given in this vol., in the Addenda.

at the expense of persons requesting the same; and, as all the monuments which possessed any interest were erected to the memory of persons who had no representatives in 1790, not one of them was re-erected.

The Organ which stood in the old Church has been re-erected in the present one. It was purchased in 1765, the expense being partly defrayed by subscriptions amounting to £390. 16s. The Organ has seventeen stops; nine in the principal organ, three in the choir organ, and five in the swell.

The Altar piece is also preserved in the present Church. It is in the style of Ludovico Caracci, and represents a Dead Christ, with attendant figures. It measures five feet by four feet.

In the Tower there was a peal of six Bells, which was increased, in the new Church, to eight. The inscriptions on the eight bells were as follows:—

1st Bell. "This Bell was given by Frederick Earl of Guilford to the Borough of Banbury. John Brian, Hertford, fecit, 1820."

2nd Bell. "John Briant, Hertford, fecit, 1820. John Pain, James Hill, Thomas Nasby, C. Wardens."

3rd Bell. "George Lucas, James Lane, Samuell Gardner, Churchwardens. Matthew Bagley made mee 1753. I. H."

4th Bell. "Div. et feliciter vivat Carolvs Secvndvs Rex sic precor et opto. H. Bagley. 1664."²³

5th Bell. "John Pain, John Fry, John Pearson, Churchwardens. Matthew Bagley made mee 1779."

6th Bell. "Henry Bagley made me 1669."

7th Bell. "Bee it knowne to all that doe mee see Bagley of Chacombe²⁴ made mee 1664."

8th Bell. "I ring to Sermon with a lvyty boome that all may come and non may stay at home. Philip Style gent. John West Thomas Abraham Ivner and Thomas Svtton Churchwardens. 1667." With the Royal Arms.

The new Church of Banbury was erected on the site of the former one, and opened for divine service on the 5th September 1797. The building will be described hereafter.

(23) This Bell was lately cracked, and has been sent away to be re-cast.

(24) Most of the Bells in this neighbourhood were cast at Chacombe, by the Bagley family; the principal of whom, Henry Bagley, who died in 1684, lies buried in Chacombe church-yard. The foundery stood in what is now the Malthouse garden: no vestige of it remains, but a flourishing beech tree marks the spot where it stood. Tradition says that the descendant of Henry Bagley left Chacombe in consequence of the loss occasioned by the bursting of his mould while casting a bell. He, it appears, went to Woolwich, and there lost his life while proving a piece of ordnance.

When Mr. Briant of Hertford re-cast the fifth bell at Chacombe, he sought out the stone which marked the spot of Henry Bagley's grave, and had it cleaned and re-cut, with this addition:—"To the Memory of an ingenious Bell Founder this stone was repaired."—*Information from Mr. Matthew Jessop of Banbury.*

THE REIGN OF GEORGE THE THIRD CONTINUED.

To the Parliament of 1790, Frederick Lord North had been returned for Banbury, as before stated (p. 527); but his father, the Earl of Guilford, dying in that year, he succeeded to the title, and, a new writ being ordered on the 12th December, his lordship's eldest son, George Augustus Lord North, was elected. This nobleman was born in 1757. On the death of his father in 1792, he succeeded to the titles and estates; and, his seat for Banbury being vacated, his youngest brother, the Hon. Frederick North, was elected. Mr. Frederick North being appointed a comptroller of the Customs, another writ was issued February 27th 1794, and William Holbech Esq. of Farnborough was chosen member for Banbury. At this election, Mr. Adam (who was, either then or subsequently, solicitor-general to the Queen) was a candidate on the Guilford interest; but, some disturbance being apprehended, he retired, and Mr. Holbech was elected without further opposition. Mr. Holbech was descended from the ancient family of Holbech, of Holbech in Lincolnshire: his great-uncle was that Ambrose Holbech Esq. (of Mollington) who has been mentioned in p. 516; and his great-grandfather was that Ambrose Holbech Esq. (of Mollington, Farnborough, and Radston) who has been mentioned in p. 491.²⁵ The Parliament to which Mr. Holbech was returned was dissolved in 1796. He died in 1812.

To the Parliament of 1796, Dudley North Esq., a distant relative of the Earl of Guilford, was returned for Banbury. This Parliament sat until 1802. Mr. North was also returned to the next Parliament, which sat till 1806.²⁶

In the autumn of 1800, serious riots took place at Banbury on account of the high price of bread.

George Augustus, Earl of Guilford, died in 1802, without surviving issue male: whereupon the barony of North of Kirtling fell into abeyance between his three daughters and coheireses.²⁷ His lordship was succeeded in his other titles by his next brother,

(25) Baker's Northamp., p. 674.

(26) Beatson's Reg. of Parliament.

(27) Lady Maria, daughter of George Augustus third Earl of Guilford by his first wife Maria daughter of George third Earl of Buckinghamshire, was born in 1793, married (in 1818) John Crichton second (present) Marquis of Bute, and died in 1841. Lady Susan, second daughter of the said third Earl of Guilford, by his second wife Susan daughter and coheiress of Thomas Coutts Esq., was born in 1797, and married (Nov. 18th 1835) Lieut.-Col. John Sidney Doyle, (second son of Lieut.-General Sir Charles Doyle, G. C. B.) who

the Hon. Francis North, fourth Earl of Guilford, who was born in 1761, and enjoyed the titles nearly fifteen years.²³ While this noble personage continued a resident at Wroxton, that place was the scene of great mirth and festivity. George Prince of Wales, afterwards King George the Fourth, paid visits to the Earl at Wroxton in 1805, in 1806, and again in 1808. The obelisk at Wroxton bears the following inscription with reference to the first of these visits :—

GEORGIUS
WALLIE PRINCEPS
FREDERICI NEPOS
AVI VIRTUTIBUS ORNATUS
HOSPITIUM
SIBI
A FRANCISCO COMITE DE GUILFORD
FRANCISCI NEPOTE
WROXTONIE RENOVATUM
HUIC OBELISCO
INSCRIBI VOLUIT
MENSE JUNII
MDCCCV

On the second occasion of the Prince's visit to Wroxton, in 1806, his Royal Highness was accompanied by the Duke of Clarence, afterwards King William the Fourth. On the 29th August, the Corporation of Banbury unanimously resolved that the freedom of the Borough of Banbury should be offered to the two Princes. On the third occasion of a visit to Wroxton by the Prince of Wales, the freedom of the Borough was offered to the Duke of Sussex, who accompanied the Prince on that visit. The Prince himself received, at Wroxton, an address from the Corporation of Banbury, and delivered an answer thereto; of which answer the following is a *verbatim et literatim* copy, made from the original paper handed by the Prince to the Corporation and preserved in the Town Clerk's office :—

*"To the Lord High Steward The Mayor, & Capitel Burgesses of the
Borough of Banbury*

"MY LORD

"It is with heartfelt pleasure I receive this Testimony of your Regard & Attachment, & which is rendered more valuable to me by being coupled with such expressions of respect for my Family and for my Person

"I lament that the Indisposition of my Brother The Duke of Sussex

subsequently (Aug. 24th 1838) took the name and arms of North. After the decease of the Marchioness of Bute and the Lady Georgina North (her youngest sister), Lady Susan, in 1841, succeeded to the Barony of North of Kirtling. Her ladyship has issue by her husband Lient.-Col. North, a son, the Hon. William Henry John North, born Oct. 5th 1836: King William the Fourth and Queen Adelaide were his sponsors. Lady Georgina, third daughter of the said Earl of Guilford, was born in 1798, and died unmarried on the 25th Aug. 1835.

(28) Baker's Northamp., p. 527.

prevents His personally expressing His thanks for your Attention towards Him, & I avail Myself of this Occasion to Assure you of the Pride we both feel in having our Names enroll'd amongst the Burgesses of your Ancient & Respectable Borough

"It is an additional gratification to me to receive this Proof of your Attachment within the Walls of this venerable Abbey; than the Noble & Generous Proprietor of which, none can more highly value the Honor & Interests of our Country & of your Borough in particular, nor more truly possess my most affectionate Regards—"

"Wroxton Abbey September 22nd 1808."

Francis, fourth Earl of Guilford, died at Pisa in Italy in 1817, and was buried at Wroxton. He was a patron of the stage, and was the author of "Kentish Barons," a play, 8vo. 1791. His younger brother, the Hon. Frederick North, third son of Frederick the second Earl of Guilford, (and who had represented Banbury in 1792, see p. 539,) succeeded to the titles. This nobleman was born in 1766. He was chancellor of the University of Corfu in the Ionian Isles, where, and in Ceylon, of which he was Governour, much of his life was spent. He was also the collector of a noble library, which was almost destroyed, during his absence from England, by a calamitous fire which occurred in Conduit Street, London, in July 1809.²⁹ The Earl died in 1827, and was buried at Wroxton. On his decease, the earldom of Guilford went to another grandson of Francis the first Earl (father of the Premier), and the son of Brownlow North, D. D., Bishop of Winchester, who was unconnected with Wroxton or with this neighbourhood.

At the general election which occurred in 1806, William Praed jun. Esq., a gentleman residing in Buckinghamshire, was returned for Banbury, in opposition to Mr. Dudley North.³⁰ The new

(29) An account of this calamitous fire occurs in the Edinburgh Annual Register for 1809 (v. 2, p. 183). Mr. Windham, the celebrated statesman, in his endeavours to save a portion of the noble library of Mr. Frederick North, received an injury which occasioned his death in 1810.

(30) The Poll, taken on the 1st November 1806, was as follows:—

For William Praed Esq.

Alderman Richard Chapman, Mayor
Alderman John Pain
Alderman William Judd senr.
Alderman the Rev. John Lamb D. D.*
Alderman James Barnes
Alderman William Judd junr.
Alderman Joseph Pain
Capital Burgess James Lush
Capital Burgess Robert Brayne
Capital Burgess Rev. Richard Pain*

For Dudley North Esq.

Alderman Lord Glenbervie*
Alderman Charles Wyatt
Alderman William Walford
Alderman John West
Capital Burgess Thomas Coutts*
Capital Burgess Rev. Edw. Gibbs Walford

Alderman the Hon. and Rev. H. L. Hobart* [now Dean of Windsor] and Capital Burgess John Callow did not vote. (Copy of the Return &c., in the possession of the Town Clerk.) Those members of the Corporation whose names are marked thus (*) were not resident within the Borough.

Parliament being dissolved in a few months, the contest was renewed in 1807; when, Mr. Praed and Mr. North having an equal number of votes, a double return was made. This return was, by the House of Commons, ordered to be amended, and a fresh election occurred on the 16th February 1808, when Dudley North Esq., the unsuccessful candidate in 1806, was chosen.³¹ This Parliament sat till 1812.

On Good Friday (12th April) 1811, a great Fire occurred at Warkworth, which destroyed nearly the whole of the village.

At the general election in 1812, Dudley North Esq. retired from the representation of Banbury to make way for the introduction to the House of Commons of a young and talented member of the family of North, the Hon. Frederick Sylvester North Douglas. This gentleman was son of the Scottish peer Lord Glenbervie,³² by his lady, Katharine, the eldest daughter of Lord North the Premier. Mr. Frederick Douglas was born in 1791: he received his education at Christ Church, Oxford, and obtained University honours. He afterwards spent some time in foreign travel; and published—"An Essay on certain points of resemblance between the Ancient and Modern Greeks," 8vo., which reached a third edition in 1813. The Parliament was dissolved in 1818, and Mr. Douglas was re-chosen; but he died in the following year. The esteem in which Mr. Douglas was held in the town, and (besides many other deeds of benevolence) the support which he had given to the establishment of the National Schools³³ at Banbury, induced the inhabitants to erect a

(31) The Poll was as follows:—

For Dudley North Esq.

Alderman Charles Wyatt, Mayor
Alderman the Rev. John Lamb D.D.*
Alderman William Walford
Capital Burgess John Callow
Capital Burgess Thomas Coutts*

For William Praed Esq.

Alderman Richard Chapman
Alderman William Judd senr.
Alderman James Barnes.

Alderman the Rev. H. L. Hobart,* Alderman John West, and Capital Burgess the Rev. E. G. Walford, tendered their votes for Mr. North: Alderman William Judd junr., Capital Burgess James Lush, and Capital Burgess Robert Brayne, tendered their votes for Mr. Praed: but all these votes were rejected by the Mayor. Alderman Lord Glenbervie,* Alderman John Pain, and Alderman Joseph Pain, did not vote. (Copy of the Return, &c., in the Town Clerk's Office.) Those members of the Corporation whose names are marked thus (*) were not resident within the Borough.

(32) Lord Glenbervie was the well-known law reporter, Sylvester Douglas. His lordship was Recorder of Banbury. He was the author of a poetical version (with an introduction and notes) of the first canto of Forteguerri's "Ricciardetto."

(33) The National Schools, for Boys and Girls, were established in 1817; when it was agreed that the Trustees of the Blue-Coat charity should pay £30 per annum towards this institution, in consideration whereof the Blue-Coat children were to receive instruction in the National Schools. In 1824 there were eighteen boys and sixteen girls clothed under the Blue-Coat charity. In 1838 the whole number of children educated in the National Schools was 340. The building was erected by public subscription, by which means also the schools are now supported.

Some successful efforts were made a few years ago to render these schools more effectual

marble tablet to his memory, in the boys' school-room, bearing the following inscription :—

“ To the Memory
Of the Honorable
Frederick Sylvester North Douglas
Member of Parliament for the Borough of Banbury
And President of the
Banbury National School Society,
Of whose philanthropic and zealous exertions
In promoting the first Establishment
And subsequent Prosperity
Of this Institution
This Tablet is designed as a Record.
1820 ”

On the death of Mr. Douglas, the Hon. Heneage Legge was chosen for Banbury. This gentleman was the third son of George third Earl of Dartmouth,³⁴ and was born in 1788.

The Rev. John Lamb, who was Vicar of Banbury in 1783, was the son of the Rev. Dr. Matthew Lamb before mentioned (p. 526). He received his education at Queen's College, Oxford. In 1794 he was chosen a capital burgess of the Borough of Banbury; and in 1798 he was elected an alderman. In that year he is styled D. D. He was also rector of Charwelton. In 1815 he was instituted to the rectory of Chipping Wardon, and resigned the vicarage of Banbury, to which the Rev. Thomas William Lancaster, M. A., the present Vicar, was inducted in the same year.³⁵ Dr. John Lamb died in 1831.

William Lisle Bowles, the poet, was the son of the Rev. Wil-

as Sunday Schools. There was an endowment of £200 by the Rev. Sir John Knightley bart., of Fawsley Park, given in 1802; the interest to be applied towards supporting a Sunday School at Banbury, under the care of the minister, churchwardens, and overseers. The money was laid out in the purchase of three per cent Consols; and the dividends are now applied towards the support of the National Schools, of which establishment a Sunday School forms a part. Under the recent more effective system of Sunday education, the number of children attending this department of the schools (in 1838) was 322.

(34) William the second Earl of Dartmouth was the son of George Viscount Lewisham (son and heir of William the first Earl of Dartmouth), whose lady, after his decease, became the second wife of Francis the first Earl of Guilford and had issue Brownlow North, D. D., Bishop of Winchester, half-brother to the Minister Lord North.

(35) Mr. Lancaster has published:—1. *The Harmony of the Law and Gospel with regard to the doctrine of a Future State.* Oxford, 8vo., 1825:—2. *The Alliance of Education and Civil Government: With Strictures on the University of London.* London, 4to., 1828:—3. *A Treatise on Confirmation, with Pastoral Discourses applicable to confirmed Persons.* London, 12mo., 1830:—4. *The Popular Evidence of Christianity, Eight Discourses preached at the Baunpton Lecture.* Oxford, 8vo., 1831:—5. *The Nicomachean Ethics of Aristotle, Edited and Illustrated.* Oxford, 8vo., 1834:—6. *Christian and Civil Liberty, an Assize Sermon at Oxford,* 8vo., 1835:—7. *Strictures on a Late Publication of Dr. Hampden.* London, 8vo., 1838 (2nd edition, enlarged):—8. *An Earnest and Resolute Protestation against a certain inductive method of Theologizing, which has been recently propounded by the King's Professor of Divinity in Oxford, &c.* London, 8vo., 1839.

liam Thomas Bowles vicar of King's Sutton, and was born at King's Sutton in 1762.³⁶

In 1816, Thomas Colley, a baker by trade, residing in Bridge Street, Banbury, undertook for a wager to walk 1020 miles in twenty successive days. The task was commenced on the 20th March, in a field adjoining the Bloxham road, where Mr. Brown-sill's residence now stands; and was completed before seven o'clock in the evening of the twentieth day.³⁷ Colley died not long after from the effects of his exertions.

THE REIGN OF GEORGE THE FOURTH.

At the general election in 1820, the Hon. Heneage Legge was re-elected; on which occasion a riot occurred at the hustings, and the Corporation were for some time unable to make their exit from the Town Hall, on account of the violence of the populace. In 1826, Mr. Legge was appointed a commissioner of Customs, and vacated his seat: whereupon his younger brother, the Hon. Arthur Charles Legge, was elected. The Parliament was dissolved in the same year, and Mr. Arthur Legge was again chosen.³⁸

A visitation of the Small Pox occurred in 1827, from June to September. Seventy-three persons died of the disease, of which number of deaths forty-four were in the month of July.³⁹

THE REIGN OF WILLIAM THE FOURTH.

To the Parliament of 1830, Henry Villiers Stuart Esq., a gentleman residing in the county of Waterford, in Ireland, was

(36) Baker's Northamp., pp. 699, 702.

(37) This Pedestrian was thirty-nine years of age, 5ft. 5½in. in height, and weighed 10st. 5lbs. The distances daily performed by him were as follows:—

1st day	53 miles	11th day	52 miles
2nd	47	12th	52
3rd	41	13th	47½
4th	52	14th	53½
5th	52	15th	53½
6th	51	16th	53
7th	53	17th	51
8th	53	18th	51
9th	54¾	19th	53½
10th	56	20th	41½

Total 1021 miles.

(38) In 1827, Mr. Arthur Legge married Lady Anne Holroyd, daughter of the Earl and Countess of Sheffield, and granddaughter of the Minister Lord North. She died in 1829.

(39) Register of Banbury.

elected by the Corporation; this being the last time on which that body exercised freely the elective privilege. Mr. Stuart was connected by family ties with John Crichton second Marquis of Bute;⁴⁰ who, having married Maria, eldest daughter of George Augustus third Earl of Guilford, became, after the death of Frederick the fifth Earl in 1827, the representative of the interest of the North family, and was chosen high steward of Banbury. This Parliament was dissolved in 1831, in consequence of the Reform Bill having been defeated in committee; and the new election came on at Banbury, on the 2nd May in that year, under those circumstances of intense excitement which prevailed throughout the kingdom. Col. the Hon. Henry Hely Hutchinson, of Weston by Wedon in Northamptonshire, (who had married Harriet the widow of the Hon. F. S. N. Douglas,) was the candidate in Lord Bute's interest, and was supported by the good wishes of a considerable majority of the eighteen electors, the old Aldermen and Capital Burgesses. A minority of the Corporation agreed, however, to put forward John Easthope Esq.,⁴¹ a gentleman connected with the Stock Exchange, as a candidate who gave his decided support to the Reform Bill, and had the good wishes of the great body of the inhabitants. The greater part of Col. Hutchinson's supporters being induced to keep away from the poll through fear of violence, the result proved to be as follows:—

For Mr. Easthope.

Thomas Brayne, Mayor,
William Judd, Alderman,
Robert Brayne, Alderman,
John Salmon, Alderman,*
Richard Griffin, Alderman,
Richard Edmunds, Capital Bur-
gess.

For Col. Hutchinson.

Rev. E. G. Walford, Alderman,*
Lieut. Col. Miller, Capital Burgess.*⁴²

In May 1832, the inhabitants of Banbury petitioned the House of Commons to exercise its control over the supplies until the Reform Bill should be passed. The Reform Bill and its accompanying Boundary Bill passed the legislature in 1832; and the right of voting for the member for Banbury was extended from the twelve Aldermen and six Capital Burgesses of the Borough

(40) Mr. Stuart is first cousin to the Marquis of Bute, and is the son of Lord Henry Stuart by Lady Gertrude Villiers, daughter and sole heiress of George last Earl of Grandison. He is now Baron Stuart de Decies.

(41) Now Sir John Easthope Bart.

(42) Those marked thus (*) were non-resident.

to all the ten-pound householders of "the Parish," the hamlets of Neithorp, Calthorp, Wickham, Hardwick, Easington, Grimsbury, and Nethercot, being of course included. The number of Electors registered in the first year was 329. A grand Reform Celebration took place at Banbury on the 13th July. This was chiefly a procession of the Trades &c. (which extended nearly half a mile in length.) Public sports and an illumination closed the day.

The Parliament which had passed the Reform Bill was dissolved in December following; and Henry John Pye Esq. (a gentleman residing at Chacombe Priory), and Henry William Tancred Esq. King's counsel, (a younger son of the late Sir Thomas Tancred bart. and brother to the present baronet of that name,) were both candidates for Banbury; but the former retired before the day of election, and Mr. Tancred was returned without further opposition. At the next election, which occurred on Sir Robert Peel's dissolving the Parliament in 1835, Mr. Tancred was opposed by Edward Lloyd Williams Esq. (a provincial barrister going the midland circuit.) The votes were—for Tancred 203, for Williams 43.

Two of the commissioners appointed by the Crown to inquire into the state of the old municipal Corporations sat at Banbury in 1833, but their Report was not published until 1835. The following is an abstract:—

1. Local Limits.
2. The Charters are enumerated.
3. The title and numbers of the Body Corporate.
4. Enumeration of the Officers.
5. The High Steward. He had no salary, and no acknowledged privileges or emoluments.
6. The Mayor. His election. He was chief magistrate, and presided at the Sessions and in the Court of Record. He had no salary, but was allowed £21 from the corporate funds towards the expenses of the Mayoralty.
7. The Aldermen. They had no emoluments.
8. The Justices.
9. The Recorder. He had no salary. The duties of the office appeared to be performed by deputy.
10. The Deputy Recorder. He was, in practice, the only efficient judicial officer. He had no salary from the corporate funds; but a fee of ten guineas had been usually paid to him by the town clerk for holding the sessions, which sum was charged, together with the amount of the corporation dinners, to the high steward and patron of the borough.

11. Capital Burgesses and Assistants. They had no salaries.

12. The Chamberlain. He had no salary or emoluments.

13. Town Clerk and Coroner. The same person appeared to have usually held both offices. The Town Clerk had a salary of £25, and the usual professional charges for business done by him for the Corporation; a fee of £1. 1s. upon the admission of each new member of the Corporation; fees at the general and petty sessions, amounting to about £40 a year; and fees in the court of record. He was also allowed to receive the tolls in the Horse market, amounting to about £3 a year. The Coroner had a fee of £1 on each inquest, and 2s. 6d. for a certificate of burial.

14. The Serjeants at Mace. They had each £5. 4s. a year, and occasional small fees.

15. The Crier. He had £2 per annum.

16. All the officers removable for misbehaviour, by the will of the common council approved by the mayor.

17. Common Council (namely, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Capital Burgesses) the ruling body.

18. Residence of officers not required.

19. Fines on refusal to take office. In modern times these had seldom been enforced.

20. There were no Freemen excepting the members of the Corporation, and no exclusive privileges of Trade within the borough. As Freemen, the corporators were exempted from serving on juries out of the Borough; but they had no other privilege. On taking up his freedom each person paid £5. 14s. to the corporate fund, and £1. 1s. to the Town Clerk.

21. The Courts. Capital offences were then transmitted for trial to the County assizes; but a court of criminal judicature, according to the Charter, was holden twice a year. In the course of the last seven years there had been eighty-eight trials, of which sixty-nine were for felonies, and nineteen for misdemeanours.

22. Costs of prosecutions and maintenance of prisoners, and the other expenses incidental to a criminal jurisdiction, were defrayed out of the poor rates. For the two last years the amount thus paid was £355. 9s. 1¼d. and £286. 15s. 5d.

23. Court of Record for all kinds of actions, provided the amount to be recovered did not exceed £40. The process was by summons and capias, and the proceedings were generally as at common law. This court had fallen into disuse, but was revived about six months before, by the advice and assistance of the deputy recorder, Mr. Serjeant Talfourd. About thirty complaints had been entered since its revival.

24. Court Leet. Held every year by the Corporation, as lords of the manor.

25. Courts of Pie Powder. These had not been held within memory.

26. Juries.

27. Notice of a complaint made to the commissioners, that the Mayor had altered the grand jury panel for party purposes. This complaint

arose out of the election contest in 1832. It appeared that the Mayor had not so acted.

28. Police. There was one street-keeper by day ; and four watchmen in summer and six in winter by night. These were under the direction of the Paving Commissioners. One high constable and four petty constables were appointed by the Corporation. There were thirty-eight public houses and five beer shops.

29. Gaol. This was an insufficient building, affording no facilities for classification. A treadmill had lately been erected.

30. The Property held by the Corporation in their own right consisted of four tenements within the borough, let for £24. 17s. a year. The chief-rents and rents for encroachment on the waste, about £28 a year. Stallage and Piccage £32 a year. Tolls of the Cattle market £36, and tolls of the Sheep market £12, a year; from which was to be deducted £18. 0s. 4d. annually paid in fee farm rent to the assignees of the Crown ; leaving the net produce of the tolls £29. 19s. 8d. Sundry Fines and payments about £10. 14s. 0d. a year. The whole net income was less than £125 per annum.

31. The Expenditure. Allowance to the Mayor £21. Town Clerk's salary £25. Town Clerk's professional bill £7. 8s. 1d. Court Leet expenses £12. 15s. 6d. Wages of the serjeants at mace and cryer £12. 8s. 0d. Expenses of Corporation meetings £10. 2s. 2d. Subscription to National School £4. Cakes for the Judges at the Oxford Assizes £2. 3s. 6d. Repairs, stationery, and small expenses, about £16.

32. The Corporation had no Church Patronage.

33. Local Acts. Church-Building Act (30th George III. c. 72), and Paving-and-Lighting Act (6th George IV. c. 130).

34. Working of the Corporate institution. Reported to be unfavourable.

35. The Town was in a flourishing and improving state.

By the Municipal Act which followed in 1835, the members of the old Corporation were removed from office, and, on the 26th December, twelve new Councillors were chosen by the inhabitant householders, all of them being opponents of the former system. On the 31st, four of these were elected Aldermen. On the 1st January 1836, Thomas Tims Esq., one of the new Aldermen, was by the Council elected Mayor of the Borough ; and, on the 8th, four additional Councillors were elected by the householders, to make up the complement of sixteen members of the Council. The new Corporation adopted the former Seal of the Borough.⁴³ The power, which had so long existed under the Charter, of trying,

(43) The gowns which had been hitherto worn by the Corporation, and the usual attendance at the Church on Sunday mornings, were dispensed with. The ancient maces, which were of silver gilt, had been previously disposed of by the old Corporation and the proceeds applied towards the liquidation of their debt.

The High Steward was not removed from office by the Municipal Act, but the new Council, soon after, abolished the office.

within the Borough, all murders, felonies, and misdemeanours, was for a time destroyed by the new Municipal Act: but, under another provision of that Act, the Crown soon after, on the petition of the Council, granted a Court of Quarter Sessions. The Grant is under the Great Seal; and assigns the Recorder for the time



THE TOWN SEAL

being, as Justice of the Crown, to inquire upon the oath of good and lawful men of the Borough of all and all manner of felonies and misdemeanours and of all and singular other crimes and offences of which Justices of the peace may lawfully inquire. And there is a proviso that if a case of difficulty shall arise before the Recorder, then judgment shall in no wise be given thereon before him "unless in the presence of one of our Justices of the one or other Bench or of one of our Justices appointed to hold the Assizes in the County of Oxford."⁴⁴

The Court of Record under the Charter had jurisdiction in all actions, real, personal, or mixed, where the debt or damages sought to be recovered did not exceed £40. Its utility was for a time completely destroyed by the framing of a clause in the Municipal Act, which rendered it impossible to say who should be the Judge or Judges of the Court. In the next Session of Parliament an Act was passed, constituting the Recorder, or a Barrister of five years standing appointed by him, the sole Judge of the Court. This in no way mended the matter, inasmuch as the Recorder came four times a year only; and the Court consequently could be held but four times a year, instead of every Monday as prescribed by the Charter. But by a subsequent Act (1st. Vict., Cap. 78) the Recorder was empowered to appoint a barrister or attorney of five years standing as his deputy, before whom all proceedings might be had except trials of issues.

(44) The Commission does not mention murders and manslaughters by express name, but only felonies generally; but by these general words the Court has power to hear and determine murder and manslaughter. It has however been the practice for nearly a century past to try only larcenies and misdemeanours at Quarter Sessions. Felonies of a higher nature, technically classed as "Capital offences," are usually remitted for trial at the Assizes at Oxford. The court of Quarter Sessions is also a court of Appeal against the acts of Justices in petty sessions. Under the charter, the Magistrates were appointed by the

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA.

At the election on the accession of Queen Victoria, in 1837, the candidates for Banbury were Mr. Tancred (the former member), and Mr. Henry Tawney, banker, an inhabitant of Banbury, who started on the Conservative interest. The numbers were—for Tancred 181, for Tawney 75.

On the day of Her Majesty's coronation, the 28th June 1838, a procession of the Trades &c., similar to that which has been mentioned (p. 546) on the passing of the Reform Bill, was held in commemoration of the event. At two o'clock in the afternoon a great dinner was provided, and served in the Horse Fair, for all the working classes and poor who chose to partake of it. The first course served consisted of 1700lb of plumpudding: the next was 180 dishes of rumps, ribs, loins, rounds, rands, and briskets of beef, weighing in all 3050lb; with 1596lb of bread, and forty-five kilderkins of ale. The tables were forty-five in number, eighty seats being appropriated to each. To each table were appointed a superintendent, four carvers (chiefly tradesmen of the town), and four or more waiters (chiefly youths from the different shops). The guests and waiters amounted to about 4000 persons, exclusive of thousands of spectators. After dinner, old English sports were practised. Cake and tea were served to 865 Sunday-School children, and dancing terminated the proceedings. The day passed without the slightest disorder.⁴⁵

Corporation, out of their own body, without any interference on the part of the Crown. They now hold the Commission of the Crown, in the same manner as County Magistrates.

Before the passing of the Municipal Act, the inhabitants of Banbury were not considered liable to serve as jurors beyond the limits of the Borough: they are, however, now required to serve on juries at the county assizes.

(45) The expenses incurred by the Committee of Management were as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
3050lb Beef.....	78	2	9
1700lb Pudding.....	42	10	0
1596lb Bread.....	12	9	4
612 Gallons of Ale.....	44	2	0
Mustard (Salt gratis).....	0	10	0
Tables, use of, and fixing.....	20	0	0
Broken Ware.....	1	18	2
Two Bands, and Ale for them.....	10	16	0
Printing.....	9	4	7
Hall-keepers (on account of Committee meetings,) and Crier ..	3	1	6

£222 14 4

Cash subscribed more than required £2. 9s. 8d. The expenses of the procession and sports were provided for by a junior committee, who made a collection, and had the management of those parts. The cake and tea for the children were provided by another committee, from the proceeds of a third subscription.

On a dissolution of Parliament occurring in 1841, the candidates for Banbury were, Mr. Tancred, the former member; Mr. Henry Vincent, a printer from Bath, who had obtained much note for his eloquent advocacy of ultra-Reform or "Chartist" principles; and Mr. Hugh Holbech, eldest surviving son of William Holbech Esq. of Farnborough, and grandson of that William Holbech Esq. who represented Banbury in 1794 (see p. 539). Mr. Holbech was a candidate on Conservative principles. The numbers polled were—for Tancred 124; for Holbech 100; for Vincent 51.

DESCRIPTION OF THE TOWN; &c.

THE TOWN of BANBURY is situated in a deep valley of the table land of the northern part of Oxfordshire, and on the western bank of the river Cherwell. This river, says Camden (writing more than two centuries ago), "for many miles after it has left Banbury, sees nothing but well cultivated fields, and most delightful meadows."¹ Indeed, a more thoroughly English landscape, or a spot more rich in arable and pasture land thickly over-spread with trees, watered by many streams, and ornamented at short intervals with village spires and towers, can perhaps hardly be found elsewhere. The rich red land of Oxfordshire, which comprises 79,635 acres, is situated wholly in the northern part of the county, about Banbury, and it far exceeds the rest of the county in fertility. Arthur Young says, in 1813:—"The soil in the more northern part of the county is the rich red loam and sandy on a red gritstone rock. * * * The soil uncommonly good; and lets in general, tithe free, at 40s. per acre. There are some exceptions; but a finer district of soil is not often to be met with, whether in grass or arable. * * * This red district, in respect of soil, may be considered as the glory of the county. It is deep, sound, friable, yet capable of tenacity; and adapted to every plant that can be trusted to it by the industry of the cultivators."²

The Town was long proverbial alike for its trade and its dirt. Its trade arises almost entirely from its being the centre of a great agricultural district, but partly also from its being the principal seat of some manufactures which are carried on in the town and its densely-populated neighbourhood. The character of the town for dirt (which is recorded even from the times of Corbet and Stukeley) arose partly from the busy traffic which was carried on; but principally from the soil being better adapted to

(1) Camden's *Britannia*.

(2) View of the Agriculture of Oxfordshire, drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture, by the Secretary of the Board.

agriculture than for the formation of excellent roads.³ In drawing a picture of the town itself, there is no need to recur to times so long gone by as the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when the regulations made by the Corporation so graphically tell the condition of the streets. (See pp. 231—233: also p. 209.) Within the present century, there were cartruts traversing all the principal streets more than nine inches deep, and in wet weather floating masses of mud covered the whole surface.⁴ The partial erection of the new Church, towards the close of the last century, gave origin to a common rhyme, how—

“ Dirty Banbury’s proud people
Built a Church without a Steeple.”

This character has, however, given way before the spirit of modern improvement. The carriage roads have been perfected by the use of durable materials brought by canal from the borders of Leicestershire: and, in 1825, a local Paving-and-Lighting Act (6th Geo. IV. cap. 130) was obtained, the provisions of which, carried into effect by forty Commissioners chosen by the inhabitants, soon removed all the characteristic traces of the once “dirty” Banbury. Gas-works were erected in 1833; an efficient day-and-night Police was established in 1836; and, at the present time, (with exception as regards the condition of the Town Hall and the Gaol), the Town may be fairly stated to rival any other place of the same population in the kingdom.

Under the provisions of the Act (30th Geo. III. cap. 72) for taking down and rebuilding the Church, Chancel, &c. of Banbury, the former noble structure was taken down in 1790 (see pp. 532—538), and the present CHURCH subsequently erected. This was opened for divine service on the 5th September 1797, on which occasion Dr. Crotch (the present Professor of Music in the University of Oxford) presided at the organ, and the choristers from Magdalene College, Oxford, attended. But although the parts

(3) “By your good leave, sir,” says Isaac Walton’s “Viator,” “large measure of foul way is not altogether so acceptable.” “True, sir,” replies Piscator, “but the foul way serves to justify the fertility of the soil, according to the proverb, ‘There is good land where there is foul way;’ and is of good use to inform you of the riches of the country you are come into, and of its continual travel and traffic.”

Arthur Young says, in 1813:—“I remember the roads of Oxfordshire forty years ago, when they were in a condition formidable to the bones of all who travelled on wheels. * * At that period the cross roads were impassable but with real danger.”

(4) Some of the carriage roads, within memory, were what are called “hollow ways,” being many feet below the footpaths. There were stepping-stones across some of the principal streets. Dung-heaps and ash-heaps, old elder hedges, and standing pools of water, were suffered to remain.

used for divine service were thus completed, so heavy was the expense,⁵ that the Tower and Portico were not finished until the early part of the year 1822. The edifice was designed by Mr. Robert Cockerill; it is built in the Roman style of architecture, and is ninety feet square within, exclusive of the Chancel. On every side is a spacious gallery sixteen feet in breadth. These galleries, as well as the roof, are supported by twelve circular columns, eight of which, placed in an octagon, carry the dome-shaped roof of the centre; the other four complete the square which carries the gallery and upholds the other parts of the roof. The whole interior (with the exception of the parts beneath the galleries, which are allotted to the poor and the children of the schools) is pewed with Norway oak; and it is capable of accommodating a congregation of at least 2,300 persons, including 500 free sittings and 160 sittings for the school-children. The Tower, which is over the western entrance, rises to the height of 133 feet, and contains a quarter-clock with chimes, and a peal of eight bells. The Chancel measures 28 feet 3 inches by 26 feet 10 inches,⁶ and contains the Altar-piece which was preserved from the former Church.⁷ The whole Church has been lighted with Gas in the present year 1841.

(5) The expense of the erection of the New Church probably cannot be told; but, owing to the insufficiency of the rates which it is in the power of the Commissioners to levy under the Act to pay off the debt incurred, the single item of interest has amounted to an immense sum. The following estimate of expenditure was made in 1824, by a committee who were adverse to the Churchwardens of that period:—

	£	s.	d.
" Sale of Church estates	2,065	8	0
—— Old materials	1,500	0	0
—— Pews	4,000	0	0
First Subscription	2,000	0	0
Second ditto	800	0	0
Money borrowed	6,000	0	0
Money raised by rate	18,150	0	0
	<hr/> £34,515 8 0		

It was stated that this estimate underrated the amount of money borrowed by £1,500. The account was probably an exaggerated one: but certain it is that, fourteen years later (namely, in 1838), the Church debt still remaining on bonds amounted to £5,900, besides other debts amounting to £450. The annual rate levied under the Act amounts to £553 3s.; and is likely long to continue a burden on the descendants of those who permitted the spoliation of the Ancient Church. The actual charge for the building itself has been estimated at £10,495. 18s. 7d.

(6) The Chancel of the former Church belonged to the impropiator, the Bishop of Oxford, and his lessee or lessees. It was, by the Act obtained in 1790, directed that the Chancel should be taken down at the expense of the Church Trustees; and that the new Chancel, to be erected by them, should be vested in the Bishop and his lessees, but that he and they, who had been hitherto charged with the repairs of the Chancel, should be free from the same in future.

(7) In one of the Churchwardens' Books of accounts, commencing in 1754, is the following entry relating to the COMMUNION PLATE, said to be taken "from the old Book:—"

"1. Two silver Flagons upon each of which are engrav'd these letters I.H.S. with the proper Glory around 'em, and beneath Banbury, with the date of the year 1723 under which is added, The Gift of Mon^r Cope Esqr: At the bottom of each of these Flagons is

The exterior of the Church, from its huge cubical form, topped by a slated roof which falls off from the centre to each of the four sides, is exceedingly gloomy and inelegant. A writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, dated August 1800, complains that the new Church is "more like a gaol than a Christian temple." Mr. J. H. Parker^s says in 1840 :—"The new Church of Banbury is altogether the most despicable building that bears the honoured name of a Church in this or any other country: it is a hideous square mass of stone, without form or proportion, or a single redeeming feature; its interior would make a handsome playhouse. Thousands of pounds have been squandered in ornamenting this place. Such a building might have been well-enough adapted for the exhibitions of gladiators or of wild beasts in ancient Rome, but is totally unfit for a Christian Church, and so long as it stands it will be a perpetual shame and disgrace to the town which allowed their fine old Church to be destroyed."

The Chancel contains two monuments: one, on the south side and near the eastern corner, bears this inscription on a large block of granite upon which is a figure of Faith carved in white marble :—

To the Memory
of
Ann Dolly
Daughter of Paynton Pigott esquire
and wife of
Bernard Brocas of Wokefield and
Beaurepaire in the counties of
Berks and Hants esquire
Deceased
November xxviii m^dcccxxiv
Aged xxi Years.

also inscrib'd an acct of their weight signifying their ounces: viz. the one 48, upon the other 49.

"Also Four silver Cups (to one whereof there is a cover) and a silver Patten or Salver. The Cup with the Cover had this Inscription, *Hic Calix est Novum Testamentum in sanguine meo*, and was dated 1575. The Cover also had the same date, both together weighing 12 ounces.

"2. A cup of the like fashion with the former weighing 10 ounces, and inscrib'd Banbury Communion Cup.

"3. Two Cups with this Inscription, Banbury Communion Cype, each weighing 12 ounces. "4. The silver Patten or Salver weighing 10 ounces 15 penny weight & $\frac{1}{2}$ upon which are engraved these letters I. H. S. with the proper Glory around 'em."

After this there follows, in a modern hand, an entry of four silver salvers which were presented to the Church by Mary Longe in 1827.

The two flagons, the four cups (for only four are intended in the above account), the old salver, and the four new salvers, are all yet preserved. The old Cup, which bears the date of 1575, is in excellent preservation. Around this cup is engraved :—

HIC CALIX EST NOVVM TESTAMENTVM IN SANGVINE MEO

(8) Secretary of the Oxford Society for promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture: in a letter to myself.

Near the western end of the Chancel, also on the south side, is the other monument, whereon is inscribed, on white marble, as follows :—

Sacred to the Memory of
Francis Pigott Impropiator of Banbury,
In the Commission of the Peace for the
County of Oxford, and Barrister at Law :
Third son of John Pigott of Windsor,
By Isabella, heiress of Thomas Gillery,
A colonel in the army of King William ;
Obt Oct. 1790 *Æt.* 57.

Also of His Wife Dolly, only surviving
Child and Heiress of Richard Paynton,
Rector Improprate of this Church ;
Obt Jan. 1814 *Æt.* 71.

They lived in the practice of Christian virtues,
They died in the faith of Gospel promises.

And to the memory of
Eliza Mary second daughter of Paynton
only son of the above Francis and Dolly,
Obt Nov. 1821 *Æt.* 17.

Call'd at an early age to meet her God,
Most lovely, pious, dutiful, and good :
Her life the answer gave to " Follow Thee ;"
" O Lord, I'm ready ;" set my spirit free,
Bright on my soul Thy heav'nly joys now shine,
Death brings no fears, for faith hath made me thine.

Above is a figure of Faith carved in white marble, with a book, inscribed—"God is Love. Cast all your care upon him; for he careth for you." Below the inscription is placed another book, inscribed—"Search the Scriptures; they are they which testify of Me. He that believeth on Me, hath everlasting life: and I will raise him up at the last day." On the backs of two books which support the whole are inscribed—

"The Old Law "

"The New Life."

The first Meeting-house of Dissenters which was erected in Banbury was the former one belonging to the Society of FRIENDS, or QUAKERS, and was situated in the Horse Fair, where their present Meeting-house stands. It appears to have been erected in 1664-5 (see p. 482, note 15). The present building was erected in 1750. Adjoining to this building there is a Women's Meeting-house, devoted to those occasions when the female portion of the Society transact their separate business: this was erected at an earlier date than the present Men's Meeting-house.

There is a burial-ground attached. Banbury is the central meeting of a district known to the Society of Friends as "Banbury Monthly Meeting;" and which includes the Meetings at Adderbury, Sibford, and Hooknorton, and retains Meeting-houses, now almost disused, at South Newington, Shutford, and Barton.⁹

Next in antiquity among the Meeting-houses of the Dissenters in Banbury, is that of the English PRESBYTERIANS, situate in the Horse Fair. This was probably erected in the reign of Charles the Second; but I find no notice respecting it until 1709, when Stephen Davies was ordained the minister (see. p. 511). During the subsequent ministry of the Rev. George Hampton, this building was offered to, and used by, the Church congregation from 1790 to 1797, while the parish Church was being rebuilt. There is a considerable endowment to this Meeting-house.

The Meeting-house of the INDEPENDENTS, which is situated in Church Lane, was erected about the year 1790. This was for a time supplied by Lady Huntingdon's ministers, and the services of the Church of England were used there. There is an income for the preacher at this Meeting-house, which was left by Mr. Hughes of Oxford. The Independents have also a Meeting-house at Adderbury.

The first Meeting-house of the WESLEYAN METHODISTS at Banbury stood adjoining South Bar Street, near the top of Calthorp Lane; but a new and spacious Meeting-house of this Society was erected in Church Lane about thirty years ago. Banbury is the centre of a district known among the Wesleyans as the "Banbury District," which includes thirty-two adjacent villages in all of which they have Meeting-houses.

A Roman Catholic place of worship was commenced at Banbury, in South Bar Street, in 1835, and completed in 1838: it was dedicated to St. John, and thence called The "CATHOLIC CHURCH OF ST. JOHN." The building is an incongruous mixture of several of the fine styles of English architecture: but so superiorly adapted is the English Style for ecclesiastical purposes

(9) The Monthly Meeting possesses an estate at North Newington (held by trustees), which was left by John Grafton in 1725 for the support of poor members "frequenting the monthly meeting of Banbury aforesaid called the Quakers' Monthly Meeting." This estate is let for £50 per annum. In 1803, William Osman bequeathed £100 to the Monthly Meeting of Banbury; which was expended, together with a similar sum of £100 left for the use of poor Friends, in improving the estate at North Newington. The trustees of the said estate dispose of the rent (after paying the Monthly Meeting interest for the £200) in gratuities to Friends in low circumstances. Mary Gauthern also left £30 for the benefit of poor Friends.

that the building, as a whole, has a pleasing appearance. It has a battlemented tower about 102 feet in height, which (although disfigured by immense pinnacles which are altogether contrary to the original design given by Mr. Derick) is a conspicuous and beautiful object in the landscape. There are burial-vaults beneath the building, and a Priest's residence is attached. Before the erection of this edifice, the Roman Catholic congregation used to worship at a small building erected for them at Warkworth in 1806 by the late Earl of Newburgh (Francis Eyre Esq., who sold Warkworth in 1805, and claimed to be Earl of Newburgh in Scotland on the decease of Anthony James the fourth Earl in 1814). After the erection of the present building at Banbury, the bodies which had been interred at Warkworth were removed into the vaults at Banbury.

There are two other Meeting-houses in Banbury (both erected within a few years past) for CALVINISTIC Dissenters; one is situated in West Street, the other on the east side of South Bar Street. A small Meeting-house for PRIMITIVE METHODISTS was lately erected in Broad Street.

A spacious and handsome Meeting-house for PARTICULAR BAPTISTS has been lately erected in Bridge Street South, on the site of the ancient Altarstone Inn (see pp. 23—25), which premises were purchased, and the house taken down, to make room for this new erection, in the present year 1841. There are vaults and a burial-ground attached. The Particular Baptists have Meeting-houses also in this neighbourhood at Middleton Cheney and at Bodicot. The building first erected for this service at Middleton (and which dates from about the year 1740) has been for many years disused, and a new building was raised, on an adjacent spot, in 1806. Adjoining to this are a house and garden which are appropriated to the officiating minister. The Baptists' Meeting-house at Bodicot is a handsome and substantial building; the front wall is of ashlar stone, part of the materials of the destroyed mansion of the Cobb family at Adderbury (see p. 394, note 26). The building was commenced in 1817, and opened for divine worship April 25th 1818.¹⁰

There are numerous Charitable institutions within the parish of Banbury, which are supported by voluntary contributions.

(10) By the late Rev. William Shenstone of London, who preached from Ecclesiastes iii. 5,—“A time to gather stones.”—*Information from Mr. John Wilson of Bodicot.*

The "Old Charitable Society" for the relief of indigent townsmen was established in 1782; the contributions for the year 1832 amounted to £112. 4s. 1½*d.* The "Charitable Society for Visiting and Relieving the Sick and Distressed Poor at their own Habitations" was established about the year 1820; this, in 1832, raised subscriptions to the amount of £177. 3s. 9*d.* The "Clothing Fund" derives support from free contributions: and those poor persons who are recommended by contributors pay to the fund small weekly sums in summer, and the amount, increased by the interest and the free subscriptions, is returned in clothing at the approach of winter.

The National Schools for boys and girls, situated in Neithorp township, without North Bar, were established in 1817 (see pp. 511, 542): about 340 children receive their education there. The British Schools for boys and girls, situated in Crouch Street, were erected in 1839, and afford instruction to nearly 300 children. The Infant School, situate in Church Passage, was erected in 1835, and affords education to nearly 250 infant children.

The Banbury Savings' Bank was established in 1817. In 1832 it had deposits from 1609 persons, to the amount of £48,963. 14s. 2*d.* In 1840 the number of Depositors was 2656 (in addition to 107 Charitable and Friendly Societies), and the amount of deposits was £82,761. 5s. 1*d.*

The shops of Banbury are numerous and good; the streets are wide and airy, and the supply of water generally plentiful. The Oxford Canal (which was cut in consequence of an Act obtained for the purpose in 1768-9) passes close to the town, and affords communication by water with all parts of the kingdom. There are three wharfs, and also a dock for building and repairing barges.

The Manufactures carried on in Banbury are mentioned hereafter.

The Market, which was "very celebrate" in the time of Leland, is held on Thursday, and is numerously attended by dealers as well as by the agriculturists &c. of the neighbourhood. Some of the villages in the vicinity of the Town contain nearly 1,500 inhabitants each; and so thickly are the hamlets and villages scattered around, that there were, in 1831, nearly forty-four thousand persons residing within eight miles of Banbury. The Population returns in 1841, for the district comprised within the Banbury "Poor-Law Union," are given hereafter.

The times for holding the Fairs were mostly changed in 1836,¹¹ when the collection of the tolls was discontinued and the Fairs became in practice toll free. The following times were adopted:—

1. The First Thursday after Old Twelfth day, and three preceding days (the great Horse Fair).
2. The Third Thursday in February.
3. The Third Thursday in March (and for hiring servants).
4. The Third Thursday in April.
5. Holy Thursday (a great holiday Fair).
6. The Third Thursday in June.
7. The Third Thursday in July (and for Wool).
8. The Third Thursday in August.
9. The Third Thursday in September.
10. The First Thursday after Old Michaelmas day (great hiring Fair).¹²
11. The Third Thursday after Old Michaelmas day.
12. The Third Thursday in November.
13. The Second Thursday before Christmas day (fat cattle fair).

The benefits derived from the busy trade of Banbury are greatly neutralized by the heavy Poor rate and other local taxations. The Poor rate alone within the Borough (which in 1831 contained a population of 3737 persons) amounted in 1833 to £3513. 11s. 6d., and in the following year to £3763. 13s. 10d. In 1838, however, the operations of the New Poor Law had reduced the expenditure to £2507. 11s. 5½d., including the new Municipal charges.¹³

(11) In 1698, the Fairs which continued to be kept up were, on the first Thursday in Lent, Holy Thursday, the Feast of Corpus Christi, Lammass day, and the Thursday after Twelfth day. (Ogilby's *Britannia*.) The last-named Fair commenced in practice on the Monday previous, and continued four days. About the year 1718 two other Fairs are mentioned as existing, namely, those on St. Luke's day and the Thursday after Michaelmas day. (Rawlinson's MS. Topog. Com. Oxon.) In 1797, Fairs were also held (omitting that on the feast of Corpus Christi) on the second Thursday before Easter, Trinity Thursday, and the second Thursday before Christmas. (Rusher's *Banbury Lists*.) Subsequently two "Great Markets" were held on the second Thursday in July and the second Thursday in September.

(12) The fair at Michaelmas derives some importance from being one at which, according to the custom of the neighbourhood, male and female servants attend for the purpose of being hired. Dr. Plot, writing in 1677, says:—"About Banbury and Bloxham, it has always been the custom, at set times of year, for young people to meet to be hired as servants; which meeting at Banbury they call the Mop, at Bloxham the Statute, where they all sort themselves, and carry their badges according as they are qualified; the carters standing in one place with their whips, and the shepherds in another with their crooks." The fair on Old St. Luke's day, occurring soon after the great Michaelmas or hiring fair, was called "Runaway Fair," from its being attended by servants who had left their first situations.

Several of the fairs are very large Cattle Fairs. It is stated that there were 4,600 sheep, 1,220 cows, 300 pigs, and 200 horses, brought to the Michaelmas fair in 1832; and upwards of 1,500 head of cattle and 3,000 sheep to the Michaelmas fair in 1834.—*Oxford Journals*.

(13) Grimsbury and Nethercot contribute to the rates of Warkworth, except in ecclesiastical matters. Neithorp and its associated hamlets have their own rates, separate from those of the town, except in Church matters.

The acreage of the Parish is nearly as follows:—¹⁴

	<i>Acres.</i>		<i>Acres.</i>
Banbury Borough	105	Hardwick	446
Neithorp	1129	Easington	455
Calthorp	179	Grimsbury	613
Wickham	834	Nethercot	468
Total 4229			

The parts forming the Town of Banbury, or those on which continuous buildings occur, may now be said to consist of Banbury Borough;¹⁵ Neithorp Village; Calthorp Lane; the new buildings situated in Calthorp or Neithorp hamlets near the Oxford entrance to the Borough; the modern and most populous part of Grimsbury, called Waterloo; and Cherwells and a few other houses which are in Nethercot hamlet. These parts comprise nearly the whole number of houses in the entire parish. The length of the parish is four miles and a quarter from north to south, and its breadth nearly three miles from west to east.

POPULATION, JUNE 7TH, 1841.¹⁶

	Inhabited Houses	Uninhabited Houses	Houses Building	Males	Females	Total
Banbury	720	38	3	1792	1944	3736
The Gaol				6	4	10
Total	720	38	3	1798	1948	3746
Neithorp and the other Ox- fordshire hamlets	593	13	15	1429	1421	2850
The Union Workhouse				80	77	157
Total	593	13	15	1509	1498	3007
Grimsbury and Nethercot	118	5	0	314	299	613
Grand Total	1431	56	18	3621	3745	7366

(14) Roughly calculated from the Ordnance Map of the Borough. The Banbury Magistrates have jurisdiction within the Borough only; the other members of the Parish being respectively under the jurisdiction of the Magistrates of Oxfordshire and Northamptonshire.

(15) The circumstance of there being no land, unbuilt upon, within the Borough, has given rise to the enigma that "All the Crows that fly over Banbury fields are White."

(16) Returns, not yet published, made to the Commissioners of the Census in 1841.

POPULATION, MAY 30TH, 1831.¹⁷

	Houses	Families	Males	Females	Persons
Banbury	742	788	1805	1932	3737
Neithorp &c.	469	499	1104	1065	2169
Grimsbury &c.	106	104	247	269	516
Total	1317	1391	3156	3266	6422

At this date (1831), the number of families chiefly employed in Agriculture were, in Banbury 30, and in Neithorp 102; the number of families employed in Trade, Manufactures, or Handicraft, were, in Banbury 486, and in Neithorp 224. The Males of the age of twenty years and upwards were, in Banbury 932, and in Neithorp 543.

CHANGES IN TEN YEARS, 1831 TO 1841.

D. Decrease. I. Increase.

	Males	Females	Persons
Banbury.....	D 7	I 16	I 9
Neithorp &c.	I 405	I 433	I 838
Grimsbury &c.	I 67	I 30	I 97
Total	I 465	I 479	I 944

POPULATION, MAY 28TH, 1821.

	Houses	Families	Males	Females	Persons
Banbury	702	748	1618	1778	3396
Neithorp &c.	324	408	931	920	1851
Grimsbury &c.	82	93	219	207	426
Total	1108	1249	2768	2905	5673

INCREASE IN TEN YEARS, 1821 TO 1831.

	Houses	Families	Males	Females	Persons
Banbury	40	40	187	154	341
Neithorp &c.	145	91	173	145	318
Grimsbury &c.	22	11	28	62	90
Total	209	142	388	361	749

POPULATION IN 1801 AND 1811.

	1801	1811
Banbury Borough	2755	2841

ESTIMATED POPULATION AT FORMER PERIODS.¹⁸

	1547	1628
Banbury Borough.....	1000	1600

NUMBER OF BAPTISMS, BURIALS, AND MARRIAGES,
WITHIN THE PARISH, IN VARIOUS YEARS.¹⁹

	38 Baptisms	31 Burials	31 Marriages
1560	38	31	31
1570	46	39	12
1580	58	49	19
1590	61	52	19
1600	80	42	28
1610	81	68	19
1620	96	54	17
1630	72	54	23
1640	102	79	19
1650 { After the depo- pulation of the Town by War }	54	50	12
1660	67	59	20
1670	69	111	19
1680	76	47	3
1690	59	53	5
1700	58	80	0
1710	59	82	11
1720	75	61	33
1730	57	94	30
1740	66	68	24
1750	78	60	30
1760 { Small Pox oc- curred this year }	83	163	18
1770	86	86	44
1780	107	112	22
1790	101	91	29
1800	106	104	29
1810	100	124	60
1820	164	125	35
1830	200	104	46
1840	263 Births	152 Deaths	64

(18) See pp. 210, 277.

(19) The Baptisms at the Dissenters' Meeting-houses, and the Births, Burials, and Marriages of the Society of Friends, are not in every instance included in this table, except in the last year, 1840.

POPULATION OF THE DISTRICT COMPRISED WITHIN THE
BANBURY POOR LAW UNION, JUNE 7TH, 1841.

1.—*Northern Division of Banbury Hundred, Oxfordshire.*

	Males	Females	Persons
BANBURY Borough	1792	1944	3736
The Gaol there	6	4	10
Neithorp, Calthorp, Wickham, Hardwick, and Easington—Township in the parish of Ban- bury.....	1429	1421	2850
The Union Workhouse there.....	80	77	157
CLATTERCOT—Extraparochial	9	6	15
CROPREDY ²⁰ —Parish	285	262	547
Great Bourton and Little Bourton—Township in the Parish of Cropredy	313	280	593
Claydon—Chapelry in the Parish of Cropredy..	175	162	337
Prescot—Township in the Parish of Cropredy..	10	9	19
Wardington with Williamscot—Chapelry; and Coton—Hamlet; in the Parish of Cropredy }	439	426	865
SWALCLIFFE ²¹ —Parish	172	166	338
Epwell—Chapelry in the Parish of Swalcliffe ..	161	155	316
Shutford East—Chapelry in the Parish of Swalcliffe	15	16	31
Shutford West—Township in the Parish of Swalcliffe	216	202	418

N. B. The Parish of Charlbury and its Hamlets of Fawler and Finstock, comprising the Southern Division of the Hundred of Banbury, are not included within the Banbury Union.

2.—*Bloxham Hundred, Oxfordshire.*

ADDERBURY EAST—Parish.....	532	518	1050
Adderbury West—Township in the Parish of Adderbury East	214	228	442
Barford St. John—Chapelry in the Parish of Adderbury East	59	67	126
Bodicot—Chapelry in the Parish of Adder- bury East	365	364	729
Milton—Township in the Parish of Adder- bury East	91	77	168
ALKERTON—Parish	99	91	190
BLOXHAM—Parish	624	695	1319
Milcombe—Chapelry in the Parish of Bloxham	115	109	224
BROUGHTON—Parish	83	98	181
North Newington—Township in the Parish of Broughton	215	233	448
CROPREDY, part of, namely:—That portion of Mollington Chapelry which is in the County of Oxford	146	137	283
DRAYTON—Parish	111	95	206
HANWELL—Parish	157	140	297
HORLEY with	212 305	213 287	425 592
HORNTON } Associated Parishes			

(20) Some members of the Parish of Cropredy are in Bloxham Hundred, Oxfordshire, and in Kington Hundred, Warwickshire: see following.

(21) Some members of the Parish of Swalcliffe are in Bloxham Hundred: see following.

(Bloxham Hundred, continued.)

	Males	Females	Persons
SWALCLIFFE, part of, namely :—			
Sibford Ferris, { Townships, forming together	141	146	287
Sibford Gower { the District of Sibford, in	259	275	534
{ which a District Church was			
{ erected in 1840			
TADMARTON—Parish	203	201	404
WIGGINTON—Parish	189	180	369
WROXTON—Parish, with			
Balscot—Chapelry in the Parish of Wroxton }	421	398	819
3.—Part of Wootton Hundred, Oxfordshire.			
BARFORD ST. MICHAEL—Parish	178	192	370
SOUTH NEWINGTON—Parish	213	221	434
4.—Part of Chadlington Hundred, Oxfordshire.			
HOOKNORTON—Parish	697	725	1422
The Lunatic Asylum there	51	52	103
5.—Part of Sutton Hundred, Northamptonshire.			
CHACOMBE—Parish	243	245	488
MIDDLETON CHENEY—Parish	679	731	1410
WARKWORTH—Parish; together with			
Grimsbury } Hamlets in the Parish of Ban-	333	322	655
and } bury			
Nethercot }			
6.—Part of Wardon Hundred, Northamptonshire.			
ASTON-LE-WALLS—Parish	86	74	160
Appletree—Township in the Parish of Aston-			
le-Walls }	52	40	92
BODDINGTON, LOWER—Parish	152	172	324
Boddington, Upper—Township in the Parish }	184	167	351
of Lower Boddington			
CHIPPING WARDON—Parish	286	259	545
7.—Part of the Burton Dasset Division of Kineton Hundred, Warwickshire.			
AVON DASSET—Parish	141	146	287
FARNBOROUGH—Parish	169	198	367
CROPREDY, part of, namely :—That portion of			
Mollington Chapelry which is in the County }	56	46	102
of Warwick			
RATLEY—Parish	204	193	397
SHOTSWELL—Parish	177	189	366
WARMINGTON—Parish	262	234	496
8.—Part of the Kineton Division of Kineton Hundred, Warwickshire.			
RADWAY—Parish	187	187	374
9.—Part of the Upper Division of Tewkesbury Hundred, Gloucestershire. ²²			
SHENINGTON—Parish	221	242	463

(22) The distance from Banbury Church to the nearest portion of the neighbouring Counties is as follows :—

County of Northampton	0 miles	3 furlongs
County of Warwick	2	7
An isolated portion of the County of Gloucester	4	6

TOTAL.

Houses			Persons		
Inhabited	Uninhabited	Building	Males	Females	Total
5935	265	36	14214	14317	28531

MANUFACTURES.

The manufacture of **PLUSHERS**, and of Girth and other **WEBBING**, is carried on to a considerable extent in Banbury, and much Plush is exported. From the population returns of 1831, it appears that 125 men were at that date employed in Plush and Girth making in Banbury; but the Banbury masters then really employed about 550 men in the town and the adjacent villages, besides numerous women and children who were engaged in some parts of the manufacture.

Sir William Davenant, in 1636, mentions the—

“ Weaver of Banbury, that hopes
To intice Heaven, by singing, to make him lord
Of twenty looms.”²³

Mr. Philip Rusher, in 1789, says of Banbury:—

“ Here flourish manufactories and arts,
And num’rous workmen ply their useful parts;
Swift fly the pointed shuttles through the looms,
And moving beams reverb’rate round the rooms.
Quick Industry, with busy air and face,
Presides o’er all, and moves from place to place.”²⁴

It has been commonly supposed that the manufactures of Banbury have declined; and this belief has been countenanced by the Report of the Commissioners on Municipal Corporations made in 1835. But, judging from the comparative number of persons who are described as Jersey Combers or Jersey Weavers, Worsted, Silk, Linen, or Garter Weavers, or Stocking Makers, in the Parish Register in the reign of George the First (when all the callings are entered with the other items), there could have been, at that date, no such extensive share of manufactures carried on here as to warrant the belief of a subsequent decline.²⁵

(23) *The Wits*, a Comedy.

(24) *Crouch Hill*, a Poem.

(25) I have lately heard it stated that as many Weavers are now employed in Banbury as ever there were; but that the spinning of the yarn, which was formerly performed by women, is now done by machinery at a distance. Probably it is the rapid increase of manufactures in other places, and not any actual decrease of them in Banbury, that has given origin to the belief of their decline.

In 1838 (December 21st), a Report from the Secretary of the Assistant Hand-Loom Weavers' Commissioners was made to Parliament respecting Banbury. From this it appears that, at that date, the manufacture of Plushes and other very heavy fabrics of worsted and cotton, variously intermingled, chiefly for exportation, was in the hands of the three different firms of Gillett, Harris, and Baughen, and employed 430 looms. These firms were stated to be the only Plush manufacturers in England making rough articles for clothing, excepting one house at Manchester which made a few sealioths for waistcoating and caps. All the articles produced at Banbury in the Plush trade were in the style of velvets, and were made in looms of the oldest construction, with the shuttles passed by hand. Coarse wires, inserted between the warp threads in weaving, form the pile, the threads across the wires being cut with a lance to form the pile of those which are strictly Plushes; while other articles, variously designated, have a curly surface formed by simply withdrawing the wires without cutting the threads which cross them. Many of these fabrics go through the hands of merchants to Portugal, Spain, Italy, and the south of Europe generally. "A man," says one of the accounts reported, "ought to make a piece of from forty-two to forty-four yards of livery plush in a month, for which he would receive about £3."

The Report further states that the manufacture of Webs, or Girthing, and Horse-cloths, had been carried on in Banbury by the family of Messrs. Cobb for about 140 years. The manufactured articles are supplied to Birmingham, Walsall, Glasgow, Bristol, &c., whence they find their way into general consumption. The number of persons employed in 1838 in weaving and winding was about forty. The weavers were chiefly men and boys, but there were five girls weaving light articles; the looms being all single-hand, and making only one breadth at a time. All winding, warping, and filling of quills, were done by hands expressly employed by the master. The men had merely to put in their warps, and shoot down the weft. The average weekly earnings of the boys winding were then 1s. 10½d., and the average weekly earnings of the weavers by piece-work were 11s. 0¾d.; they worked, on an average, 9½ hours per day for six days in the week.

The oft-recorded fame of the town for Cheese (see pp. 454—

459) has departed from it, and the knowledge of the manufacture of the real "BANBURY CHEESE" is perhaps now unknown.²⁶ The first mention of this article occurs in the Corporation accounts in 1556, when eight shillings were paid "for vj copull of Ches y^t wer sennt to London" (see p. 225). Camden is the first writer who speaks of it, when (in 1586) he says—the town is "at present most famous for making good Cheese."²⁷ Burton, in his *Anatomy of Melancholy*, says (in 1651):—"of all cheeses, I take that kind which we call Banbury Cheese to be the best." Dr. Plot mentions the Banbury Cheese. Fuller places, in his list of proverbial expressions relating to this county, "Banbury Zeale, Cheese, and Cakes." In Chamberlayne's *Angliæ Notitia*, printed in 1700, "the rich and fine town of Banbury" is mentioned as celebrated for Cheese. In the *Tour* commenced by De Foe, and continued by Richardson and others, it is said that Banbury "has a considerable trade, especially in Cheese, as all the country round is a rich feeding meadow ground." A very rich kind of Cheese is yet made in the neighbourhood of Banbury, at a late season of the year, on some very rich pasture land; and this may possibly be the kind for which the town was formerly so highly celebrated. It is almost white, about one inch in thickness, and resembles in appearance the soft cream-cheese which is made in many parts; but it is of far more delicious taste, and bears the high price of 1s. 6d. per pound when new, or about 1s. 9d. when ripe. It is generally called in the neighbourhood "latter-made cheese,"²⁸ as it can only be made after Michaelmas. A considerable quantity of this Cheese is yet sent to distant parts, each cheese packed in its separate basket.

But if the fame of Banbury Cheese has so nearly departed, that of BANBURY CAKES, recorded from the days of Philemon Holland and Ben Jonson (in 1608 and 1614,—see pp. 454, 455), has continued till the present time. Mr. Samuel Beesley, the proprietor of the cake shop which in the last century was conducted by the White family,²⁹ sold, in 1840, no fewer than 139,500

(26) Shakspeare makes one of Falstaff's companions compare Master Slender to "a Banbury Cheese." The commentators on the text say that this comparison is made on account of the Cheese being "all paring."

(27) Camden's *Britannia*, 1st edit.

(28) Perhaps "lattermath cheese" would be the more correct appellation, as being from the rich aftermath.

(29) The WHITE family were famous in Banbury as Cake Makers, and the name is still kept up at their former establishment in Parson's Street (now conducted by Mr. S. Beesley), which is considered the "Original Cake Shop." Of "Old Jarvis White" it is said, that he



ORIGINAL CAKE SHOP, PARSON'S STREET

of the two-penny Cakes. The sale has increased by at least a fourth during the present year (1841), and, in the month of August, Mr. Beesley sold, on an average, 5,400 weekly. Some of the Cakes have been sent by him, at various times, to America, and one package to Australia. The proprietor of one of the other establishments in Banbury forwarded, in 1838, a large quantity to India.

There is a very considerable manufacture of AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS carried on at Banbury. Among those which were exhibited and which drew much approval at the late meeting of the Banbury Agricultural Association held at Banbury on the 21st September 1841, or previously at the great meeting of the Royal English Agricultural Society held at Liverpool on the 21st July; were various patent turnip-cutting machines, a patent land-presser or roll made on the lever principle, a patent drill on the same principle, a steer drill, a cake-crusher, and a hand thrashing machine, all by Banbury inventors.

spent most of his time hanging over the hatch of his shop door, while his wife, "Betty White," was industriously engaged in keeping up the fame of the Cakes. Betty White was jealous of her credit in other respects, and used to say,—“My name is ‘quiet Betty,’ I never meddles nor makes with nobody; no mealman never calls upon me twice:” she was querulous, and often complained of the hardness of the times and the increasing price of the articles she used in the Cakes: “Only think,” she used to say, when customers remarked that the Cakes were smaller, “there’s *currans*, they be double the price th’ used to be, and then there’s butter an’ sugar, why they be double the price th’ was formerly.” On customers

RHUBARB is cultivated and prepared in considerable quantity in the neighbourhood of Banbury, for medicinal purposes.

At Middleton Cheney and Chacombe there is a considerable manufacture of the finest kind of SILK STOCKINGS. William Horton Esq., the inventor of the elastic knotted hose, resided in his younger years at Chacombe, and worked there as a framesmith.

complaining of the size of the halfpenny Cakes, she would say, "G—— help y', I 'oonder how much butter and sugar y' could buy for a ha'penny."

Jarvis White was a profane, as well as an idle, man, but he would speak a word in favour of his wife's Cakes; and, to show how light they were, he tried to make people believe that a sparrow came one day into the shop and flew off with a cake in its mouth. When it was wet on a Fair day, he used to say, "If the D—— has a black cloud, he's sure to blow it up at Banbury Fair."—*Information from the late Mr. James Lush, Mr. Robert Gardner, and Mr. Thomas Padbury.*

It is probable that the Banbury Cakes of the present day are made pretty nearly the same as those of the time of Holland and Ben Jonson. The present Mr. Dumbleton (who was born in 1755) remembers this sort of Cakes as being considered an antiquated production in the days of his youth; and he states that his father, who was born in the year 1700, spoke of them in the same way. The importation to this country of those small grapes which are the "currants" of commerce, and which are used in the manufacture of Banbury Cakes, was much earlier than this period. Ben Jonson (in his "Bartholomew Fair") writes of the Banbury Puritan, a baker and cake-maker, as having "undone a grocer here, in Newgate market, that broke with him, trusted him with *currants*, as arrant a zeal as he."

The Cakes are of an oval, but rather diamond-shaped, figure: the outside is formed of rich paste, and the interior consists of fruit, &c., resembling the contents of a mince pie.



BETTY WHITE.

From an original in the possession of Mr Wm. Brab.

THE BOTANY OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF BANBURY,

WITH A SKETCH OF THE GEOLOGY.³⁰

The Plants growing wild in the neighbourhood of Banbury were collected some years ago by George Gulliver Esq., and by the author of the "History of Banbury;" and more lately have been again examined by the present writer, and partially by others: but nothing had been published relating to their habitats until the appearance of Mr. Gulliver's "Catalogue" a few months since.³¹ The "Flora of Oxfordshire" of Mr. Walker, and other botanical works, make little or no mention of this neighbourhood. Mr. Gulliver's catalogue contains 408 species of Flowering Plants arranged upon the Linnæan System, and a considerable number of Aerogens, chiefly minute Fungi, Lichens, and Mosses.

The following List of Plants is intended to apply generally to a circuit of about three miles round the Town: Tadmarton Heath, however, a spot frequently mentioned, and a further examination of which would, I doubt not, reward the observer, is five miles distant; and in the cases of very rare plants, still greater latitude has been allowed.

The soil of the neighbourhood, although generally very fertile, is but little diversified; no very considerable elevations occur; the improved drainage has destroyed the bogs; and woods, with the exception of a few plantations, are wanting: all these tend to diminish the number of indigenous species; nevertheless the list here given will, I believe, be found to bear comparison with those of most other districts. It contains 521 species of Flowering Plants, including a few doubtful ones introduced on the authority of Mr. Gulliver. Of the Aerogens, notwithstanding the

(30) Furnished for this work by Mr. Thomas Beesley.

(31) A Catalogue of Plants collected in the Neighbourhood of Banbury. By George Gulliver, F. R. S., F. Z. S., Assistant Surgeon to the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards.

advantage taken of the valuable Catalogue of those plants by Mr. Gulliver, I fear the list will be found deficient, as I have myself paid but little attention to this branch of Botany.³² In the present state of our knowledge of these plants, this deficiency is perhaps not much to be regretted; particularly as Fungi, in which it probably occurs to the greatest extent, appear to be less restricted by local causes. Partly for this reason, the habitats of these plants have generally been omitted.

As some connexion undoubtedly exists between the vegetation and the geological or mineral character of a district, it will be proper to premise a few remarks on the

GEOLOGY OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD.

The town and neighbourhood of Banbury are situated for the most part on the Inferior Oolite, the ferruginous sandstone of which is very apparent in the buildings of the town. On the east, along the vale of the Cherwell, a narrow arm of Lias occupies the surface, extending two or three miles to the south of the town. From this formation is quarried the Limestone locally known as "Banbury Marble," equivalent to the "Cottam Marble" of stone-masons. A blue marly sandstone containing a considerable quantity of mica is quarried for flagstones near New Land from the Inferior Oolite. About a mile to the west of the town, on the top of the low hill rising above Neithorp, called Constitution Hill, and immediately on the east of Withycomb farm-house, a subsided mass of Great Oolite of a few acres in extent occurs, the strata of which are considerably inclined and plainly identified by their characteristic fossils; and are evidently the remains of a formation once continuous over this neighbourhood, which has been swept away by diluvial agency.³³ Abundant traces of watery action are exhibited in the fields beyond this mass, called Bretch, a stony spot full of hills and hollows, and containing the Cave already alluded to in the History of Banbury (p. 296, note 40) which is undoubtedly the effect of this action. No alluvial deposits of consequence occur in this neighbourhood.

(32) I am greatly indebted to Mr. Baxter, Curator of the Botanic Garden, Oxford, for his kind assistance in some doubtful cases.

(33) This mass may be readily examined in a pit for digging Limestone at the top of Constitution Hill.

A series of fossil vertebræ were discovered a few years since in the marly sandstone of Warkworth, a stone identical in character and position with that quarried near New Land. They probably belonged to some large marine lacerta, but were dispersed soon after discovery, and have not since been heard of. Fragments of the claws of marine crustaceæ, of the crab or lobster families, also occur.³⁴ Fossil trees are not uncommon. The other fossils are in no way remarkable as peculiar to the beds of this district.

Deep wells sunk into the Lias in the lower part of the town generally afford an alkaline water. The following analysis of the water at Mr. Sedgley's, High Street, may be taken as an example:—

In 64 ounces

Carbonic Acid	1. 5 cub. in.
Hydrosulphuric Acid	a trace
<hr/>	
Carbonate Soda.....	8. 6 grains
Sulphate Soda	10. 9
Chloride Sodium	9. 5
Carbonate Lime	0. 7
<hr/>	
	29. 7

With regard to the geological stations of the plants enumerated in the following list, the greater part are situated on the "Red land" of the Inferior Oolite. At Andrews' Pits, Crouch Hill, Bretch, North Newington, Wroxton Mill, King's or Balsecot Mill, Shutford Lane, Drayton, and Hanwell, a stony soil, chiefly on the upper beds of the Inferior Oolite, occurs. The Mill meadow at Banbury, most of the stations by the Cherwell and Canal, and at Grimsbury, are on the Lias: whilst the more distant places, as Great Tew, Chipping Norton, and Deddington, are mostly on the Great Oolite. I know of no plant peculiar to the subsided mass of the latter formation on Constitution Hill. Tadmarton, Hooknorton, or Wigginton Heath is occupied by the sands of the Inferior Oolite. A glance at the ordnance map will show the situations of most of the places named.

I know of no correct series of meteorological observations made at Banbury from which the Temperature, Pressure, &c. can be deduced. The mean temperature of Springs is 51°; and probably that of the Air differs but little from this.

(34) Conybeare and Phillips's *Geology of England and Wales*. Mr. Conybeare resided some time in this neighbourhood.

A List of Plants collected in the Neighbourhood of Banbury.

[In the arrangement and nomenclature of the Flowering Plants, Dr. Lindley's "Synopsis of the British Flora," 2nd edition, with some slight alterations in the Natural Orders sanctioned by that Botanist in his later works, has been followed. The Flowerless Plants have been named and arranged by Sir William Hooker's "British Flora."

Of the abbreviations used in the list, [G] signifies that the plant was discovered at the station to which it is annexed by Mr. Gulliver; [A. B.] by Mr. Alfred Beesley; and [T. B.] by the Compiler. In cases where a plant has been discovered at other stations, or has been noticed at the same place by different persons, no reference has generally been given.]

VASCULARES, OR FLOWERING PLANTS.

EXOGENS, OR DICOTYLEDONS.

Order. Ranunculaceæ.

Clematis Vitalba. Honesty. *Wickham tollgate. Rare.*

This is the only station in the neighbourhood I am acquainted with. Beyond Deddington, on the road to Oxford, it becomes very common; but nearly ceases before reaching Oxford. As that tract of country coincides, I believe, with the limestones of the Lower Oolite system, it would appear to be chiefly confined to a limestone soil, at least in this district.

Thalictrum flavum. Meadow Rue. *Brook sides. Mill meadow.*

Adonis autumnalis. Pheasant's eye. *Lane between Broughton and Bloxham. Very rare.*

Anemone nemorosa. Wood Anemone. *Broughton. Wroxton. Rare.*

Ranunculus Flammula. Lesser Spearwort. *Watery places. Hanwell. Beyond North Newington. Not common.*

R. Ficaria. Pilewort. *Pastures.*

R. auricomus. Goldilocks. *Hedges. Not common.*

R. sceleratus. *Watery places. Not common.*

R. bulbosus. Buttercups. *Golden Knobs. Meadows.*

R. Philonotis (—*hirsutus Curtis.*) Hairy Crowfoot. *Moist meadows. [A. B.]*

R. repens. Creeping Crowfoot. *Pastures and road sides.*

R. acris. Upright Buttercups. *Pastures.*

R. arvensis. Corn Crowfoot. *Corn-fields.*

R. aquatilis. Water Crowfoot. *Ditches and ponds.*

R. pantothrix (—*circinatus Sibthorp.*) *Ditches and ponds, with the above.*

Caltha palustris. Marsh Marigold. *Marshy places.*

Helleborus viridis. Green Hellebore. *Hanwell Plantation. [G.] Railway Wood. [A. B.] Very rare.*

Mr. Gulliver's station can hardly be considered a wild one, as the place appears to have been originally planted as a garden, and still contains *Helleborus hyemalis* and other garden plants. The same remark applies to *Pulmonaria officinalis*, *Galanthus nivalis*, and *Narcissus Pseudo-narcissus*.

Aquilegia vulgaris. Columbines. *Near Chipping Norton.*

Delphinium Consolida. Larkspur. *Near Deddington Papermill. [G.]*

This and the following are no doubt outcasts from gardens.

Aconitum vulgare (—*Napellus Smith*). Monk's-hood. *Near Deddington Papermill*. [G.]

Order. Berberaceæ.

Berberis vulgaris. Barberry. *Hedges. Wickham. Rare.*

Order. Nymphæaceæ.

Nymphæa alba. White Water Lily. *Cherwell near King's Sutton. Not common.*

Nuphar lutea. Yellow Water Lily. *Cherwell. Common.*

Order. Papaveraceæ.

Papaver dubium. Smooth-headed Poppy. *Fields &c. in sandy soil. Bretch. Not common.*

P. Rhæas. Common Poppy. *Cultivated Fields. Very common.*

Chelidonium majus. Greater Celandine. *Waste ground. Road sides.*

Order. Fumariaceæ.

Fumaria officinalis. Fumitory. *Corn-fields.*

Order. Brassicaceæ or Cruciferæ.

Nasturtium officinale. Water Cress. *Ditches.*

N. sylvestre. *Canal side, third March, near the Bridge.* [G.] *Rare.*

N. terrestre. *Ditch and Canal sides.*

N. amphibium. Water Radish. *Canal sides.*

Barbarea vulgaris. Winter Cress. Yellow Rocket. *Ditch sides.*

Arabis thaliana. Wall Cress. *On walls at Aynho.* [G.] *Rare.*

Cardamine hirsuta. *Near Grimsbury, plentiful.* [G.] *Wall at Williamscot. Near Tadmarton Heath.*

C. pratensis. Lady's Smock. *Moist meadows.*

C. amara. Bitter Cress. *Grimsbury Mill meadow. Cherwell towards King's Sutton.*

Erophila vulgaris. (*Draba verna Linn.*) Whitlow Grass. *Walls.*

Cochlearia Armoracia. Horseradish. *Cherwell towards King's Sutton.*

Hesperis matronalis. Dames' Violet. *Beyond Overthorp.* [A. B.] *Near Adderbury. [G.] Very rare.*

Sisymbrium officinale. Hedge Mustard. *Road sides.*

S. Sophia. Flixweed. *North Newington.* [A. B.] *In Banbury Church-yard. [G.] Not now to be found at either place.*

Alliaria officinalis. (*Erysimum Alliaria Linn.*) Jack by the Hedge. *Hedges.*

Erysimum cheiranthoides. Treacle Mustard. *Cherwell towards King's Sutton. Very rare.*

Coronopus Ruellii. (*Cochlearia Coronopus Linn.*) Swine's Cress. *Road sides.*

Capsella Bursa Pastoris. (*Thlaspi Bursa Pastoris Linn.*) Shepherd's Purse. *Road sides. Walls.*

Lepidium campestre. (*Thlaspi campestre* Linn.) Mithridate Pepperwort. *Near Shutford*. [A. B.] *Very rare*.

Isatis tinctoria. Wild Woad. *Fields between Broughton and North Newington*. [G.]

Brassica Napus. Rape. *Cultivated fields and waste ground*.

B. Rapa. Turnip. *Cultivated fields and waste ground*.

B. campestris. Wild Navew. *Between Cropredy and Mollington*. [Rev. Dr. Goodenough.] *Very rare*.

Sinapis arvensis. Charlock. *Corn-fields*. *Very common*.

Carrichteria Vellæ. (*Vella annua* Linn.) *Neithorp*. *Not uncommon*. [G.]

There is probably some mistake with regard to this plant. It was once found in Ray's time on Salisbury Plain. I have never met with it.

Order. *Violaceæ*.

Viola hirta. Hairy Violet. *Crouch Lane*. *Bretch*.

V. odorata. Sweet Violet. *Hedge banks*.

The white variety of *Viola odorata* is very uncommon near Banbury; towards Broughton it becomes common; and near Shipston-on-Stour I have observed it much more plentiful than the blue variety.

V. canina. Dog's Violet. *Hedge banks*. *Very common*.

V. tricolor. Wild Pansy. *Corn-fields*.

V. tricolor, var. β (*—arvensis* Sibth.) *Corn-fields*. *Common*.

Order. *Cistaceæ*.

Helianthemum vulgare. (*Cistus Helianthemum* Linn.) Rock Rose. *Bretch*.

Order. *Polygalaceæ*.

Polygala vulgaris. Milkwort. *Hanwell*. *North Newington*. *Rather rare*.

Order. *Malvaceæ*.

Malva sylvestris. Common Mallow. *Way sides*.

M. rotundifolia. *Way sides*.

M. moschata. Musk Mallow. *Borders of fields*. *Frequent*.

Order. *Hypericaceæ*.

Hypericum calycinum. *Coppice on the south of Shutford Lane*, but hardly wild.

H. quadrangulum. St. Peter's Wort. *Watery places*.

H. perforatum. St. John's Wort. *Road sides*.

H. dubium. *Oxford Road*. *Andrews' Pits*. *Near Adderbury*. *In a plantation near Wroxton Mill*. *Shutford Lane*.

This plant, not included in Walker's Flora of Oxfordshire, is probably often passed by as *H. perforatum*. It is not very unfrequent here.

H. humifusum. *Wroxton Heath*. [G.] *Rare*.

H. hirsutum. *Near Drayton*. *Near Hanwell*. *Not common*.

H. pulchrum. *Hanwell Heath*. [T. B.] *Rare*.

Order. Caryophyllaceæ.

Silene inflata. Bladder Campion. *Hedges.*

Lychnis Flos Cuculi. Ragged Robin. *Moist meadows and ditches.*

L. sylvestris (—*dioica rubra Smith*). Red Campion.

Rare near Banbury, but frequent about Drayton and Wroxton. At North Newington a variety with flesh-coloured petals, but with the other characters of *L. sylvestris* very distinct, is common.

L. dioica (—*dioica alba Smith*). White Campion. *Hedges. Common.*

Agrostemma Githago. Corn Cockle. *Corn-fields.*

Spergula arvensis. Spurrey. *Near Adderbury. [G.] Rare.*

Sagina procumbens. Pearlwort. *Gravel walks. Walls.*

Arenaria trinervis. Plantain-leaved Sandwort. *Frequent.*

A. serpyllifolia. Thyme-leaved Sandwort. *Walls.*

A. tenuifolia. *Bretch. [G.] Not found in 1841.*

Cerastium aquaticum. *Ditches.*

C. vulgatum. Mouse-ear Chickweed. *Every-where.*

C. viscosum. *Every-where.*

C. arvense. *Pest-house field. Bretch. [T. B.] Rare.*

Larbræa aquatica. (*Stellaria uliginosa Sm.*) Watery places. [T. B.] *Frequent.*

Stellaria media. Chickweed. *Every-where.*

S. Holostea. Great Stitchwort. *Drayton Lane. Rare.*

S. graminea. Lesser Stitchwort. *Common.*

Order. Linaceæ.

Linum usitatissimum. Common Flax. *Hooknorton. Rare.*

L. catharticum. Purging Flax. *Crouch Lane. Bretch.*

Order. Tiliaceæ.

Tilia intermedia (—*europæa Linn.*) Lime-tree. *Planted on the Green and in the Church-yard.*

Order. Aceraceæ.

Acer Pseudo-platanus. Sycamore. *Hedges.*

A. campestre. Maple. *Hedges.*

Order. Geraniaceæ.

Geranium pratense. Great Crane's-bill. *Rather moist places. Mill meadow. Not uncommon.*

G. Robertianum. Herb Robert. *Hedges.*

G. lucidum. *Opposite Bodicot Road. Farnborough Road. Rare.*

G. molle. *Hedges and dry pastures.*

G. dissectum. *Hedge banks.*

Erodium cicutarium. Stork's-bill. *Walls. Broughton. North Newington.*

Order. *Oxalidaceæ*.

Oxalis Acetosella. Wood Sorrel. *Wroxton. Beyond Chacombe. Hook-norton.*

Order. *Crassulaceæ*.

Sedum acre. Biting Stonecrop. *Walls and roofs.*

S. album. White Stonecrop. *Wall at Warkworth. [T. B.] Rare.*

S. reflexum. *Walls and roofs. New Land. North Newington Paper-mill.*

Sempervivum tectorum. Houseleek. *Walls and roofs.*

Order. *Saxifragaceæ*.

Parnassia palustris. Grass of Parnassus. *Bog south of Shutford Bridge, with Menyanthes trifoliata. [T. B.] Very rare.*

This, the only station of this very elegant plant known in the neighbourhood, will probably from its situation escape draining, which destroys so many of our bog plants.

Leiogyne granulata. (*Saxifraga granulata* Linn.) Meadow Saxifrage. *Pest-house field. Bretch.*

Saxifraga tridactylites. Rue-leaved Whitlow-grass. *Walls.*

Order. *Lythraceæ*.

Lythrum Salicaria. Purple Loose-strife. *Brooks.*

Order. *Rhamnaceæ*.

Rhamnus catharticus. Buckthorn. *Hedges. Common.*

Order. *Celastraceæ*.

Euonymus europæus. Spindle-tree. *Chacombe. [Mr. M. Jessop.] Rare.*

Order. *Fabaceæ* or *Leguminosæ*.

Ulex europæus. Furze. *Common.*

Genista tinctoria. Dyers' Green-weed. *Beyond North Newington. Near Hornton. Rare.*

Cytisus scoparius. (*Spartium scoparium* Linn.) Broom. *Tadmarton Heath.*

Anthyllis vulneraria. Kidney Vetch. *Bretch. Shutford Lane. Near Horley. Rare.*

Ononis arvensis. Hairy Rest-harrow. *Common.*

O. antiquorum (—*spinosa* Linn.) Thorny Rest-harrow. *Combe Hill near Adderbury. [A. B.] Rare.*

Astragalus glycyphyllos. Wild Liquorice. *Andrews' Pits. Bretch. [A. B.] Hanwell foot-road. [Miss Padbury.]*

Not to be found there now.

Melilotus officinalis. Melilot. *Hedges.*

M. leucantha. White Melilot. *Farm Field, 1838. Very rare.*

Trifolium repens. Dutch Clover. *Pastures.*

- Trifolium pratense*. Purple Clover. *Pastures*.
T. arvense. Hare's-foot Trefoil. *Walls at Shenington*. [G.] *Rare*.
T. scabrum. *Bretch*. [T. B.] *Rare*.
T. procumbens. Hop Trefoil. *Gravelly fields*. *Bretch*.
Lotus corniculatus. Bird's-foot Trefoil. *Banks and pastures*.
L. major. *Wet places*. *Hanwell*. [T. B.]
Medicago sativa. Lucerne. *Grimsbury*. *Rare*.
M. lupulina. Black Nonesuch. *Pastures*.
Ervum tetraspermum. Smooth Tare. *Waste and cultivated ground*.
E. hirsutum. Rough Tare. *Waste and cultivated ground*.
Vicia cracca. Tufted Vetch. *Moist hedges*.
V. sativa. Common Vetch. *Cultivated ground*.
V. sepium. Bush Vetch. *Bushes*.
Lathyrus pratensis. Everlasting Tare. *Hedges*.
L. Nissolia. Crimson Grass Vetch. *In a corn-field between Shutford and Bourton*. [G.] *Very rare*.
Orobus tuberosus. Black Bitter Vetch. *Beyond North Newington*. [A. B.] *Rare*.
Ornithopus perpusillus. Bird's Foot. *Tadmorton Heath*. [T. B.] *Rare*.
Onobrychis sativa. (*Hedysarum Onobrychis* Linn.) *Saintfoin*. *Bretch*.

Order. *Rosaceæ*.

- Spiræa Filipendula*. Dropwort. *Bretch*. *Tadmorton Heath*.
S. Ulmaria. Meadow Sweet. *Queen of the Meadows*. *Watery places*.
Prunus spinosa. Sloe. Blackthorn. *Hedges*.
Rubus idæus. Raspberry. *North Newington*. *Hanwell*. *Near Wroxton mill*.
R. cæsius. Dewberry. *Hedges and thickets*. *Not common*.
R. fruticosus. Common Bramble. *Hedges*. *Very common*.
R. diversifolius (—*glandulosus* Sm.) *In a hedge near the Bear Garden, now cut down*. [T. B.]
R. vulgaris (—*corylifolius* Sm.) *Hedges*. *Very common*.
Several other forms of Brambles are common, but the characters are so indistinct that I cannot decide upon the species.
Fragaria vesca. Wood Strawberry. *New Land*. *Not common*.
Potentilla fruticosa. Shrubby Cinquefoil. *Found near Great Tew by Mr. James Rusher*.

I have seen the specimen, and am informed that it was apparently wild.

- P. anserina*. Silverweed. *Road sides*. *Very common*.
P. reptans. Creeping Cinquefoil. *Waste ground*.
P. Fragaria. Wild Strawberry. *Shady banks*.
P. Tormentilla. (*Tormentilla officinalis* Sm.) *Tormentil*. *Bretch*. *Hanwell*. *Tadmorton Heath*.
P. nemoralis. (*Tormentilla reptans* Linn.) *Hooknorton Heath*. *Wiggington Heath*. [G.]

Hardly distinct from *P. reptans*. The number of the petals is not constant.

- Geum urbanum*. Avens. *Hedges*.
Agrimonia Eupatoria. Agrimony. *Road sides*.
Rosa rubiginosa. Sweetbriar. *Crouch Lane*. [A. B.] *Rare*.

Rosa canina. Dog Rose. *Hedges. Common.*

R. arvensis. *Hedges.*

Not common near Banbury, but in a mile or two from it in several directions becomes very frequent; sometimes more so than *R. canina*.

Alchemilla vulgaris. Lady's Mantle. *Behind Keeper's Lodge, Wroxton. Between Shutford and Balscot. Near Wroxton Mill. Rare.*

A. arvensis. Parsley Piert. *Walls and corn-fields. [T. B.] Not common.*

Sanguisorba officinalis. Great Burnet. *Pastures. Hanwell. Between Williamscot and Cropredy.*

Poterium Sanguisorba. Salad Burnet. *Gravelly fields. Bretch.*

Cratægus oxyacantha. (*Mespilus oxyacantha Sm.*) May. Hawthorn. *Hedges.*

C. oxyacantha var. *β. eriocarpa.* *Hedges. [G.]*

Pyrus Malus. Crab-tree. *Hedges.*

P. aucuparia. (*Sorbus aucuparia Linn.*) *Plantations. Not wild.*

Order. Grossulaceæ.

Ribes rubrum. Red Currants. *North side of Drayton Lane. [G.]*

R. Grossularia. Gooseberry. *Broughton Road. [T. B.]*

Order. Onograceæ.—Div. Cœnothereæ.

Epilobium hirsutum. Codlings and Cream. *Ditches.*

E. parviflorum. *Ditches.*

E. montanum. *Dry ditches.*

E. tetragonum. *Between Huscot and Williamscot. [T. B.]*

E. palustre. *Near Huscot. [T. B.] Frequent.*

Order. Onograceæ.—Div. Circææ.

Circæa lutetiana. Enchanters' Nightshade. *Wroxton.*

Order. Cercodiaceæ.

Myriophyllum spicatum. Water Milfoil. *Pond at Broughton. [G.] Rare.*

M. verticillatum. *Mill meadow. Brook in Grimsbury Wharf close. [T. B.]*

Hippuris vulgaris. Mare's-tail. *Near Drayton. [G.] King's Mill. Rare.*

Order. Araliaceæ.

Hedera Helix. Ivy. *Trees and walls.*

Order. Apiaceæ or Umbelliferæ.

Daucus Carota. Wild Carrot. Bird's Nest. *Road sides.*

Torilis Anthriscus. *Hedges.*

T. infesta. *On a wall in Back Lane. Bretch. Corn-fields at North Newington [T. B.]*

- Torilis nodosa*. Knotted Hen's-foot. *Dry gravelly places. Bretch.*
Pastinaca sativa. Wild Parsnep. *Hedges.*
Heracleum Sphondylium. Hogweed. *Hedges and pastures.*
Angelica sylvestris. Wild Angelica. *Watery places.*
Silaus pratensis. (*Cnidium Silaus Spreng.*) Pepper Saxifrage. *Pastures.*
Æthusa Cynapium. Fool's Parsley. *Cultivated ground.*
Ænanthe fistulosa. Water Dropwort. *Ditches. Austin's meadow.*
Conopodium flexuosum. (*Bunium flexuosum With.*) Pig-nut. *Pastures and groves.*
Pimpinella saxifraga. Burnet Saxifrage. *Oxford Road. Bretch.*
Sium angustifolium. Narrow-leaved Water Parsnep. *Ditches.*
Helosciadium nodiflorum. (*Sium nodiflorum Linn.*) *Ditches. Very common.*
Sison Amomum. Honewort. *Broughton Road. Shutford Lane.*
Ægopodium Podagraria. Gout Weed. Jump-about. *Road sides.*
Anthriscus vulgaris. Beaked Parsley. *On a wall in New Land. [G.] Very rare.*
A. sylvestris. (*Chærophylloides sylvestre Linn.*) Kecks. *Hedges.*
Chærophylloides temulum. (*Myrrhis temula Spreng.*) Rough Cow-parsley. *Hedges.*
Conium maculatum. Hemlock. *Hedges. Rather plentiful in some seasons.*
Sanicula europæa. Wood Sanicle. *Drayton Lane. Wroxton. Wickham coppice.*

Order. Galiaceæ or Stellatæ.

- Galium cruciatum*. Crosswort. *Hedges.*
G. palustre. *Watery places.*
G. saxatile. *Hanwell Heath. Tadmarton Heath.*
G. uliginosum. *Broughton. [T. B.]*
G. verum. Ladies' Bed-straw. *Banks and hedges.*
G. Mollugo. Hedge Bed-straw. *Grimsbury. [G.] Broughton. Cropredy Bridge. Not common.*
G. Aparine. Goose-grass. *Hedges.*
Asperula odorata. Woodruff. *Edgehill.*
Sherardia arvensis. Spurwort. *Dry fields. Pest-house field.*

Order. Caprifoliaceæ.

- Caprifolium Periclymenum*. (*Lonicera Periclymenum Linn.*) Woodbine. *Hedges and thickets.*
Viburnum Lantana. Wayfaring Tree. *Hedges.*
V. Opulus. Guelder Rose. *Hardwick Road. Hanwell foot-road.*
Sambucus Ebulus. Danewort. *Plentiful in hedges a little on this side Duffil's farm on the road to Hanwell.*
S. nigra. Elder. *Hedges.*

Order. Cornaceæ.

- Cornus sanguinea*. Dogwood. *Hedges.*

Order. Loranthaceæ.

Viscum album. Misseltoe. *Wroxton Park.* *Rare.*

Order. Campanulaceæ.

Prismatocarpus hybridus. (*Campanula hybrida* Linn.) Coddled Corn Violet. *Corn-field beyond Neithorp. Constitution Hill. North Newington. Hanwell.*

Campanula rotundifolia. Heath Bell. *Gravelly fields, and hedges.*

C. latifolia. Giant Bell-flower. *Near Middleton.* [Mr. M. Jessop.] *Rare.*

C. rapunculoides. *Adderbury, road side.* [Mrs. Roundell in Walker's *Flora of Oxfordshire.*]

C. Trachelium, which occurs on the road side between Adderbury and Deddington, was probably mistaken for this species.

C. Trachelium. Canterbury Bells. *Near Adderbury. Radway. Rare.*

C. glomerata. Clustered Bell-flower. *Andrews' Pits. Bretch.*

Order. Valerianaceæ.

Valerianella olitoria. (*Fedia olitoria* Vahl.) Corn Salad. *Adderbury. Drayton. Rare.*

Valeriana dioica. *Drayton Lane. Hanwell Oak plantation. Not common.*

V. officinalis. Valerian. *Watery places. Common.*

Order. Dipsacæ.

Dipsacus sylvestris. Wild Teasel. *Road sides.*

Scabiosa succisa. Devil's-bit Scabious. *Bretch.*

S. columbaria. *Bretch.*

Knautia arvensis. (*Scabiosa arvensis* Linn.) Field Scabious. *Cultivated fields.*

Order. Asteraceæ or Compositæ.

Eupatorium cannabinum. Hemp Agrimony. *Ditches. Wickham. Bodicot.*

Pulicaria dysenterica. (*Inula dysenterica* Linn.) Flea-bane. *Watery places.*

Gnaphalium rectum. *Tadmarton Heath.* [A. B.] *Rare.*

G. uliginosum. *Waste Ground. Frequent.*

Filago germanica. (*Gnaphalium germanicum* Huds.) Cudweed. *Crouch Lane.*

Senecio vulgaris. Groundsel. *Cultivated ground.*

S. tenuifolius. *Beyond North Newington.*

S. Jacobæa. Ragwort. *Frequent. Broughton Road.*

S. aquaticus. *Watery places.*

S. sylvaticus. Upland Groundsel. *Crouch Hill. Springe Hill. Rare.*

Tussilago Farfara. Coltsfoot. *Road sides.*

T. Petasites. Butterbur. *Watery places.*

Bellis perennis. Daisy. *Pastures.*

- Chrysanthemum Leucanthemum.* Ox-eye. *Pastures.*
C. Parthenium. (*Pyrethrum Parthenium Sm.*) Feverfew. *Frequent.*
Banbury Bridge. Oxford Road.
C. inodorum. (*Pyrethrum inodorum Sm.*) Mayweed. *Road sides.*
C. segetum. Corn Marigold. *Corn-fields.*
Matricaria Chamomilla. Wild Camomile. *Cultivated and waste ground.*
Artemisia Absinthium. Wormwood. *Warkworth Road. [T. B.] Rare.*
A. vulgaris. Mugwort. *Hedges.*
Tanacetum vulgare. Tansy. *Tadmarton Heath, on the road to Milcombe. [T. B.] Rare.*
Maruta foetida. (*Anthemis cotula Linn.*) Stinking Mather. *Waste ground.*
Anthemis arvensis. Corn Camomile. *Wickham Lane. [T. B.] Rare.*
Achillaea Ptarmica. Sneezewort. *Watery places.*
A. Millefolium. Yarrow. Milfoil. *Road sides and pastures.*
Bidens tripartita. Bur-Marigold. *Watery places.*
Onopordum Acanthium. Cotton Thistle. *Bretch. [T. B.] Rare.*
Cnicus lanceolatus. Spear Thistle. *Waste ground.*
C. palustris. Marsh Thistle. *Watery places.*
C. arvensis. Way Thistle. *Pastures.*
C. eriophorus. Woolly-headed Thistle. *Bretch. Not common.*
C. acaulis. Dwarf Thistle. *Bretch. Beyond Neithorp.*
Lappa glabra. (*Arctium Lappa Linn.*) Burdock. *Waste ground.*
L. tomentosa. (*Arctium Bardana Willd.*) *Waste ground.*
Serratula tinctoria. Saw-wort. *Beyond North Newington. [A. B.]*
Centaurea nigra. Knapweed. *Road sides.*
C. Cyanus. Blue Bottle. *Corn-fields.*
C. Scabiosa. Greater Knapweed. *Road sides.*
Carduus nutans. Musk Thistle. *Gravelly ground.*
C. acanthoides. Thistle upon Thistle. *Hedges.*
Sonchus palustris. Marsh Sowthistle. *Canal side. Rather common. [G.]*
 I have not met with it.
S. arvensis. Corn Sowthistle. *Corn-fields.*
S. oleraceus. Sowthistle. *Cultivated ground.*
Lapsana communis. Nipplewort. *Hedges.*
Leontodon Taraxacum. Dandelion. *Pastures.*
Crepis tectorum. Succory Hawkweed. *Road sides.*
Helminthia echioides. (*Picris echioides Linn.*) Ox-tongue. *Broughton Road. Huscot Road. Rare.*
Picris hieracioides. Hawkweed Ox-tongue. *Between Banbury and Broughton. [T. B.] Rare.*
Hieracium Pilosella. Mouse-ear Hawkweed. *Gravelly pastures. Bretch. Wroxton.*
Achyrophorus radicans. (*Hypochaeris radicata Linn.*) Cat's-ear. *Pastures.*
Tragapogon pratensis. Goat's-beard. *Frequent. Farm Field. [G.]*
Oxford Road. Not common now.
Apargia hispida. *Road sides.*

Oporina autumnalis. (*Apargia autumnalis Willd.*) Hawk-bit. *Pastures*.
Cichorium Intybus. Succory. *Twyford Lane*. *Rare near Banbury*.
Common beyond Adderbury.

Order. Boraginaceæ.

Echium vulgare. Viper's Bugloss. *Bretch*.
Pulmonaria officinalis. Lungwort. *Hanwell Plantation*.
 See *Helleborus viridis* (p. 574).
Lithospermum officinale. Gromwell. *Bloxham Road*. *Drayton Lane*.
L. arvense. Bastard Alkanet. *Cultivated ground*.
Symphytum officinale. Comfrey. *Banks and ditches, near Adderbury*. [G.]
Borago officinalis. Borage. *Oxford road*. [T. B.]
 Plentiful two or three years ago, but now almost extinct. It probably escaped from some garden.
Anchusa sempervirens. Evergreen Alkanet. *Beyond Andrews' Pits*.
 [A. B.] *Very rare*.
Myosotis palustris. Forget-me-not. *Watery places*.
M. cæspitosa. *Hanwell*. [T. B.]
M. intermedia Link. *Dry shady places*. [T. B.] *Common*.
M. arvensis Roth. Scorpion-grass. *Cultivated ground*.
M. versicolor. *Near Adderbury*. [G.]
Cynoglossum officinale. Hound's-tongue. *Bloxham Road*. *Cobb's plantation*. *Extinct now*.

Order. Convolvulaceæ.

Convolvulus arvensis. Bindweed. *Cultivated ground*.
Calystegia sepium. (*Convolvulus sepium Linn.*) Great Bindweed. *Cultivated ground, and hedges*.

Order. Cuscutaceæ.

Cuscuta europæa. Greater Dodder. *Hardwick Hill, 1837-8*. *Very rare*.
C. Epithymum. Lesser Dodder. *Found by Mr. Gulliver in a bean field near Wardington*. *Not in his "Catalogue."* *Very rare*.

The specimen and information I received from Mr. A. Beesley.

Order. Cucurbitaceæ.

Bryonia dioica. Bryony. *Spital Farm*. *Hedges near Canal*. *Not common*.

Order. Plantaginaceæ.

Plantago major. Way-bread. *Road sides*. *Pastures*.
 The variety called "Rose Plantain" has been found in a very perfect state in a corn-field near Horley by Miss Padbury.
P. media. Hoary Plantain. *Gravelly ground*.
P. lanceolata. Rib-grass. *Road sides*.

Order. Oleaceæ.

Ligustrum vulgare. Privet. *Hedges*.
Fraxinus excelsior. Ash-tree. *Hedges*.

Order. Ericaceæ.

Calluna vulgaris. (*Erica vulgaris* *Linn.*) *Ling. Tadmarton Heath.*

Order. Apocynaceæ.

Vinca major. Periwinkle. *Thickets, groves, and damp places, at Wroxton.* [G.] *Not wild.*

Order. Gentianaceæ.

Erythræa Centaurium. Centaury. *Beyond North Newington. Rare.*
Menyanthes trifoliata. Buckbean. *By the "Jack brook," Broughton Park. Damp meadows near King's Mill. Very plentiful in a bog to the south of Shutford Bridge.*

Order. Solanaceæ.

Hyoscyamus niger. Henbane. *Waste ground. Frequent.*
Verbascum Thapsus. Mullein. *Adam's Flannel. Waste ground. Frequent.*
Solanum Dulcamara. Woody Nightshade. *Hedges.*
S. nigrum. Common Nightshade. *A weed in gardens. Not common.*

Order. Primulaceæ.

Primula vulgaris. Primrose. *Bretch. Crouch Hill. Wroxton.*
P. veris. Cowslip. *Gravelly pastures.*
Lysimachia nemorum. Wood Loosestrife. *Near Chipping Norton.*
L. Nummularia. Moneywort. *Brook and ditch sides.*
Anagallis arvensis. Red Pimpernel. *Corn-fields.*

Order. Lentibulaceæ.

Pinguicula vulgaris. Butterwort. *Canal side, towards King's Sutton.*
 [A. B.] *Brackley. Very rare.*
 A plant called Butterwort by the villagers is said by them to grow in Hanwell Plantation.

Order. Scrophulariaceæ.

Veronica serpyllifolia. Paul's Betony. *Meadows.*
V. Beccabunga. Brooklime. *Ditches.*
V. Anagallis. *Ditches.*
V. officinalis. Common Speedwell. *Hanwell. Tadmarton Heath.* [T. B.]
V. Chamædrys. Germander Speedwell. *Shady places.*
V. agrestis. Chickweed Speedwell. *Cultivated ground. Common.*
V. arvensis. Wall Speedwell. *Dry ground, and walls. Common.*
V. hederifolia. *Cultivated ground. Common.*
V. polita. *Cultivated ground. Common.*
Rhinanthus Crista galli. Yellow Rattle. *Pastures.*
Pedicularis palustris. Marsh Lousewort. *Broughton.*
P. sylvatica. Lousewort. *Red Rattle. Hanwell.*
Bartsia Odontites. Red Painted-cup. *Corn-fields.*

- Euphrasia officinalis*. Eyebright. *Gravelly ground. Bretch.*
Linaria Cymbalaria. Creeping Toad-flax. *Wroxton*
L. spuria. Corn-field just above Broughton Fulling-mill. *Rare.*
L. vulgaris. Common Toad-flax. *Borders of fields.*
L. minor. Least Toad-flax. *Corn-field just above Broughton Fulling-mill. [T. B.] Rare.*
Digitalis purpurea. Foxglove. *Near Nill Farm. Epwell Heath. Rare.*
Scrophularia nodosa. *Not common. Hanwell Oak plantation. [T. B.]*
S. aquatica. Water Betony. *Ditches.*

Order. Verbenaceæ.

- Verbena officinalis*. Vervain. *Shutford. Hooknorton. [G.]*

Order. Lamiaceæ or Labiatæ.

- Ajuga reptans*. Bugle. *Damp places.*
Lycopus europæus. Gipsywort. *Watery places.*
Mentha aquatica. Water Mint. *Watery places.*
Mentha hirsuta is now considered to belong to this species.
M. arvensis. Corn Mint. *Gravelly corn-fields.*
Thymus Serpyllum. Thyme. *Stony banks.*
The variety known by the name of Lemon Thyme is very frequent.
Origanum vulgare. Marjoram. *Bloxham Road.*
Melissa Acinos. (*Thymus Acinos Linn.*) Basil Thyme. *Broughton and North Newington. Rare.*
M. Calamintha. (*Thymus Calamintha Scop.*) Calamint. *Bloxham Road. In the lane leading from Broughton tollgate to the Castle. Rare.*
M. Clinopodium. (*Clinopodium vulgare Linn.*) Wild Basil. *Road sides.*
Nepeta Cataria. Catmint. *Bloxham Road. [T. B.] Rare.*
N. Glechoma. (*Glechoma hederacea Linn.*) Ground-ivy. *Hedges.*
Galeopsis Ladanum. *Corn-fields. Farm Field. North Newington.*
G. Tetrahit. Hemp Nettle. *Corn-fields. Both red and white varieties common.*
Lamium vulgatum var. β . (—album *Linn.*) White Dead-nettle. *Very common.*
L. purpureum. Red Dead-nettle. *Cultivated ground.*
L. amplexicaule. Great Henbit. *Cultivated ground.*
L. Galeobdolon. (*Galeobdolon luteum Huds.*) Weasel-snout. *Brackley Road. [G.] Radway Wood.*
Stachys sylvatica. Woundwort. *Hedges.*
S. palustris. *Wet places.*
S. germanica. *First March. [G.]*
There is evidently some error. A wet clayey meadow is a very improbable station for such a plant. It certainly is not now to be found in this neighbourhood.
S. arvensis. *Sandy corn-fields. [T. B.] Frequent.*
S. Betonica. Betony. *Hanwell. Beyond North Newington.*
Ballota nigra. Black Horehound. *Road sides.*
Marrubium vulgare. White Horehound. *Just out of Banbury on the Broughton road, about 1828. [T. B.] Very rare.*

Scutellaria galericulata. Skull-cap. *Watery places.*

Prunella vulgaris. Self-heal. *Pastures.*

Order. Thymelaceæ.

Daphne Laureola. Spurge-laurel. *Wickham. [A. B.] Rare.*

Order. Polygonaceæ.

Rumex obtusifolius. Dock. *Waste ground.*

R. crispus. *Waste and cultivated ground.*

R. glomeratus (—*acutus* Linn.) *Road sides.*

R. Hydrolapathum. Water Dock. *Cherwell near the bridge. Rare.*

R. Acetosa. Sorrel. *Pastures.*

R. Acetosella. Sheeps' Sorrel. *Dry pastures.*

Polygonum amphibium. Water Arsmart. *Ponds.*

P. Persicaria. Spotted Persicaria. *Ditch banks and rubbish.*

P. lapathifolium. *Waste and cultivated ground.*

P. Hydropiper. Water Pepper. *River and ditch sides.*

P. Bistorta. Great Bistort. Snake-weed. *Pool-yard at Hooknorton. Very rare.*

P. aviculare. Knot-grass. *Road sides.*

P. Fagopyrum. Buckwheat. *Cultivated fields.*

P. Convolvulus. Black Bindweed. *Corn-fields.*

Order. Chenopodiaceæ.

Chenopodium Bonus Henricus. Good King Henry. *Broughton. Not common.*

C. urbicum. *Ditch sides.*

C. rubrum. *Cultivated ground.*

C. murale. *Rubbish. [A. B.]*

C. album. Goosefoot. *Cultivated ground.*

C. hybridum. *On a heap of rubbish. [T. B.] Rare.*

C. acutifolium. *Garden ground. [T. B.] Not common.*

Atriplex patula. Spreading Orache. *Waste ground. [T. B.] Not common.*

A. angustifolia. *Waste ground.*

Order. Urticaceæ.

Parietaria officinalis. Pellitory of the Wall. *Wroxton. Chacombe Church.*

Urtica urens. Small Stinging Nettle. *Road sides. Rubbish.*

U. dioica. Great Stinging Nettle. *Hedges.*

Humulus Lupulus. Hop. *Hedges. Not common.*

Order. Resedaceæ.

Reseda Luteola. Dyers' Weed. *Road sides.*

Order. Euphorbiaceæ.

Euphorbia Helioscopia. Wartwort. *Cultivated ground.*

Euphorbia exigua. Dwarf Spurge. *Corn-fields.*

E. Peplus. Petty Spurge. *Cultivated ground.*

Mercurialis perennis. Dogs' Mercury. *Broughton. Wroxton.*

Buxus sempervirens. Box-tree. *Wroxton. Probably not indigenous.*

Order. Ulmaceæ.

Ulmus campestris. Elm. *Hedges and plantations.*

U. montana. Witch Elm. *Plantations.*

Order. Betulaceæ.

Betula alba. Birch. *Hedges.*

Alnus glutinosa. Alder. *Brook sides.*

Order. Salicaceæ.

Salix alba. Cærulean Willow.

S. amygdalina var. α .

S. purpurea var. γ . (—*Helix* Linn.)

S. rubra var. α .

S. rubra var. β . (—*Forbiana* E. B.)

S. viminalis. Osier.

S. stipularis.

S. cinerea var. β . (—*aquatica* Sm.) Water Sallow.

S. caprea var. β (—*sphacelata* Sm.)

Populus tremula. Aspen. *Hedges.*

P. alba. Abele-tree. *Hedges.*

P. nigra. Poplar. *Hedges.*

Order. Corylaceæ.

Fagus sylvatica. Beech. *Plantations.*

Castanea vesca. (*Fagus Castanea* Linn.) Chesnut. *Wroxton. Not wild.*

Quercus Robur. English Oak. *Hedges and plantations.*

Q. sessiliflora. *Plantations.*

Corylus Avellana. Hazel. *Hedges.*

Carpinus Betulus. Hornbeam. *Hedges and plantations. Not wild.*

Order. Taxaceæ.

Taxus baccata. Yew. *Church-yards, &c. Not wild.*

Order. Callitrichaceæ.

Callitriche verna. Starwort. *Ditches and pools.*

ENDOGENS, OR MONOCOTYLEDONS.

Order. Araceæ.

Arum maculatum. Lords and Ladies. *Groves and under hedges.*

Order. Typhaceæ.

- Typha latifolia.* Reed-mace. *Thenford. Cropredy. Not common.*
T. angustifolia. Lesser Reed-mace. *Wormleighton Reservoir. [A. B.]*
Rare.
Sparganium ramosum. Branched Bur-reed. *Brooks and Canal.*
S. simplex. Bur-reed. *Brooks and Canal. Not common.*

Order. Naiadaceæ or Fluviales.

- Potamogeton densus.* Frog Lettuce. *Broughton "Jack Brook." [T. B.]*
P. pectinatus. Fennel-leaved Pondweed. *Canal.*
P. pusillus. *River in Mill meadow. [T. B.] Rare.*
P. crispus. Curled Pondweed. *Canal. Ditches.*
P. Proteus var. β *heterophyllus.* *River in Mill meadow. [T. B.]*
P. natans. Floating Pondweed. *Rivers and brooks.*
P. perfoliatus. *Canal.*

Order. Pistiaceæ.

- Lemna minor.* Duckmeat. *Ditches and pools.*
L. gibba. *Ditch beyond Mill meadow. [T. B.] Rare.*

Order. Juncaginaceæ.

- Triglochin palustre.* Arrow-grass. *In a meadow near the Canal, a quarter of a mile towards King's Sutton. A boggy field near Hanwell. Plentiful in a meadow south of Shutford Bridge.*

Order. Alismaceæ.

- Alisma Plantago.* Water Plantain. *Brooks and ditches.*
Sagittaria sagittifolia. Arrow-head. *Brooks and Canal.*

Order. Iridaceæ.

- Iris Pseud-acorus.* Water Flag. *Brooks and Canal.*

Order. Orchidaceæ.

- Listera ovata.* (*Ophrys ovata* Linn.) Twayblade. *Hanwell Oak plantation. Near Chacombe. Rare.*
Epipactis latifolia. (*Serapias latifolia* Linn.) Helleborine. *Hanwell Oak plantation. [T. B.] Rare.*
Orchis Morio. *Hanwell. Behind Keeper's lodge, Wroxton.*
O. mascula. *Plantations. Broughton. Hanwell.*
O. ustulata. *Near Chipping Norton.*
O. latifolia. *Moist meadows. Between Bodicot and the Canal. Near Bodicot Mill. Broughton.*
O. maculata. Spot-leaved Baldary. *Moist meadows and plantations.*
Anacamptis pyramidalis. (*Orchis pyramidalis* Linn.) *In a plantation, and near the "Wood," Broughton Park.*
Gymnadenia conopsea. (*Orchis conopsea* Linn.) Aromatic Orchis. *Cottisford Heath. [G.]*

Platanthera bifolia. (*Orchis bifolia* Linn.) Butterfly Orchis. Coppice, Broughton. [A. B.] Very rare.

Order. *Melanthaceæ*.

Colchicum autumnale. Meadow-saffron. Deepslade and Claydon Hill near North Newington.

Order. *Amaryllidaceæ*.

Galanthus nivalis. Snowdrop. Hanwell Plantation. [G.]

See *Helleborus viridis* (p. 574).

Narcissus Pseudo-narcissus. Daffodil. Hanwell Plantation. [G.]

See *Helleborus viridis* (p. 574).

Order. *Liliaceæ*.

Ornithogalum umbellatum. Star of Bethlehem. Near Bodicot Mill. Astrop. Rare.

Hyacinthus non scriptus. (*Scilla nutans* Sm.) Harebells. Gatridges. Broughton. Hanwell.

Ruscus aculeatus. Butchers' Broom. Wall Close, West Street.
Some years since, probably escaped from a garden.

Paris quadrifolia. Herb Paris. True Love. Hooknorton.

Order. *Dioscoreaceæ*.

Tamus communis. Black Bryony. Hedges.

Order. *Butomaceæ*.

Butomus umbellatus. Flowering Rush. Cherwell and Canal. Frequent.

Order. *Juncaceæ*.

Juncus glaucus. Hard Rush. Wet places.

J. conglomeratus. Common Rush. Wet places.

J. effusus. Soft Rush. Wet places.

J. compressus. Marches. [T. B.]

J. bufonius. Toad Rush. Frequent in trenches, and wet meadows.

J. acutiflorus. Wet places.

J. lampocarpus. Canal side. Third March.

Luzula campestris. Field Rush. Pastures.

Order. *Cyperaceæ*.

Heliocharis palustris. Wet meadows. First March.

Scirpus lacustris. Bulrush. Cherwell.

S. sylvaticus. Wood Club-rush. Canal. Hanwell. [T. B.] Not uncommon.

Eriophorum angustifolium. Cotton-grass. Brook side, near Drayton Lane. [G.] Near Brackley. Rare.

Carex remota. Ditch sides. Frequent.

C. muricata. Canal.

- Carex vulpina.* Canal.
C. paniculata. Bog between Drayton and Wroxton. Pool near Drayton.
 [G.] Rare.
C. pilulifera. Tadmarton Heath. [T. B.] Rare.
C. acuta. Wet meadows. Side of Canal, second March. [G.]
C. paludosa. Wet meadows. Marches.
C. riparia. Great Sedge. Canal.
C. lævigata. First March, near the path. [G.] Rare.
C. hirta. Wet meadows. Canal side.

Order. Graminaceæ.

- Lolium perenne.* Common Darnel. Pastures. -
Nardus stricta. Mat-grass. Furze ground, near Hanwell. [G.]
Hordeum murinum. Wall Barley. Way Bennett. Walls. Waste ground.
H. pratense. Pastures.
Brachypodium sylvaticum. (*Festuca sylvatica* Huds.) Hedges.
Agropyrum repens. (*Triticum repens* Linn.) Couch-grass. Waste and cultivated ground.
Alopecurus pratensis. Fox-tail-grass. Pastures.
A. agrestis. Pastures.
A. geniculatus. Wet pastures.
Phalaris canariensis. Canary-grass. Neithorp.
Phleum pratense. Cat's-tail-grass. Pastures.
Digraphis arundinacea. (*Phalaris arundinacea* Linn.) Ditches.
Agrostis vulgaris. Bent-grass. Dry pastures and road sides.
A. alba. Fiorin-grass. Wet pastures.
Arrhenatherum avenaceum. (*Avena elatior* Linn.) Oat-like-grass. Pastures.
Holcus lanatus. Soft-grass. Pastures.
H. mollis. The Causeway. [G.] Rare.
Anthoxanthum odoratum. Sweet-scented Vernal-grass. Pastures.
Cynosurus cristatus. Dog's-tail-grass. Pastures.
Catabrosa aquatica. (*Aira aquatica* Linn.) Water Hair-grass. Hanwell.
Aira caryophyllea. Near Wroxton Mill. [G.]
Trisetum flavescens. Yellow Oat-grass. Pastures.
Deschampsia cæspitosa. (*Aira cæspitosa* Linn.) Ditches.
Arundo Phragmites. Common Reed. Cherwell.
Avena fatua. Wild Oats. Corn-fields.
Dactylis glomerata. Cock's-foot-grass. Pastures.
Bromus secalinus. Rye Brome-grass. Corn-fields. Not common.
B. mollis. Brome-grass. Pastures.
B. asper (—*hirsutus* Curt.) Wet hedges.
Bromus sterilis. Road sides.
Schedonorus pratensis. (*Festuca pratensis* Huds.) Fescue-grass. Pastures
S. loliaceus. (*F. loliacea* Huds.) Spiked Fescue-grass. Pastures.
Festuca ovina. Sheep's Fescue-grass. Bretch. Hanwell.

Festuca duriuscula. *Meadows. Wroxton.* [G.]

Glyceria fluitans. (*Poa fluitans Scop.*) *Manna-grass. Ditches and Canal.*

Briza media. *Quaking-grass. Pastures.*

Sclerochloa rigida. (*Poa rigida Linn.*) *Walls. New Land.*

Hydrochloa aquatica. (*Poa aquatica Linn.*) *Ditches. The Marches. Canal side.*

Poa trivialis. *Pastures.*

P. pratensis. *Meadow-grass. Pastures.*

P. annua. *Every-where.*

FLOWERLESS PLANTS.

CELLULARES, ACROGENS, OR ACOTYLEDONS.

Order. Polypodiaceæ.

Polypodium vulgare. *Polypody of the wall. Walls.*

P. vulgare, var. 4. *Not uncommon.* [G.]

Aspidium Filix-mas. *Common Fern. Ditches.*

A. aculeatum. *Hardwick Hill. Hanwell.*

A. lobatum. *Hardwick Hill.* [G.]

Asplenium Adiantum-nigrum. *On a wall at Farnborough.* [G.] *Rare.*

A. Trichomanes. *On Drayton Church. Rare.*

Scolopendrium vulgare. *Hart's-tongue. Cascade, Wroxton. Old wells.*

Pteris aquilina. *Brake. Hanwell.*

Order. Ophioglossaceæ.

Ophioglossum vulgatum. *Adder's-tongue. Hanwell Oak plantation. Wroxton. Near King's Mill. Rare.*

Order. Equisetaceæ.

Equisetum arvense. *Corn Horse-tail. Cultivated fields.*

E. fluviatile. *Great Water Horse-tail. Wroxton. Hanwell.*

E. limosum. *Between Grimsbury and Hardwick. Broughton.*

E. palustre. *Marsh Horse-tail. Ditches.*

Order. Muscaceæ.

[The following species are from Mr. Gulliver's Catalogue; no other person having paid much attention to the Mosses of this neighbourhood.]

Phascum muticum.

Gymnostomum ovatum.

G. truncatulum.

G. pyriforme.

Encalypta vulgaris.

Grimmia apocarpa.

G. pulvinata.

Dicranum bryoides.
 D. scoparium.
 Tortula rigida. *Common about Banbury.* [G.]
 T. muralis.
 T. ruralis.
 T. subulata.
 T. unguiculata.
 Polytrichum undulatum.
 Funaria hygrometrica.
 Orthotrichum anomalum.
 O. affine.
 O. striatum.
 O. crispum.
 Bryum argenteum.
 B. cæspititium.
 B. ligulatum.
 Daltonia heteromalla. (*Neckera heteromalla Hedw.*)
 Fontinalis antipyretica.
 Hypnum complanatum.
 H. serpens.
 H. sericeum.
 H. alopecurum.
 H. prælongum.
 H. rutabulum.
 H. cuspidatum.
 H. triquetrum.
 H. squarrosum.
 H. molluscum.

Order. Marchantiaceæ.

Marchantia polymorpha. *Liverwort. Shady garden walks.*
 M. hemisphærica. *Near Hanwell. Near Middleton Cheney.* [T. B.]

Order. Jungermanniaceæ.

Jungermannia complanata. *Frequent. On the trunk of a tree, Oxford Road, close to the first turn to Bodicot.*
 J. polyanthos. *Bog to the south of Shutford Bridge.* [T. B.]
 J. bidentata. *Wet shady places.*
 J. platyphylla. *Wroxton. Frequent.*
 J. dilatata. *On trees. Bloxham Road. Crouch Hill.*

Order. Lichenaceæ.

[Chiefly from Mr. Gulliver's Catalogue.]

Calicium hyperellum.
 C. curtum.
 C. debile.
 C. sphærocephalum.

Arthonia Swartziana.

A. astroidea Ach.

Opegrapha atra.

O. vulgata.

O. betulina. (*Graphis betuligna Ach.*)

O. varia.

O. elegans. (*Graphis elegans Ach.*)

O. scripta. (*Graphis scripta & serpentina Ach.*)

Verrucaria nitida. [A. B.]

V. cinerea (—*stigmatella Ach.*)

V. epidermidis.

V. rupestris (—*Schraderi Ach.*)

V. nigrescens. (*Pyrenula nigrescens Ach.*)

Endocarpon miniatum.

Pertusaria communis. (*Porina pertusa Ach.*)

Thelotrema lepadinum.

Lepraria viridis (—*botryoides Ach.*)

L. flava.

L. nigra.

Spiloma gregarium (—*tumidulum Ach.*)

Variolaria faginea (—*amara Ach.*)

V. discoidea (—*amara, c. discoidea Ach.*)

Urceolaria scruposa.

U. calcarea (—*Hoffmanni Ach.*)

U. cinerea.

Lecidea confluens.

L. parasema.

L. albo-atra.

L. incana.

L. vernalis (—*luteola Ach.*)

L. ulmicola (—*luteo-alba Ach.*)

Lecanora atra.

L. glaucoma. [A. B.]

L. subfusca.

L. ferruginea (—*cæsio-rufa Ach.*)

L. cerina.

L. Parella.

L. Parella var. *β. pallescens Ach.*

L. vitellina.

Squamaria candelaria. (*Lecanora candelaria Ach.*)

S. murorum. (*Lecanora murorum Ach.*)

Placodium canescens. (*Lecidea canescens Ach.*)

P. microphyllum. (*Lecidea microphylla Ach.*)

Parmelia caperata.

P. saxatilis.

P. perlata.

P. olivacea.

P. pulverulenta.

Parmelia pityrea.
P. stellaris.
P. parietina.
Collema nigrum.
C. cristatum (—*crispum Ach.*)
C. nigrescens.
Peltidea canina.
Borreria ciliaris.
B. tenella.
B. flavicans. [A. B.]
Evernia prunastri.
Ramalina fraxinea.
R. fastigiata.
R. farinacea.
R. pollinaria.
Usnea plicata.
Isidium lutescens.
Cladonia rangiferina. (*Cenomyce rangiferina Ach.*)
C. furcata.
Scyphophorus pyxidatus. (*Cenomyce pyxidata Ach.*)
Lichen rupicola Sibth. [A. B.]

Order. Algaceæ.—Div. Inarticulatæ.

Vaucheria dichotoma.
V. cæspitosa.

Order. Algaceæ.—Div. Confervoideæ.

Conferva bombycina.
C. floccosa.
C. rivularis.
C. fracta.
Lyngbya muralis.
Chroolepus aureus. (*Conferva aurea Dillw.*) [G.]

Order. Algaceæ.—Div. Gloiocladeæ.

Draparnaldia glomerata.
Palmella cruenta. *Very common.*
Nostoc commune. *Very common.*

Order. Fungaceæ.

[Chiefly from Mr. Gulliver's Catalogue. Those species, mostly larger Fungi, not included in that work, which have fallen under my own observation, have been marked by an asterisk. The genus *Erineum* has been omitted as nothing more than a disease of the tissue of plants.]

**Agaricus rubescens.*
 **A. procerus.*
 **A. melleus.*
 **A. personatus.*

- **Agaricus emeticus*.
- **A. vellereus*.
- **A. infundibuliformis*.
- **A. conicus*.
- **A. coccineus*.
- **A. oreades*. Fairy-ring Mushroom. Champignon.
- **A. involutus*.
- **A. Georgii*. White-caps.
- **A. campestris*. Mushroom.
- **A. semiglobatus*.
- **A. fascicularis*.
- **A. stercorarius*.
- **A. semiovatus*.
- **A. fimiputris*.
- **A. disseminatus*.
- **A. comatus*.
- **A. cinereus*.
- **A. plicatilis*.
- **A. ephemerus*.
- **Merulius lachrymans*. Dry-rot.
- **Dædalea biennis*.
- **D. quercina*.
- **D. unicolor*.
- **Polyporus versicolor*.
- **Boletus luteus*.
- **B. luridus*.
- **B. scaber*.
- Hydnum auriscalpium*.
- **Phlebia mesenterica*.
- Thelephora cærulea*. (*Dematium violaceum Hooker*).
- Himantia candida Pers.*
- **Clavaria pratensis*.
- **C. corniculata*.
- **C. cristata*.
- **C. vermicularis*.
- Calocera cornea*. (*Clavaria cornea Pers.*)
- **Morchella esculenta*. Morell. *Thorp Mandeville*. [Mr. M. Jessop.]
- **Peziza granulata*.
- **P. stercorea*.
- P. virginea*.
- P. calycina* (—*pulchella Pers.*)
- P. villosa* (—*sessilis Sow.*)
- P. cinerea*.
- Cenangium quercinum*. (*Hysterium quercinum Pers.*)
- Stictis radiata*.
- Exidia glandulosa*. (*Tremella spiculosa Pers.*) Witches' Butter.
- Dacrymyces stillatus*. (*Tremella deliquescens Bull.*)
- Sclerotium durum*.

Sclerotium populneum.

**Tuber cibarium*. Truffle. *Brackley*.

Nidularia striata. (*Cyathus striatus Pers.*)

Sphæria polymorpha.

S. Hypoxylon.

S. fusca.

S. deusta.

S. undulata.

S. Stigma.

S. Stigma var. *decorticata*.

S. disciformis.

S. aspera (—*erecta Purt.*)

S. flavo-virens.

S. irregularis.

S. quercina.

S. Prunastri.

S. nivea.

S. cinnabarina (—*decolorans Pers.*)

S. coccinea.

S. Laburni.

S. ceuthocarpa. (*Xyloma populinum Pers.*)

S. byssiseda (—*mammosa Purt.*)

S. sanguinea.

S. Bombarda.

S. spermoides.

S. corticis.

S. inquinans.

S. Taxi.

S. acuta.

S. Doliolum.

S. herbarum.

S. herbarum var. γ . *tecta*.

S. Craterium (—*punctiformis* var. β . *Hederæ Grev.*)

S. Ægopodii.

Ceuthospora Lauri. (*Sphæria Lauri Sow.*)

Phoma salignum. (*Xyloma salignum Pers.*)

Dothidea ribesia. (*Sphæria ribesia Pers.*)

**D. Angelicæ Fries Syst. Mycol.*

Rhytisma salicinum. (*Xyloma salicinum Pers.*)

R. acerinum. (*Xyloma acerinum Pers.*)

Phacidium Patella. (*Sphæria Patella Pers.*)

P. coronatum.

P. dentatum. (*Sphæria punctiformis* var. γ . *ambigua Pers.*)

Hysterium pulicare.

H. lineare (—*angustatum Purt.*)

H. Fraxini.

H. rugosum. (*Opegrapha macularis Ach.*)

H. conigenum.

Hysterium Rubi.

H. culmigenum (—*gramineum Grev.*)

Xyloma stellare Pers.

X. Ulmi Pers.

X. Aquifolii Pers.

**Lycoperdon giganteum.*

**L. gemmatum* var. *ε. furfuraceum.*

**L. gemmatum* var. *ξ. papillatum.*

Craterium leucocephalum. (*Arcyria leucocephala Hoffm.*)

Stemonitis fusca (—*fasciculata Grev.*)

Arcyria punicea.

Trichia turbinata (—*ovata Pers.*)

Racodium cellare.

**Erysiphe communis.*

**Mucor mucedo.* Common Mould.

**Eurotium herbariorum.*

Dematium ciliare Pers.

**Cladosporium herbarum.*

**Aspergillus candidus.* White Mould.

**A. glaucus.* Blue Mould.

**Penicillium crustaceum.*

**Oidium erysiphoides.*

Tubercularia vulgaris (—*confluens*).

Fusarium tremelloides. (*Tremella Urticæ Pers.*)

Aregma bulbosum. (*Puccinia mucronata* var. *β. Rubi Pers.*)

A. mucronatum. (*Puccinia mucronata* var. *α. Rosæ Pers.*)

Puccinia Graminis. Mildew.

P. Polygonorum. (—*Polygoni amphibii Pers.*)

P. Menthæ.

P. tumida.

P. Ægopodii.

P. Anemones.

**P. Epilobii.* *Mill meadow.*

**P. pulverulenta.* *Mill meadow.*

P. Prunorum. (—*Pruni spinosæ Pers.*)

**P. Ulmariae.*

Æcidium Ari.

Æ. rubellum (—*Rumicis Pers.*)

Æ. Primulæ?

Æ. compositarum (—*Tussilaginis Pers.*)

Æ. Ranunculacearum (—*Ficariæ Purt.*)

Æ. leucospermum (—*Anemones Pers.*)

Æ. Berberidis.

Æ. Violæ.

Æ. Epilobii.

Æ. Grossulariæ.

Æ. crassum (—*Rhamni Purt.*)

Æ. laceratum (—*Oxyacanthæ Pers.*)

Æcidium Urticæ (—*Asperifoliæ*).

Uredo segetum. Smut.

**U. Caries*. Bunt.

U. linearis.

**U. Rubigo*. Rust.

U. oblongata.

U. Scillarum. (*Puccinia Scillarum Baxt.*)

U. Polygonorum.

U. Rhinanthacearum.

U. Labiatarum (—*Menthæ Purt.*)

U. compransor (—*Sonchi Pers.*—*Tussilaginis Pers.*)

U. suaveolens.

U. Senecionis (—*farinosa* var. β . *Senecionis Pers.*)

U. pustulata.

U. Rosæ.

U. effusa.

**U. Ruborum*.

**U. Potentillarum*. On *Spiræa Ulmaria*.

The plant on *Spiræa Ulmaria* is referred by Dr. Greville to *U. effusa*, and Mr. Gulliver in his catalogue adopts the same opinion. All that I have seen, however, certainly belong to *U. Potentillarum*; an opinion in which I am supported by the high authority of Mr. Baxter, of Oxford, to whom I submitted specimens for examination.

U. apiculosa (—*Rumicum Dec.*—*Cichoracearum Dec.*)

I have met with a plant on *Lapsana communis*, which Mr. Baxter considers a variety of this, and which differs in having chiefly globose sporidia, and in being destitute of peduncle. This is probably the same as the one doubtfully referred to *U. Cichoracearum* by Mr. Gulliver.

U. Leguminosarum. (—*Viciæ Fabæ Pers.*)

U. confluens.

U. candida (—*Thlaspi Sow.*)

U. Lini.

U. Euphorbiæ.

U. cylindrica (—*populina Pers.*)

U. Saliceti (—*Vitellinæ Dec.*)

U. Caprearum (—*farinosa Pers.*)

U. Anemones.

U. ——— (?) *Infesting the fructification of Rumex Acetosella.*

U. ——— (?) *On the leaves of Valeriana officinalis.*

Add to the foregoing List, p. 588, after the Order *Corylaceæ*.

Order. *Pinaceæ* or *Coniferæ*.

Juniperus communis. Juniper-tree. *Heyford Leys*. [A. B.]

THE VERTEBRATE ANIMALS OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF BANBURY.

[In the arrangement and nomenclature of the Vertebrate Animals found in this neighbourhood, I have followed the "Manual of British Vertebrate Animals" by the Rev. L. Jenyns. I have to acknowledge material assistance afforded me in forming the following List by Mr. James Loftus, formerly of Banbury, and now of Newington, Surrey; Mr. M. Jessop and Mr. T. Abbott of Banbury; and Mr. J. Busby of North Newington. In those cases where an animal has been noticed by only one authority, I have placed initials; [L.] signifying Mr. Loftus; [J.] Mr. Jessop; [A.] Mr. Abbott; [B.] Mr. Busby; and [A. B.] the Author of the present Work.]

CLASS. MAMMALIA.

Order. Feræ.

Meles Taxus. Badger.
Mustela Foina. Marten. *Rare.*
M. Putorius. Polecat. Fitchet.
M. vulgaris. Weasel.
M. Erminea. Stoat. Ermine.
Lutra vulgaris. Otter.
Canis Vulpes. Fox.

Two varieties, known as the Greyhound Fox and the Terrier Fox.

Felis Catus. Wild Cat. [J.]

This old inhabitant of Whittlebury Forest is rare in this locality.

Talpa Europæa. Mole. Want.

The white variety has been met with: also a beautiful buff Mole at Chacombe. [J.]

Sorex Araneus. Common Shrew. Hardy Mouse.

Frequently found dead in August.

S. fodiens. Water Shrew. *Rare.*

Erinaceus Europæus. Hedgehog.

Order. Primates.

Vespertilio Noctula. Noctule. Great Bat. [L.]

V. Pipistrellus. Common Bat. Pipistrelle.

V. auritus. Greater Long-eared Bat.

Order. Glires.

Sciurus vulgaris. Squirrel.

Myoxus avellanarius. Dormouse. [J.] *Rare.*

Mus sylvaticus. Field Mouse.

M. messorius. Harvest Mouse. *Common.*

M. musculus. House Mouse.

M. musculus. White variety. [J.]

M. Rattus. Black Rat. *Rare.*

M. decumanus. Brown Rat. Common Rat.

M. decumanus. White variety found at Broughton [B.], and at Banbury [Mr. J. Hill].

Arvicola amphibius. Water Campagnol. Water Rat.

A. agrestis. Field Campagnol. Short-tailed Mouse. Meadow Mouse.
Rare. [A. B.]

Lepus timidus. Hare.

L. Cuniculus. Rabbit.

CLASS. AVES.

Order. Raptores.

Falco Subbuteo. Hobby. *A summer visitant. Rare.*

F. Tinnunculus. Kestrel.

Accipiter fringillarius. Sparrow-Hawk.

Milvus Ictinus. Kite.

Rare. Much more common a few years ago.

Buteo vulgaris. Buzzard. [J.] *Rare.*

B. cyaneus. Common Harrier. Hen-Harrier.

Otus Brachyotus. Short-eared Owl. *Migratory.*

Strix flammea. White Owl. Barn Owl. Screech Owl.

Syrnium Aluco. Tawny Owl. Brown Owl. Ivy Owl.

Order. Incessores.

Lanius rufus. Wood-Chat. *Rare.* [L.]

Not found now.

L. Collurio. Red-backed Shrike. Butcher Bird. *Migratory.* [J.]

Very rare.

Muscicapa grisola. Spotted Flycatcher. *Migratory.*

Turdus viscivorus. Missel-Thrush. Fer. Thrush. Norway Thrush.

T. pilaris. Fieldfare. Felt. *Migratory.*

T. musicus. Song Thrush.

T. iliacus. Redwing. *Migratory. Common.*

T. Merula. Blackbird.

T. Merula. White variety. [A.]

Accentor modularis. Hedge Sparrow. Hedge Accentor. Hedge Warbler.

Sylvia Rubecula. Robin-Redbreast.

Not found recently.

Caprimulgus Europæus. Night-Jar. Moth-Hawk. Goatsucker. *Migratory. Rare.*

P. Coturnix. Quail. [B.] *Migratory.*

Fulica atra. Coot. Bald Coot.

A. Segetum. Bean Goose. *Migratory.*

Anas Boschas. Mallard. Wild-Duck.

A. Crecca. Teal.

Mareca Penelope. Wigeon. *Migratory*.

Podiceps rubricollis. Red-necked Grebe. [A.] *An occasional visitant.*
Very rare.

P. minor. Dab-chick. Little Grebe. Didabber.

Larus canus. Common Gull. Sea Crow. *An occasional visitant.*

L. argentatus. Herring Gull. [A.] *An occasional visitant.*

L. fuscus. Lesser Black-backed Gull. [A.] *An occasional visitant.*

CLASS. REPTILIA.

Order. Sauria.

Lacerta agilis. Common Lizard.

Order. Ophidia.

Anguis fragilis. Blind-Worm. Common Slow-Worm.

Natrix torquata. Ringed Snake. Common Snake.

Vipera communis. Viper. *Rare.*

CLASS. AMPHIBIA.

Order. Caducibranchia.

Rana temporaria. Common Frog.

Bufo vulgaris. Common Toad.

Triton palustris. Warty Eft. Great Water-Newt.

T. punctatus. Common Eft.

CLASS. PISCES.

Order. Acanthopterygii.

Perca fluviatilis. Common Perch.

P. Cernua. Ruffe.

Cottus Gobio. Bull-head. Miller's Thumb.

Gasterosteus aculeatus. Three-spined Stickleback.

The variety locally called the Redthroat is common.

G. aculeatus var. δ . (—Brachycentrus Cuv.) Short-spined Stickleback.

G. Pungitius. Ten-spined Stickleback. Jack Bannell.

Order. Malacopterygii.

Cyprinus Carpio. Carp.

C. Gobio. Gudgeon.

C. Tinca. Tench.

Cyprinus Rutilus. Roach.

C. Leuciscus. Dace.

C. Cephalus. Chub.

C. Erythrophthalmus. Rudd. Red-Eye. Finscale. *In the Cherwell.*

C. Phoxinus. Minnow. *Formerly very common. Now rare.*

Cobitis barbatula. Bearded Loach. *Now rare.*

Esox Lucius. Pike. Jack.

Salmo Fario. Common Trout. *In the River Swere.*

Anguilla acutirostris. Sharp-nosed Eel. Silver Eel.

A. latirostris. Broad-nosed Eel. Grig.

Order. Cyclostomi.

Petromyzon fluviatilis. River Lamprey. *In the River Swale, beyond Broughton.*

CRUSTACEANS.

Astacus fluviatilis. Crawfish.

Daphnia Pulex. Water Flea.

Cyclops vulgaris.

ADDENDA.

BRITISH PERIOD.

P. 4. THE DOBUNI. BANBURY. A writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for January 1841, in a review of the first portion of this work, says:—"The Greek writers call the Dobuni Δοβουνιοι and Βοδουνιοι; we are bewildered in the choice of etymologies which are offered for this word, and would suggest that it is derived from *bôd*, domus—and *dunum*, collis, two Celtic terms, which, when combined in the plural, would imply the dwellings among the hills—a conjecture fully justified by the numerous earthworks which crown the eminences about Banbury. We are little satisfied with the derivatives which have been suggested for Banbury itself. We suspect that something of the old title of the district lurks in the word, and that of Bodunbyrig—Saxonicé—for the town of the Dobuni, or Βοδουνιοι, a very easy metonymy may have formed Banbury."

P. 7. ROLLRICH STONES. The same writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* says:—"The Rollrich stones, seated on a chain of hills near Banbury, are a fine example of that primitive style of temple building, used by the Celtic tribes, of which Stonehenge, as we have elsewhere observed, presents but a more finished specimen. Dr. Stukeley derives the name from Rhol drwyg, the wheel or circle of the Druids, or from Roilig, in the old Irish, the church of the Druids. Is it not, as we have considered Banbury to be, a term compounded by the Saxons in reference to the ancient appropriation of the structure? and does not Rollrich imply, Rhol, the circle or circular temple, Ric, of the region or kingdom? it must not be forgotten that a detached rude obeliscal

stone is called the King Stone to this day. This stone was surely the altar; the five stones, called the Five Knights, a sepulchral cromlech. For just as we bury near our churches, these sacred inclosures were chosen by the earliest worshippers as a proper locality near which to inter their dead. The sixth chapter of the first book of Samuel affords us a striking example of a single stone forming a marked place for sacrifice: 'and the cart came into the field of Joshua the Bethshemite, and stood where there was a *great stone*, and they clave the wood of the cart, and offered the kine, a burnt-offering to the Lord.' "

P. 15. BANBURY LANE. This ancient Trackway seems to have been a connecting way between all the military works in this part of the country, and particularly as regards the British encampments. Benaventa (Borough Hill, see p. 25) would appear to have been the *point d'appui* of the chain of Forts which grasped at the line of country between the Severn, the Avon, and the Nen. It seems probable that Ostorius (p. 22) intended, and had commenced, including the Welland in the defence; as there is a Roman encampment at Guilsborough, between Market Harborough and Benaventa, and Tumuli also existed in that neighbourhood, proving the connection with the grand chain. At West Haddon a tumulus, called "Ostor Hill," was removed some years since, which was generally believed to have been the sepulchre of Ostorius.¹

P. 19. MADMARSTON CAMP, &c. In 1841, another cistvaen, formed of white flag stones, was found in Blackland; it contained a human skeleton lying at full length and with the face downwards. A silver coin of Trajan, some of the small brass coins of Gallienus, Claudius Gothicus, Quintillus, &c., and many other coins, were also found in Blakeland.

Pp. 19, 27, 33. THE BLACK LAND OF THE ANCIENT SITES. A writer in the *Oxford Herald* of the 26th December 1840, referring to the account given in these pages of ancient sites where a black soil occurs, says:—"We have the best authority for saying that all these are undoubtedly the sites of British villages and towns, taken possession of by the Romans, Saxons, and Danes in succession, and often burnt and rebuilt on the same spots, in consequence of the fertility of the adjacent country."

(1) Bridges' Northamp., p. 599; and information and MS. map furnished by E. Pretty Esq.

P. 28. BRINAVIS. In 1841, a Saxon coin of silver was discovered at Black Grounds. It is now in the possession of the Rev. E. G. Walford, and appears to be one of those coined by the Abbot of St Edmund's Bury (Ruding, vol. III., p. 125). The legend on the obverse is SC EANI, for Seti Edmundi: that on the reverse can only be supplied by conjecture, as it is believed to be a unique one, and the name of any such moneyer as the one recorded is not known. It is probably ALEFRE, or something of the kind.

Between Arbury Banks and Wallow Bank there is an embankment, running north and south, not given in the plan on p. 27. The field in which this is situated bears the appellation of the "Bear-baiting Ground." This embankment is of considerable length, but its height has been greatly reduced by the continual operations of the plough.

P. 38. THE PORTWAY. The writer (before alluded to) in the *Oxford Herald* of December 26th 1840, after mentioning the course of the Portway given in the text, as far as Port Meadow at Oxford, says:—"Thence we should have little difficulty in continuing it across Godstow bridge, through Wytham and Cumner, and so on into various parts of Berkshire."

TUMULI.

P. 14. A Tumulus, which is very conspicuous, but of the existence of which I was not aware until after p. 14 was printed, occurs on the north side of the lane leading from Bloxham to Milton, three miles and a half S. by W. from Banbury. This Tumulus is called ROUND HILL, and is perhaps a funeral Barrow, as its site does not command an extensive prospect. It is now about twelve feet in height, of an oval form, and measures twenty-four yards in length.

P. 27, note 14. In the large map given in Bridges' Northamptonshire, Tumuli are marked on the course of the ancient way leading from Daventry to Chipping Wardon;—1st. at Daventry town's-end;—2nd. one mile north of Badby;—3rd. near Charwelton;—4th. southwest of Arbury Banks.

Pp. 32, 33. The Tumuli called the Two Lows, situated near Buston farm-house, are not placed correctly in the Map

(Plate 4). Instead of their direction being east and west, they lie N.N.W. and S.S.E.; and they are by the east side of the ancient way leading from Warkworth and Middleton to Astrop, which road in this part is probably a remain of the Portway.

ROMAN PERIOD.

P. 24. ALTARSTONE INN AT BANBURY. This house, as it remained to our own times, was wholly removed in 1841, and the new Meeting-house of the Baptists (see p. 558) was erected on the site. Several coins were found, but none of earlier date than the reign of Edward the Third, nor any other important relics of antiquity.

P. 25. CASTRENSIAN AMPHITHEATRE AT BANBURY. The writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* before alluded to (p. 606), says:—"This important vestige surely marks the place as a Roman station of consequence, for their castrensis arenas always indicate the presence of a garrison: witness the amphitheatres at Richborough, Silchester and Dorchester, &c.; why, then, may we ask, is the assertion of Stukeley, that it was the Branavis or Brinavis of Richard of Cirencester, so summarily dismissed as an error? (p. 63,) for we are told at p. 1 that Bananbýrīg was *one* of its Saxon names; and, as to discrepancy of distance, all antiquaries know how very elastic and conforming the miles of a Roman Itinerary are generally considered, accommodating themselves with the easy retraction or extension of a piece of *caoutchouc* to the hypothesis of the topographer,—but here is an amphitheatre, and a *real* coincidence of name, defeated by written numbers of admeasurement, not much to be depended on."

P. 41. In BLOXHAM parish, on the north side of the road which branches off from the turnpike road, westward, towards Milcombe, and four miles southwest from Banbury, some Roman remains were discovered in the present year, 1841. These consisted of fragments of pottery, and some copper coins of Tetricus and Constantine junior.² One foot below the surface of the soil was also found, in the same place, the crown of an arched brick flue or oven, eight feet six inches in length. On this structure being cleared out, it was found to measure two feet seven inches

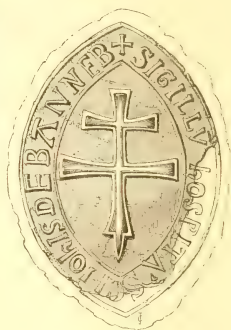
(2) The relics were carefully collected and shewn to me by Mr. W. Bezly of Bloxham.

in depth, and three feet in breadth at the southern end and one foot eleven inches at the northern end.

P. 45. At ADDERBURY, three miles and a quarter S.S.E. from Banbury, Roman coins have been occasionally found. One of the small brass of Constantine the Great was found at a considerable depth below the soil when the church-yard was enlarged in 1840.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD.

Pp. 76—78. HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN, BANBURY. The SEAL of the Hospital, as appended to a lease which is preserved in the Augmentation Office, Westminster, is here given. It bears the patriarchal cross, fitchie in foot. The inscription is—"SIGILLV' HOSPITA' SCI IOHIS DE BANNEB."



SEAL OF ST JOHN'S HOSPITAL

P. 78. HOSPITAL OF ST. LEONARD. We find a Hospital, situated in Northamptonshire and dedicated to St. Leonard, recorded in Speed's Catalogue of Religious Houses; the value of which is stated at £10,³ but the site is not given. This Hospital is not mentioned in the Valor Ecclesiasticus. It is very probable that Speed's account refers to the Hospital of St. Leonard, situate within the parish of Baubury, but on the eastern side of the bridge and in the county of Northampton.

P. 86. CHACOMBE PRIORY. The stoup which was placed within the chapel of this Priory yet remains. The burial place was on the eastern side of the Priory, now the kitchen garden. A stone coffin was dug up there about fifty years ago.

(3) Speed's History of Great Britaine, 1627, p. 816.

P. 203. CLATTERCOT PRIORY. There is preserved in the Augmentation Office a Deed of Exchange, dated 4th July, 38th Henry VIII., whereby Sir William Petre conveys back again to the Crown the site and demesne lands of the Priory of Clattercot; and also Particulars, made on the 1st October in the same year, for a Grant of the said estates to the new Cathedral Church of Oxford. In the 2nd Elizabeth, Clattercot was granted to Thomas Lee and Mary his wife.

A portion of the cellars of the ancient Priory yet remains, and a burial place is adjoining.

CHURCHES &c. OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD.

P. 109. ADDERBURY CHURCH. The arms of William of Wykeham are also carved in the roof of the Chancel, beneath which are several corbel heads (as of Edward III., Richard II., and William of Wykeham,) and emblematic figures. The Reredos or altar-screen is the original one restored by Mr. Buckler. In the restoration of this Chancel, New College expended nearly £700. The tracery of the windows in the body of the Church was taken out in 1788, not for the reason assigned in p. 110, but from a notion that more light was required. In the alterations made subsequently within the Church (in 1831), including the restoration of the floor and the new pewing, £1016 were expended, which sum was partly raised by the parish and partly by subscription. The new Font, by Plowman, was given by the Rev. W. C. Risley, now Vicar of Deddington. A piscina is remaining at the east end of the south transept, and another at the south end of the south transept. There is a fine stone monument, to the memory of individuals of the Bustard family, bearing the dates 1517, 1534, and 1568. The Chancel has an inclination from the nave of about three degrees towards the north (similar to that of Hornton Church as mentioned in p. 126).

P. 110. ADDERBURY CROSS stood on "the high Greene" there, in the midst of the embankment mentioned in p. 69 as the probable site of a Norman castle. The ancient accounts kept by the churchwardens of Adderbury mention repairs of this Cross in 1618 and 1623.⁴

(4) Information from J. Barber Esq. of Adderbury.

P. 114. KING'S SUTTON CHURCH. In the terrific thunder storm which occurred on the morning of Sunday, January 3rd, 1841, the south porch and the eastern spire-window of this Church were struck by the lightning; but no material damage was done beyond the tearing out of a considerable portion of the mullion of the window, above and below the transom.

P. 115. BODICOT CROSS. This stood on the open space to the north of the present Plough public-house. 'It had an octagon-shaped basement course about three feet ten inches deep, then a smaller one of two feet deep, then a freestone block about four feet square and four feet deep, in which was bedded a mutilated freestone pedestal.⁵

P. 115. WEEPING CROSS. A writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (Aug. 1841), mentions those "rare monuments" denominated "Weeping Crosses, on account of such Crosses having been especially adapted to the exercise of public penance by that abject class of penitents mentioned in ancient ecclesiastical canons as mourners, kneelers, and weepers, and who, covered with sackcloth and ashes, were enjoined to perform penance in the open air." A different derivation of the name of Weeping Cross near Banbury has been given in the note (6) on p. 2 of this vol.

Pp. 118, 119. HANWELL CHURCH. In the present year, 1841, the rector, in removing the coats of whitewash from the wall above the Altar, brought to view a series of paintings extending the whole breadth of the Chancel. These consisted of figures of saints &c.; but the plastering was in so bad a state that it was impossible to preserve more than one of them.

Pp. 120—122. WARKWORTH CHURCH. In the present year, 1841, this Church has been subjected to repairs; and also to what some persons consider improvement, that is to say, it has been fitted up with new deal painted seats, of which those in the nave are pews, or sleeping-boxes. To effect this change, the fine ancient open carved seats have been removed: a few of the ends have been replaced in the side seats, but all the backs, with their inscriptions, and the other beautiful carvings, have been taken away, and the parts which escaped mutilation are now lying on the premises of a builder. The tiles also, for the preservation of which I had put in a plea (see p. 122), have been sold to adorn a summer-house: and all the brasses of this

(5) Information from Mr. John Wilson of Bodicot.

Church, excepting two, were thrown away unheeded, and might have been purchased of the workmen for a pot of beer, until Mr. Danby, the builder, greatly to his credit, buried them for security beneath a large flag-stone in the nave of the Church. Such an instance of vandalism as that effected at Warkworth in 1841 has not taken place in this neighbourhood since the destruction of Banbury Church in 1790.

P. 122. WROXTON CHURCH. In the text it is stated, incorrectly, that the original character of this Church was studied when the present Tower was erected. In the place of Gothic buttresses to the Tower, each angle has two sets of fluted pilasters of three stages. Some of the windows are ogee-shaped, and do not correspond with those of the body of the Church.

P. 128. CROPREDY CROSS, of which the base and a portion of the pedestal yet remain, stood in a meadow on the northwest side of the village.

P. 131. CHIPPING WARDON CHURCH. The present rector, the Rev. E. G. Walford, writes to me thus:—"The Locker on the north side of the altar was discovered and opened by myself. The door is single and not double. It was originally the centre of a former pulpit, and made under my direction, and there placed; as well as the semicircular credence table, which I use to place my registers upon when making entries."

P. 140. SHUTFORD CHURCH. This Church (or Chapel under Swalcliffe) has been repaired and renovated in the present year, 1841, under the direction of the Rev. E. Payne, vicar of Swalcliffe. The north wall of the aisle, the east wall of the chancel, and parts of the wall of the transept, have been rebuilt; the aisle and transept have been newly roofed; one large window, which had been stopped up, has been opened; and other mutilated windows have been restored to their original dimensions and character. Internally, the Roodloft-screen has been repaired; an altar of artificial stone, richly designed, has been placed in the chancel; the church has been re-paved and re-pewed; the Norman arches and pillars have been relieved of their load of white-wash; and new doors have been put up, with other improvements.

Pp. 153, 497. BANBURY CHURCH. Some Remains of this Church are engraved in the tail-piece given on the last page of this volume. I rejoice in being able to give "a local habitation and a name" to Mr. "J. Henn," whose protests against the destruction

of this Church are recorded in p. 536 of this volume. Mr. Henn was assistant teacher at Sulgrave school in 1790, and, subsequently in the same year, removed to Aldridge in Staffordshire.

On the back of an old grave-stone in the Church-yard of Banbury was the following :—

“ Of Death and Judgment
Heaven and Hell
Who often thinks
Must needs live well.”

On another, this :—

“ Since then, that Judgement is before us,
Let us seriously Believe it, daily Expect it,
Let no Profit tempt us, no Pleasure entice us,
No Power embolden us, no Privacy encourage us,
To do that which we cannot Account for
At the great Tribunal of this Impartial Judge.”⁶

ADDENDA—CONTINUED.

P. 170. In 1361, on the death of the Prioress of the Priory for Benedictine Nuns at Catesby in Northamptonshire, the new election of a Prioress by the nuns being defective in form, the bishop made choice of Johanna Fabian of Bannebury to the office, and admitted her on the 21st August. This Prioress died in 1370.⁷

Pp. 184, 185. Concerning the Bolt-head engraved in Plate 12 (fig. 3) an eminent antiquary writes thus :—“ I think you are quite right in attributing it to the latter period,” [the battle in 1469], “ for I have various weapons made to throw out additional spikes, of the close of the 15th century, though none exactly like that in your possession. I imagine it to have been the head of a bolt for a Cross-bow and to have been formed on an Asiatic principle.” The bolt-head is now, by the kindness of Mr. Walford, in my own possession.

P. 189. DANVERS OF CALTHORP. The pedigree from the Harl. MS. 5812, gives only the second family of John Danvers.

(6) Information from Mr. John Wilson of Bodicot.

In note 7 on p. 554 of this vol. there is an account of the Communion Plate belonging to Banbury Church. In the present year, 1841, the Rev. T. Mardon, curate of Banbury, has presented to the Church a cloth of crimson velvet, fringed and adorned with gold, for the communion table.

(7) Baker's Northamp., p. 286.

He had another family by a former wife, Alice, daughter and heiress of William Verney of Byfield; the eldest of whom, Sir Robert Danvers of Ipwell co. Oxon, purchased Culworth and Sulgrave, was King's Serjeant (22nd Hen. VI.), justice of the Common Pleas (28th Hen. VI.), and died in 1467.

John Danvers's eldest son by his second wife was Sir Thomas Danvers of Banbury, who married Sibilla, daughter of ——— Fowler of Buckingham and sister of Richard Fowler chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, and died without issue. Sir William Danvers, lord chief justice of the Common Pleas in the 3rd Hen. VII., was the second son of John Danvers by his second wife.⁸

P. 194, line 5. Sir Anthony Cope was the farmer of the manors of Grimsbury and Hardwick in 1534. See pp. 200—202.

P. 241. SIR ANTHONY COPE. THE PURITANS. From a letter written by Sir Francis Knollys to the Lord Treasurer (Lord Burleigh), Strype quotes that he (Sir Francis Knollys) subjoined—"that he had here" [at the Oxford summer Assizes, July 1589,] "also found two sorts of subjects of clergy men and of lay men. The one sort of clergy and lay were those that sought to maintain the jurisdiction of my lord Archbishop" [Whitgift], "&c. The which two sorts of men, as he wrote, he could not better describe to his Lordship, than by the persons of two gentlemen (concerned in the present assizes), dwelling in Banbury, and near the town; differing much in manner and behaviour. The one of which persons was Mr. Davers" [Danvers of Calthorp and Upton, see p. 189], "then sheriff of that shire;⁹ the other, Mr. Cope, a more faithful and virtuous gentleman, in his opinion. The former, viz. the High Sheriff, he might signify, he said, and figure to be the persons that leaned passionately to the strict observance of the ceremonies of the Book of Common Prayer; and that no ceremony thereof should be allowed to be omitted at any time, nor for any cause, without punishment: and that Mr. Cope, neighbour to the other, might signify and figure to be the persons that did passionately lean to the strict observation of the dutiful maintenance of her Majesty's supreme government, and of her honour and safety thereunto belonging." Strype adds:—"There was a disturbance made at Banbury not long before; upon occasion of

(8) Baker's Northamp., p. 605.

(9) John Danvers Esq. is recorded as sheriff of Oxfordshire in the 30th Eliz. (1587-8).

some difference arising between the Lord Norris, lord lieutenant of the County, and the said High Sheriff: and the two chief contenders were the said Sheriff and the other gentleman, a favourer of Puritanism. The matter came before the Justices of Assize; who very well liked of the virtuous behaviour of Mr. Cope, and very much disliked the contentious behaviour of Mr. Davers. Insomuch that he was fain to acknowledge his disorder undutifully used towards the said Lord; and promised that henceforth he would obediently acknowledge and observe his duty."¹⁰

P. 246. The Grant of the 32nd Eliz. (1590) mentions "the yearly rent of twenty-six shillings and eight pence annually proceeding or payable from or for the Farm Rent of the Portion of the late Abbot and Convent called the Monastery of Eynsham aforesaid and annually proceeding or renewing within the village and fields of Hardwike in the parish of Banburye."

P. 261. Respecting the Royal Progresses, &c., of the reigns of James the First and Charles the First the following entries occur among the accounts of the Churchwardens of Adderbury:—

"1619.—Paid for ringing friday & saturday when the King } was at Broughton.....	12s. 6d.
"1622.—To Ringers when the King came by	5s. 0d.
"1625.—Paid to the Ringers when the King & Prince came } through the Town	3s. 4d.
Paid for ringing when King Charles was proclaimed.....	5s. 0d.
"1635.—Paid for ringing when the Queen came by our Town ¹¹ "	10s. 3d.

P. 267. EARLDOM OF BANBURY. The following is an extract from the Edinburgh Review, No. 97, March 1827:—

"Immediately after the death of Lord Banbury, Lady Banbury proved his will, and on the same day she married Lord Vaux. Her son Edward died under age. Nicholas appears to have been treated by Lord Vaux as his son, and to have kept the name of Vaux for some years. The first evidence we have of his assuming the title of Lord Banbury is an indenture dated the 19th of October 1646, by which Lord Vaux covenanted to levy a fine of Harrowden, to the use of himself and Lady Banbury, for their lives, with remainder 'to the use of the Right Honourable Nicholas, now Earl of Banbury, sonne of the said Countess of Banbury, heretofore called Nicholas Vaux, or by whichsoever of the said names or descriptions the said Nicholas be, or hath been, called, reputed, or known.'

"In the year 1660, Nicholas took his seat as a peer; and on the 13th of July in the same year, the House was moved, 'that there being a person who now sits in the House that is not a peer, who, as is conceived, has

(10) Strype's Life of Archbishop Whitgift. Oxford, 1822, vol. 1, p. 604.

(11) Information from J. Barber Esq. of Adderbury.

no right to the Earldom of Banbury, it is ordered that this business shall be heard at the bar by council, on Monday come next se'nnight.'

On the 6th of June 1661, Nicholas presented his petition, which was referred to the Committee of Privileges. Witnesses were examined, who proved the fact of his being born in wedlock, in circumstances of undeniable access; and, the Attorney-General having confessed the law clear, the committee came to the resolution 'to report the matter of fact—that according to the law of the land he is legitimate.' And it was entered on the Journals, that 'the report made to the House the 1st of July 1661, that the opinion of the committee is, that Nicholas, Earl of Banbury, is a legitimate person.' The House, however, seems to have been dissatisfied with this resolution, for we find it referred back to the committee on the 10th of July. What proceedings then took place does not appear; but on the 15th July, we find the following entry upon the Journals: 'To report that the Earl of Banbury, in the eye of the law, is legally the son of the Earl of Banbury, and therefore the committee think it to be fit that the House should advise the King to send the Earl of Banbury a writ to come to Parliament.'

Notwithstanding this resolution of the committee, no writ was sent to Nicholas; and so strong was the feeling of the House against his legitimacy, that on the 9th of December following, a Bill was read for the first time, 'declaring Nicholas, Earl of Banbury, to be illegitimate.' This Bill was not proceeded with, and can only be regarded as an attempt of the House to express their conviction, that he was not entitled to the rights which the strict construction of the law compelled them to grant to him. In 1669, Nicholas presented another petition, praying for his writ of summons, but no farther proceedings followed during his life. In 1685, Charles, his son, presented a petition claiming to be Earl of Banbury; but before the house came to any decision, Parliament was prorogued. In 1692, the same Charles, having murdered his brother-in-law," [see p. 519, note 46,] "was indicted by the name of Charles Knollys. Esq. Thereupon he presented a petition claiming to be Earl of Banbury, and praying to be tried by his peers. The House took the claim into consideration, and resolved that he had no right to the Earldom. The Court of King's Bench, however, refused to receive this resolution, holding that it was not a legal judgment, destructive of the defendant's right, and therefore could not be used as a replication by the Attorney-General, and so quashed the indictment. In the years 1697, 1711, and 1727, Charles Knollys presented successive petitions claiming the Earldom. On all those occasions the House appear to have deliberated upon the claim, but without coming to any resolution on its merits."

PERIOD OF THE CIVIL WARS.

P. 305. ERECTION OF THE STANDARD. Historians differ as to the date of the erection of the Standard. Dugdale says

the King erected it at Nottingham on Friday August 12th.; Clarendon, on Thursday August 25th. A tract preserved among the King's Pamphlets is entitled—"The Kings Majesties Alarum to open Warre, declared by his setting up his Standard at Dunsmore Heath" [Warwickshire], "Monday, August 22, 1642."

P. 322. BATTLE OF EDGEHILL. A number of houses, forming a considerable hamlet, called Westcot, within the parish of Tysoe, formerly stood at the foot of Edgehill, at the part between the Sun-Rising and the Round House. One enclosed ground, which yet retains extensive traces of foundations, bears the name of the "Town Ground." On the brow of the hill above (where cannon balls have been frequently found), the underground portion of a desolated cottage was cleared out in the present year, 1841. Possibly the hamlet of Westcot was destroyed at the battle of Edgehill.

Sir SAMUEL LUKE was in the Parliamentary ranks at the Battle of Edgehill. In a letter written April 5th 1645 (an extract of which is given in p. 406), Sir Samuel says:—"P'happs his Ex. may say y^t I have a Com'ission for a Troope of horse already I confesse I had but it was lost at Edghill."

P. 330. On the 5th November 1642, the King, at Reading, affixed the signmanual to the following letter of protection of the person and property of Sir THOMAS POPE of WROXTON. The document was first discovered on the 20th July 1841, enclosed within a piece of sheet iron which was concealed behind the panelling below the great staircase at Wroxton:—¹²

"CHARLES R.,

Whereas Wee haue received good evidence & assurance of the good Affeccions of S^r Thomas Pope kn^t, to o^r person & service Our Will & Com'and therefore is, That none whatsoever either Horse or Foote in or belonging to o^r Army presume to iniure, molest, or damnifie the said S^r Thomas Pope, His House, Family & Goods at Roxton in o^r County of Oxon, or elsewhere, or any thing to him, or them belonging. Whereof as Wee require an exact obseruance Soe shall Wee cause exemplary Justice to passe vpon such as shall attempt the contrary directly or indirectly in any kind. Given vnder o^r Signe manuall at o^r Court at Reading the 5th day of Nouember 1642.

"To y^e Lieuten^t G'rall, Serieant Maiors, Colonels, Captaines, Com'anders & all other the Officers & Sould^{rs} in or belonging to o^r Army, or any part thereof."

Pp. 334—339. APPARITIONS AT EDGEHILL. Mr. Brewer (the Historian of Oxfordshire and Warwickshire), in a letter to Mr. Reader (the Historian of Coventry), some years ago, says :—“It will be recollected that the Parliamentary leaders did not omit to take advantage of the popular inclination for prophecies, prodigies, and intelligence from the stars. Thus the licence granted for making almanacks to Booker, a presumed diviner or astrologer of that time (which licence is preserved in Rushworth), is specifically granted for ‘Mathematics, Almanacks, and Prognostications.’ Of course a licensed prognosticator of this description would never run the hazard of anticipating any thing not likely to be agreeable to those under whom he exercised his art.”¹³

Many marvellous and fanciful tales of this kind have been related. Mr. Reader (in addition to the foregoing extract) has supplied me with the following, copied some years ago from a Coventry newspaper :—“Dec. 20, 1755.—Between eight and nine o'clock at night, a phenomenon in the air was observed over Coventry : large blazes of apparent fire broke out in several places together, and afterwards seemingly an army of men, which separated and engaged, moving about and meeting each other with great swiftness and fury ; they disappeared three several times, and appeared again each time at a small distance from where they vanished, and the figure of a man was seen to stand alone in full proportion, holding a drawn sword in his hand. It continued about three quarters of an hour, and went off with a very sulphureous smell.” “Several old people of Coventry,” adds Mr. Reader, “assured me positively, that they saw it on the night in question, and that it created great consternation.”

P. 365. A painting of the Fight at CROPREDY BRIDGE, by A. Cowper, R. A., was among those shewn in the annual exhibition of the Royal Academy in 1841.

Cropredy Bridge underwent considerable repairs about the year 1780, at which date the present west arch was erected.

P. 383. RAISING OF THE SIEGE OF BANBURY, 25th October, 1644. It being proposed, in the following year, to give Major Temple, Major to Col. Fiennes, the Governorship of Newport Pagnell, a number of charges “concerneing y^e carriage of ye said Maior, dureing his being in Col. Fiennes Regim^t,” were brought against him by the undersigned officers, June 12th 1645,

(13) Information from W. Reader Esq.

at the request of Lieut.-Col. Cockayne; of which charges the following are extracts:—

“That when y^e enemy was upon their march for the releife of Banbury, Major Temple in a terrible fright all bespattered wth dirt came rideing from his Q^{rs} at Bloxom, & brought Col. Fiennes (then co'maundeing the forces there in cheife) a false allarum affirming y^t y^e enemy was in his Q^{rs}; & y^t he had turned all his owne best rideing horses loose & was necessitated to hide himselfe in a woodpile, for y^t div'se of his men were taken Prisoners, & this he affirmed wth soe much confidence, y^t there was an order p'sently graunted for y^e drawing away y^e Dragoones from Aderbury Bridge w^{ch} was there appointed for y^e securem^t of y^t passage, for had y^e Enemy beene come to Bloxam being betwixt y^m & y^e Leagure, y^e guard being thus drawne of gave opp'tunity to y^e enemy not long after to passe over y^e said Aderbury Bridge w^{ch} in all p'babillity had beene p'vented had not y^t guard beene so taken off.”

“That when the Con'l of Warr had ordered a retreat of y^e Forces to Warwicke & not to engage wth y^e enemy The managem^t of ye Horse being entrusted to Col. Lydcobb, major Temple gave order to y^t division hee was entrusted wth all (ag^t order) to charge y^e enemy being very neare y^m & himselfe contrary to his trust left y^m p'tending hee went to fetch upp Foot w^{ch} he had noe order to doe by w^{ch} meanes tis very p'bable was y^e cause y^t devision faced about, seeing their major y^t had talked soe much soe vnworthily at y^e p'sent left y^m.”

“Signed

JO. UNITE	}	Capt'ns in Col. John Fiennis his Regim ^t .”
JO. HUNT		
THO. BROENS		

“*North'ton June 12'th 1645.*”

P. 396. In Walker's “Sufferings of the Clergy” the following is recorded respecting DR. OLDYS:—

“He had been Fellow of New College in Oxford, and Proctor of that University. In the year 1642, he was created D. D. among many other suffering Loyalists: and about the year 1644 was barbarously murdered by a party of the Parliament soldiers, in the following manner; having by his great loyalty and affection to the Royal cause render'd himself very obnoxious to the Rebels, it was not any longer safe for him to stay at home; & therefore he was forced to betake himself to the neighbouring Town of Banbury, w^h was at that time a Garrison for the King; & some time after he had fled thither, intending his son for Winchester School, (or as others say for the University of Oxford) he sent word to his wife, that on such a day, (w^h he named) he would go part of the way with them. A neighbour of his happening to know of this, sent word of it to some of the Parliament soldiers, who accordingly waited at a place where he was to pass by, for his coming. He perceiving that there were soldiers there, & finding himself in danger, sent his wife & son before, telling his wife that if they were of the King's party, she should hold up her hand, & he would come on; if not, she should pass on

without any further notice. She going on, without holding up her hand, he knew they were Parliamentarians, & therefore rid back as fast as he could: they perceiving this, followed him as fast as they could. He being to pass by his own house, when his horse came to his house, he could not by any means he could use get his horse forward, which gave them time to overtake him; which, as soon as they had done, one of them discharged a pistol at him, and shot him dead. Some of the parish have since affirmed, that the person who had given notice to the party of the Doctor's journey fell down dead upon that very spot of ground where the Doctor fell when he was shot. He was succeeded by Mr. Francis Wells. I have heard that he scatter'd his money along the high-way, & by that artifice delayed all of them but one who thirsted more for blood than plunder. And 'tis said, the villain had been supported formerly by the Doctor's charity, and that his very comrades abhorred the baseness of this action."

P. 428. After the record of the House of Commons, dated 27th May 1648, respecting the destruction of BANBURY CASTLE, the two following letters should have been inserted:—

*From Lord Viscount Saye and Sele to Mr. Swynfen.*¹⁴

"SIR,

I have sent you a narrative of the former proceedings about the Castle of Banbury (my house) uppon [an order] from the House of Com'ons: with what I [required] upon this present [vote,] w^{ch} I cannot thinke was otherwayse intended by the House, but in case the Gentlemen should give me satisfaction for that w^{ch} is myne inheritance. The Gentlemen have spoken with me, and Sir Knightley will report this to the House, which have given him a l'tre in writinge, and the order mentioned, w^{ch} will prove what is layd downe, I have given him a l'tre. Excuse me for putting you to this troble, I assure myselfe the Housse will not wrong me, if rightly informed, w^{ch} that they may be, I desyre your favour with some other of my frendes, whom I have acquaynted hearwith, agaynst the tyme that the report comes in to the House, if these be not [liked] w^{ch} when the Countrye wear to pay themselves (nowe it comes out the Delinquents estates) yet they gave me thankses for condescending unto: [I wish to] be lett alone, to injoye myne owne, and I am satisfied.

S^r I shall remayne,

Your affectionate Frende to serve you,

"May 29, 1648."

W. SAY & SEALE."

"For my worthy frendee Mr. Swynfen, att his lodgings in St. Anne's-lane, in Westminster."

*From the Corporation of Banbury to [?] the Corporation of Coventry.*¹⁵

"WELBELOVED NEIGHBOURS,

Wee fynd by so sad experience, that the Castle of Banbury hath not

(14) Some parts of the letter which are illegible are endeavoured to be supplied within brackets.

(15) Copies of this and the foregoing document were furnished to me by Wm. Reader

only been the occasion of much ruine and misery to the said towne, but alsoe of much feares and expence to the Parts adjacent, all which sorrowes are like to retourne by the increase of these unnaturall warrs, should the same be continued a Garrison, For preventing of w^{ch} Wee, the Maior, Aldermen, and Burgesses of Banbury, with some others of the Corporation, haveing with much cost and difficulty petic'oned the Parliament, and obtained liberty to demolish the same, doe make it our earnest request to the inhabitants of this Towne, to lend us their assistance for the more speedy effecting thereof, without which the guift will become fruitlesse, which otherwise might be of much benefitt. And to stirr you upp to soe good a worke, know that besides your owne safty, which wee hope wilbee therby obtayned, that the materialls are given to re-edify the Church, the Vicarage-house, and the houses of the poorer sort of inhabitants, that have been spoyld by the said Castle, and considering the tyme of harvest is approaching, wherby men's labours wilbee necessarily required at home, that if it shall please you to assist us with such a sum'e of mony, that wee hope will be chearfully collected among you, for a work soe much conducing to the peace and quiet of these Parts it wilbee altogether as advantagious and kindly accepted by yor thankfull

Freinds and Neighbours,

NATHANIELL HILL, maior,	THO. WEST,
WILLIAM ALLEN,	RICHARD HALHED,
NATHANIELL WHATELY,	WILLIAM WHATELY,
ORGAN UNSOLLS,	THOMAS HALHED."
JOHN WEBB,	

P. 476. NATHANIEL FIENNES. On the northeast wall of the nave of the Church of Newton Toney, Wilts, is the monument erected to the memory of Nathaniel Fiennes and his two daughters; being a large oblong slab of black marble, on which, beneath the arms, is carved the inscription given below. Two flat stones on the floor of the chancel also bear arms and inscriptions, now much obliterated, but evidently in memory of unmarried daughters of Nathaniel Fiennes, in all probability the same that are mentioned on his own monument:—¹⁶

In memory of the Honourable
Nathaniell Fiennes Second
Sonne of William Lord Viscount
Say & Seale, who departed
This Life the 16th day of December
1669 in the 62 yeare of his age

Esq. It is probable that the Letter of the Banbury Corporation was addressed to the Coventry Corporation, but Mr. Reader, who obtained the originals from a gentleman of Coventry, while making the collections for his History of Coventry, was not able to ascertain the fact with certainty. The Coventry records however state that "Banbury was relieved by collection."

(16) Information from the Rev. Hugh Price, Rector of Newton Toney.

And
 Of his two eldest Daughters
 Frances & Elizabeth by Frances
 His wife Daughter of Richard
 Whithed of Tuderly in y^e County of
 South^{ton} Esq^r who both died in
 The flower of their age.
 Here lyes also the Hon^{ble} Frances
 Fiennes who died the 7th Oct^r 1691
 In the 70th year of her age leaving
 Only two Daughters
 Mary & Cecilia. Cecilia
 Born June y^e 7th 1662 died 10th April 1741 at Hackney.

THE QUAKERS, AND SAMUEL WELLS.

P. 451. The following particulars occur respecting Anne Audland, who appears to have been the foundress of the Quakers' Society in Banbury and its neighbourhood :—

She was a native of Kendal, and was, in the beginning of the year 1652, one of the early converts of George Fox. It was in the winter of 1654-5 that she came to Banbury. She is described as being of "comely personage." On her committal by the magistrates, two persons in Banbury offered bail for her appearance at the Sessions, whereupon, she being set at liberty for a time, held "several meetings," it is said, "with the people in the town; and her two bonds-men, and several hundreds more, came to be convinced of truth, and turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, being the fruits of that effectual powerful ministry God had called her to bear, so that many were added to the Church, and a large meeting of Friends there was in that town, and several other meetings in the country adjacent were settled." On her subsequent conviction for a misdemeanour, it is said—"the prison where Anne was sent to was a close nasty place, several steps below ground, on the side whereof was a sort of common shore, that received much of the mud in the town, that at times did stink sorely; besides, frogs and toads did crawl in their room, and no place for fire; yet she was in great content, because it was God's cause." Anne Audland was subsequently the wife of Thomas Camm, of Camms Gill.¹⁷

P. 465. A letter, of which the following is a copy, (and which has been referred to in p. 452, note 36,) occurs in 1655, addressed by one of the early Quakers to SAMUEL WELLS :—

(17) Tomkins's Piety Promoted, the Third Part. pp. 198-205.

“A Copie of a Letter sent from Thomas Curtis, who had been a Captain in the Parliaments Army, to Samuell Wells, professed Minister of the Town of Banbury, and sent to him into the Court or Sessions, then holden in Banbury, the 27 day of the 7th Month, 1655.

“FRIEND,

I am not a stranger to thy former conversation, and now am witness of thy unjust actions, thy deeds make manifest of what Generation thou art, and on what foundation thou standest. Call to mind thy former Prayers, when we were in the Army, driven from our Homes, persecuted by Cavaliers, put to fight for our Freedoms and our Religion, as then thou told'st us of; is it all come to this? Hast thou forgotten thy Vowes, Protestations and Promises then made in thy Prayers, How that if God would deliver us, how we would walk in newness of life, and now the Lord hath delivered, how art thou turned persecutor of the righteous seed of God? Call to mind how thou wouldst cry out against Parents that did not breed up their Children in wisdom and soberness: Now thou hast gotten a great living, and no place that ever I came in (as I can remember) so vile as this Town (of Banbury) under thy teaching; Oh see the fruits of thy ministry! children scoffing, haling, stoning, and evill speaking, and their Parents looking on, and countenancing them, laughing at them so doing: it is a sad sight to see such a reformation, and will not the Lord visit for these things? what may we look at, but that it is like people like priest? Call to mind thy persecuting of the innocent, and causing the peace to be broken by thy own self, and casting it on the innocent, making them to suffer for it; Canst thou behold these things and not blush? How durst thou call thy selfe a minister of Christ and persecute? Was ever any of the true Prophets, Apostles, or Jesus Christ a persecutor? Did ever they, when one came into their meeting, and stand silent there, call to the magistrate to take him away, and put him in prison, and say they could not go on in their prayer, and then after a long imprisonment, see him arraigned at the Bar for breaking the peace, whenas thou was the cause? Was it not thy selfe that caused the people to be breakers of the peace, and then make the innocent suffer for it? Is this according to Scripture? Did the Lord send his Prophets to cry against them that made men offenders for a word, & set snares for them that reprov'd in the gate? And canst thou escape, who makest a man an offender before he spake a word? The just God wil surely finde thee out & al Deceivers; For wo to them saith the Lord God, that hath caused my people to err & daub with untempred Morter, and cry peace to them to whom God hath not spoken peace; And so strengthen the hands of the wicked; just as it was with the false Prophets so is it now, The Prophets prophesie false things, the Priests bear rule by their means, and the people love to have it so. But read thy portion; what will thou do in the end thereof? See again thy subtile dealing with Anne Audland, that when all the persecution that wit could invent to take away her life for blasphemy, would not reach, but she was acquitted by the Jury, there must be brought her calling thee false Prophet, and this must be called scandall, when by the Scripture it is soon proved, and to thy shame

remember I know thee Scandalous : How often hast thou sate night after night at Cards, and sometimes whole nights playing (and sometimes compelling me to play with thee) for mony, then wast thou called of the world a Minister and now art thou turned persecutor! in the close, see thy unjust dealing, when thou hast gotten what the uttermost will of man can do, then thou in thy deceit putttest off thy hat, and desirest that she may have as much favour as the Law wil afford her (thou art content to commit thy cause to God :) O cruel deceit to cover withall! But thy covering is too narrow, it wil not hide thee. Friend, to the pure Light of God in thy conscience do I speak, and that witness in thee knows these things to be true, and that an account thou must give to the great God of all these things; in love to thee do I write, that thou maist be warned and repentance witness, lest the indignation of the Lord be poured out upon thee : I have not much more to say at present, but desire the Lord that he will open thine eyes, that thou maist see the evill of thy heart and live ; which is the desire of him, how ever thou esteemest, is a lover of thy eternall peace, and one that suffers with the righteous seed, called of the World.

THO. CURTIS."17

"The 27th day of the 7th Month 1655."

ADDENDA—CONTINUED.

P. 479. TRADESMEN'S TOKENS. Add:—

No. 8. On the obverse, "IOHN IAGOE RYDDELL," and in the centre "HIS HALF PENY." On the reverse, the Rose and Crown, with the letters I. I. R.; inscribed "TYSOE WARWICK SHIRE."

The arms of the Token, No. 17, on p. 478, are those of the Ironmongers' Company.

The arms of the Token, No. 2, on p. 479, are those of the Grocers' Company.

P. 498. The long lane which runs direct from Banbury Bridge

(17) From "The Saints Testimony Finishing through Sufferings." (See p. 452, note 36.)

The imprisonment of Richard Farnsworth, another of the early Quakers who has been mentioned in pp. 452 (note 36), 453, took place on the 30th of the same month. The following particulars appear respecting him:—"And the Mayor and Justices (so called) being set, and R. F. brought before them, according to their command; Aholiab West, called Mayor, he asked (R. F.) his name, and where he lived; to the which he answered very mildly, and said, That as he stood in relation to God, in whom his soul lived, and as were a witness of the immortall seed, in the Regeneration born of the Spirit, and begotten by the eternal Word, which endureth for ever, I. Pet. i. 22, 23: he said in that relation as he there stood, he had a new name given him of God, which no man knows but he that hath it, Rev. ii. 17. And as he was in relation to man, he had a name given him by man, to be known by to man, according to the account of the world, called in the outward by the name, *Richard Farnsworth*. Then the Mayor asked him again where he lived; to the which he answered and said, In the first place in God (and as the Apostle, as wel as the Poet hath said) in whom we live, move, and have our being, &c. (Acts. xvii. 28.) Then said the Mayor, But have you not a being in the world? I answer, said he, That residence is being, my being is with the Lord; but an outward residence, or being I have, said he, at a place called Tickhill in Yorkshire."—*Saints' Testimony*, pp. 22, 23.

towards ASTROP is called "The Causeway," and has been a paved footpath beyond memory.

P. 504. THREE TUNS INN, BANBURY :—An inscription of the reign of James the Second, painted over the doorway of one of the upper rooms of this Inn, and lately brought to light, was :—

"THE FATHERS DYNEING ROOME * * * EMBER
YE 2 YE KINGS * * * 1687."

P. 553. OPENING OF THE NEW CHURCH. The sermon on the opening of this Church was preached by the Hon. and Rev. Thomas Twistleton, afterwards D.D. and Archdeacon of Colombo, who took his text from I. John, iv. 20.

BOTANY OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD.¹⁸

[The following additions to the Botany of the Neighbourhood have, with two or three exceptions, been observed by myself since the printing of the List at pp. 574—599. T. B.]

Order. Brassicaceæ or Cruciferae.

Cardamine sylvatica Link.

The *Cardamine hirsuta* from near Tadmorton Heath (see p. 575) proves on re-examination to be this plant. It grew near a hedge.

Order. Rosaceæ.

Rubus Köhleri.

R. rhamnifolius

Rosa sepium. Heyford Leys. [Mr. Baxter.] *Very rare.*

Order. Salicaceæ.

Salix caprea, var. *α.* Common.

Order. Polypodiaceæ.

Asplenium lanceolatum. On Adderbury Church. [Hooker's British Flora.]

I have carefully examined the walls of the church, but have not been able to find this plant.

Order. Lichenaceæ.

Leparia alba.

[*Placodium microphyllum*, mentioned in p. 594, is not the right synonym of the ordinary form of *Lecidea microphylla* Ach.]

Order. *Algaceæ*.—*Div. Confervoideæ*.

Oscillatoria autumnalis.

Order. *Fungaceæ*.

Agaricus cristatus.

A. multiformis.

A. quietus.

A. dealbatus.

A. virgineus.

A. psittacinus.

A. laccatus.

A. radicans.

A. purus.

A. galericulatus.

A. corticola.

A. Fibula.

A. fragrans. *Second Plantation, Oxford Road*.

A. squarrosus.

A. fastibilis.

A. geophyllus.

A. æruginosus.

A. gracilis.

A. micaceus.

Merulius corium.

Polyporus hispidus.

Boletus Grevillii.

Thelephora hirsuta.

T. sanguinolenta. *Second Plantation, Oxford Road*.

T. incarnata.

Helvella crispa. *Plantations, Oxford Road*.

Peziza aurantia.

P. chrysocoma.

Sphæria episphæria.

This appears to be included in *S. sanguinea* by Mr. Gulliver.

S. verrucæformis.

Trichia chrysosperma.

Chætomium elatum.

Botrytis parasitica.

Sporendonema muscæ.

Aregma gracile. *On Raspberry leaves*.

Æcidium cancellatum. *On Pear leaves*

[*Xyloma Ulmi* of *Purton* (wrongly marked *Pers.* in the List, p. 598) is *Dothidea Ulmi*.]

[After *Xyloma Aquifolii*, p. 598, for *Pers.* read *Dec.*]



REMAINS OF THE FORMER CHURCH OF BANBURY

INDEX OF PERSONS.

-
- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>Abberbur, William de (prior of Wroxton. 82</p> <p>Abbot, William. 528</p> <p>Abbott, Mr. T. 600</p> <p>Abercromby, Capt. 398</p> <p>Aberow, John. 212, 213</p> <p>Abraham, Thomas junr. 538</p> <p>Abram (of Banbury). 412</p> <p>Adam, Mr. 539</p> <p>Adams, Capt. 383</p> <p>Adams, Major. 428</p> <p>Addyngton, Nicholas. 176</p> <p>Adigheriis, Hugolin de. 165</p> <p>Agard', Ralph. 213</p> <p>Agilbert (Bishop). 51</p> <p>Agnew, Sir Andrew. 462</p> <p>Agricola. 23</p> <p>Alexander Severus. 35</p> <p>Alexander (Bishop). 63, 67, 68, 492</p> <p>Aleyn, Richard. 200</p> <p>Alfelm (Bishop). 57</p> <p>Alfred. 53</p> <p>Allectus. 34</p> <p>Allen, William. 269, 282, 449, 453, 622</p> <p>Allestree, Dr. Richard. 471, 484, 508</p> <p>Allibond, Peter. 264</p> <p>Allington, John. 478, 515, 516</p> <p>Alnewick (Bishop). 173</p> <p>Alsop, William. 254</p> <p>Ambrosius Aurelianus. 47</p> <p>Andrews, Francis. 282</p> <p>Annesley, Andrew. 266, 282</p> <p>Ansley, Mathew. 478</p> <p>Anste, Henry (prior of Chacombe). 86</p> <p>Antoninus Pius. 23, 28, 34, 45</p> <p>Antrim, Earl of. 399</p> <p>Apew, John. 328</p> <p>Aplin, Christopher. 535</p> <p>Aplin, Oliver. 533, 535</p> <p>Appleby, Adam de (prior of Chacombe). 85</p> <p>Appowell, Agnes. 213</p> <p>Appulby, Robert. 174, 176</p> <p>Arden, Sir Giles. 173</p> <p>Arden, Robert de. 105, 106, 107</p> <p>Arden, Margaret. 173</p> <p>Ardern, Roger de. 106</p> <p>Ardern, Sir Thomas de. 106</p> <p>Arderne, Ralph de. 106</p> | <p>Arderne, Lady Eustathia de. 106</p> <p>Argyle, John, Duke of. 488</p> <p>Armston, Treforsa. 402</p> <p>Arnold, William. 409</p> <p>Arnold. 441</p> <p>Arnole, Captain. 397</p> <p>Arran, Countess of. 251</p> <p>Arscot, John. 213</p> <p>Arthur. 47</p> <p>Arundel, Earl of. 68</p> <p>Ashby, John. 483</p> <p>Ashness, George. 533</p> <p>Ashwell, George. 486</p> <p>Asplin, Rev. W. (vicar of Banbury). 513</p> <p>Asthropp, John de. 166</p> <p>Astley, Sir Jacob. 315, 321</p> <p>Astley, Lord. 418</p> <p>Aston, Thomas de. 77</p> <p>Atchason, Jas. 304</p> <p>Atkins, Robert. 58</p> <p>Atkinson, Henry. 305</p> <p>Atneston, John (vicar of Banbury). 172</p> <p>Atrebat, William. 90</p> <p>Atwater, William (Bishop). 197</p> <p>Aubigny, Lord. 321</p> <p>Audely, Nicholas de. 89</p> <p>Audland, Anne. 451, 623</p> <p>Audley [Dudley], Oliver Esq. 183</p> <p>Augustin Lidenensis. 188</p> <p>Augustine the Monk. 46, 50</p> <p>Aulus Plautius. 21, 46</p> <p>Aurelius. 33, 34, 45</p> <p>Austin, Captain. 300</p> <p>Austin, John. 255, 506</p> <p>Awod, Jhon. 225</p> <p>Awsten, John. 254, 282</p> <p>Awstin, Nicholas. 257</p> <p>Ayleseworth, John. 176</p> <p>Aysshewell, Thomas. 176</p> <p>Bacseg. 53</p> <p>Baggot, commander. 399</p> <p>Bagley, Henry. 538</p> <p>Bagley, Matthew. 538</p> <p>Bainbridge, Dr. 387</p> <p>Bainbrigg, Mr. 239</p> <p>Baker, J. L. Esq. 22</p> <p>Baker, Lieut.-Col. 361</p> <p>Baker, Geo. Esq. 28, 30, 31, 34, 37</p> <p>Baker, Miss. 31</p> |
|---|--|

- Balam, Gabriel. 492
 Baldreby, John (Bishop). [See Dal-
 derby.]
 Baldwin, Rev. 483
 Balfore, Sir William. 313, 318, 325
 Ballard, Colonel. 313, 316
 Ballard, Rev. J. 45
 Balle, William. 95
 Balstone, Jo. 328
 Banbury, John. 83, 92
 Banbury, Thomas. 195
 Banbury, Countess of. 267, 616
 Banbury, Earls of. [See Knollys.]
 Banbridge, Ralph. 213
 Bancroft, Archbishop. 286
 Bannebir, John de. 91
 Bannebir, Walter de. 91
 Bannebir, William de. 91
 Bannebur, Thomas de. 92
 Bannebury, John de. 92
 Barber, J. Esq. 430, 611, 616
 Barber, Mr. 502
 Bardolph, Edmund. 170
 Bardunvill, Fulk de. 89
 Barett, William. 89
 Barington, William. 213
 Barkham, Colonel. 317
 Barkley, Colonel. 347
 Barlow (Bishop). 286
 Barnes, James. 541, 542
 Barnsley, John. 212, 220
 Barnsley, William. 212, 217, 220
 Barnsley, Mr. 227
 Barons, Thomas. 200, 204
 Barro, Sir Theobald de. 99
 Barrowes Nicolas. 255
 Barton, Major. 445
 Bartram, Mr. 226
 Barwick, Dr. 473
 Basdell, John. 402
 Basiate, William. 95
 Basset, Bussy. 304
 Basset, Gilbert. 68
 Basset, John. 169
 Basset, Philip. 93
 Basset, Robert. 166
 Basset, Thomas. 88
 Bastell, Jo. 404
 Bates, James. 402
 Bates. 460
 Bath, Earl of. 296
 Baughen, Mr. 567
 Bavenser, Stephen de. 170
 Bawdwyne, William. 213
 Baxter, John. 521, 524
 Baxter, Rev. Richard. 322, 342,
 413, 438, 470
 Baxter, Mr. (Oxford.) 572
 Baylby, William. 212
 Bayley, William. 217
 Baylie, Captain. 419
 Bayly, Rev. John. 437
 Baynes, Lieut.-Col. 362
 Bayre, Colonel. 414
 Beakes, Lieut. 383
 Beale, Edward. 496
 Beassington, Sir William. 199
 Beauchamp, Guy de, Earl of War-
 wick. 103
 Beaufort (Bishop and Cardinal).
 172, 173
 Beck, Thomas le (Bishop). 167
 Becket, Thomas à. 70
 Bedford, Jasper, Duke of. 188
 Bedford, Earl of. 295
 Beere, Elizabeth. 529
 Beesley, Mr. James. 531
 Beesley, Mr. S. 568
 Beesley, Mr. T. 19, 500, 571, 626
 Belcher, Samuel. 479
 Belet, Michael. 79, 93, 101
 Bellacis, Colonel. 352
 Benedict, XI. (Pope.) 164
 Benet, John. 169
 Benett, Richard. 224
 Bennett, Dr. 434
 Bentley, Edward. 220, 255
 Bentlye, Robert. 255
 Beornwulph. 53
 Bercher, Robert le. 95
 Berford, Ralph de (rector of Brough-
 ton). 102
 Bericus. 21
 Bernard, Lord. 362
 Bernard (vicar of Bloxham). 81
 Bernred. 52
 Berriman, William D. D. 523
 Berston, William. 176
 Berthun (Bishop). 52
 Berthwulph. 53
 Besenton, Ralph de. 89
 Bethel, Major. 438
 Betun, Advocate of. 71
 Betun, Baldwin de. 90, 101
 Bevercote, William de. 105
 Bew (Bishop), vicar of Adderbury.
 486
 Bezly, Mr. W. 609
 Bignell, R. Esq. 154, 534, 535
 Bikenton, John de. 95
 Bingham, William. 198
 Binsley, William. 230
 Bird, Serjeant. 391
 Birinus (Bishop and Saint). 51, 52
 Bishopsden, Lady Philippa. 116
 Blank, Thomas. 204
 Blencowe, John Esq. 516
 Blencowe, J. J. Esq. 133
 Blencowe, Thomas Esq. 204, 516
 Blesensis, William (Bishop). 88

- Blincoe, John. 255
 Bliss, Rev. Dr. 157, 512
 Blithefeld, Richard de. 167
 Blo, William de (Bishop). 88
 Bloet, Robert (Bishop). 62, 92, 168
 Blowe, Robert. 304
 Bloxam, M. H. Esq. 7, 20
 Bloxam, Thomas. 176
 Bloxham, Alexander de. 169
 Bloxham, Walter de. 169
 Blunt, Geo. 328
 Blunt, Robert. 409
 Blythe, John. 213
 Boclaund', Alan de. 88
 Bombyn, Paul. 190
 Booth, Mrs. Anne. 473, 484
 Bosse, William. 212
 Bosvile [Boswell], Col. 368, 378
 Bosworth, Eustace. 212, 220
 Bosworth, Sir William. 386
 Boteler, Captain. 381
 Boteler, Sir William. 360, 362
 Boteller, John le. 104, 168
 Boteller, Sir Thomas. 92
 Boulton, M. R. Esq. 41
 Bowers, William. 249, 528
 Bowes, William. 213
 Bowles, Rev. W. Lisle. 543
 Bowles, Rev. William Thomas. 544
 Bowman, Letice. 213
 Bowton, Ellen. 225
 Brackele, Thomas (prior of Chacombe). 86
 Braddenham, William (prior of Wroxton). 83
 Brademar, Richard de. 91
 Bradford, Alice. 213
 Bradford, Thomas gent. 517
 Bradley, Henry. 213
 Bradwell, Captain. 356
 Brainford, Earl of. 359, 379, 381
 Braithwait, Richard. 456
 Brampton (Chief Justice). 296
 Brancestre, John. 171, 188
 Brancestr', Richard de (vicar of Banbury). 99
 Brasbridge, Alice. 241
 Brasbridge, Row. 448
 Brasbridge, Thomas (vicar of Banbury). 25, 205, 241, 283
 Brasbridge, William. 241
 Brasing [Brasington], Wm. 211, 214
 Bratford, Alyce. 213
 Braunch, Lewes. 280
 Bray. 441
 Brayne, Robert. 541, 542, 545
 Brayne, Thomas. 545
 Breaute, Breauton, [Broughton,] Falkes, John, and Nicholas de. [See Broughton].
 Breerwood, Edward. 387
 Brenwold, St. 46
 Brereton, Owen Esq. 230
 Brereton, Sir William. 342, 368, 403, 404, 418
 Brewer, Mr. 619
 Brewer, William (Bishop). 108
 Briant, John. 538
 Brickwood, Elizabeth. 213
 Bridges (Bishop). 284
 Bridges, Jo. 328
 Bridges, Major. 354, 356, 392, 419
 Briggs, Henry. 387
 Brightwell, Edward. 213, 220
 Brinckenill, Roger. 213
 Bristol, Bishop of. 296
 Bristol, Earl of. 296
 Britain, Earl of. 67
 Brocas, Ann Dolly. 555
 Brockhull, Henry. 246
 Brocton, Ralph de. 101
 Broke, Sir Thomas (rector of Broughton). 173
 Brook, Lord. 293, 295, 296, 298, 304, 305, 308, 313, 316, 320, 341, 342, 343
 Brookes, James. 402, 404
 Broughton, Falkes de. 100, 101
 Broughton, John de. 82, 100, 101, 102
 Broughton, Nicholas de. 101
 Broughton, Thomas de. 102
 Broughton, Sir William. 173
 Broun, William. 201, 204
 Browne, John. 213
 Browne, Captain. 381, 388
 Browne, Major-general. 365, 371, 379
 Browne, Colonel. 307
 Browning, Margery. 122
 Bruchton, Sir John de. 101
 Brule, William. 189
 Bryan, Mr. 461
 Bryghtwell, Edward. 212, 217, 248, 249, 250
 Brynknell, Thomas D. D. 195, 197
 Buccleugh, Duke of. 488
 Buckingham, John (Bishop). 170, 171
 Buckland, Dr. 20
 Buckler, Mr. 109, 159, 611
 Buddicom, Rev. R. J. 124
 Buddle, Mr. Richard. 532
 Bugg, Francis. 509
 Bugslock, William. 305
 Builli, John de. 94
 Bull, Joseph. 533
 Bull, Rowland. 255, 258
 Bull, Thomas. 245
 Bullen, Catharine. 266

- Bullocke, Gifford. 408, 409, 410
 Burberow, Timothy. 482
 Burcester, Walter de. 104
 Burgherst, Henry (Bishop). 105,
 106, 162, 163, 168
 Burgh, Christopher. 304
 Burgh, Sir Thomas of. 184
 Burleigh, Cecil Lord. 218, 230, 242,
 253, 615
 Burncestr, Prior of. 97
 Burne, Philip de. 94
 Burrell, John (Cornet). 365
 Burthed. 53
 Burroughs, Bennett. 388, 393, 394,
 400, 402
 Burrows, John gent. 516
 Burton, James. 533
 Burton, John. 568
 Burwash (Bishop). [See Burgherst].
 Busby, Mr. J. 600
 Busby, William gent. 516
 Butcher, Henry. 410
 Butcherfield, John. 304
 Bute, Marquis of. 539, 545
 Butelir, Peter le. 81
 Butler, Captain. 404
 Butler, John. 383
 Butler, Jo. 328
 Butler, Major. 445
 Butler, Thomas. 220, 446
 Byron, Sir John. 305, 307, 471
 Byron, Lord. 314
 Byron, Sir Nicholas. 309, 321, 327
 Byron, Sir Thomas. 333
 Bysshopp, Thomas. 213
 Cade, Jack. 175
 Cæsar, Julius. 20
 Cæsar, Sir Julius. 260
 Caius and Lucius. 23
 Callcott, Walter. 249, 250
 Callow, John. 535, 541, 542
 Calverley, Agnes. 79
 Calverley, George. 79, 194
 Camden, Mr. 454
 Camm, Thos. 623
 Campbell, Dr. 527
 Camsewell, Michael. 217
 Camvil, Richard. 68
 Capella, Henry de. 101
 Caprone, William. 176, 199
 Carausius. 23, 28, 34, 35
 Carleton, Sir Dudley. 261, 262
 Carlisle, Bishop of. 296
 Carmichaell, Jo. 305
 Carnarvon, Lord. 315
 Carpendr, Jhon. 225
 Carsaye, Anthony. 485
 Carter, Thomas. 220
 Cartwright, John Esq. 393, 470
 Cartwright, Dr. Nicholas. 204
 Cartwright, Richard Esq. 104, 264
 Cartwright, William. 459
 Cartwright, W. R. Esq. 37, 393
 Carwardine, Edw. 304
 Case, Hen. 328
 Cataractacus. 21
 Catterall, Robert. 213
 Caumont, M. de. 108
 Cave, John (rector of Middleton
 Cheney). 425, 436
 Cawfield, Cornet. 362
 Ceawlin. 48
 Cecil, Sir Richard. 240
 Cenulf (Bishop). 54
 Cenwalch. 51
 Ceolwulph. 53
 Cerdic. 47
 Cerney, Nicholas de (prior of Wrox-
 ton). 82
 Cestreton, Robert de. 95
 Chaderton, Dr. 268
 Chaloner, Sir Thomas. 387
 Chamberlain, Mr. 261, 262
 Chamberlayne, Edward Esq. 211,
 213
 Chamberlayne, Sir Henry. 508
 Chamberlayne, Captain James. 350
 Chamberlayne, Lieutenant. 393
 Chamberlayne, Thomas Esq. 248,
 255, 256. [See Sir T. Chamber-
 layne.]
 Chamberlayne, Sir Thomas (Judge).
 154, 349, 493, 507
 Chamberlin, W. H. Esq. 488
 Chambers, Calcott. 250, 255, 280
 Chambers (secretary to Essex). 319
 Champernown, Henry. 240
 Chandler, Edmund. 479
 Chapleyn, Sir Alexander. 199
 Chapman, Richard. 535, 541, 542
 Charles I. 309, 313, 327, 348, 358,
 394, 412
 Charles, Prince of Wales. (Charles
 II.) 322, 348
 Chaucube, Robert de. 94
 Chaucumbe, Hugh de. 85
 Chauncy, William. 309
 Chauncy, Toby Esq. 309
 Chauncy, Toby Esq. 511, 516
 Chauncy, Toby Esq. 519
 Chaundos, Lord. 227
 Chaworth, Sir George. 261
 Chaworth, Elizabeth. 261
 Chedsey. 204
 Chedworth, John (Bishop). 175, 187
 Cheese, Sam. 409
 Cheney, Mr. John. 525
 Chesny, Robert (Bishop). 70
 Chesterton, Robert de. 169
 Chetwode, Sir John. 122

- Chetwode, Richard Esq. 247, 248.
[See Chetwode, Sir Richard.]
- Chetwode, Sir Richard. 256
- Chokes, Anselm de. 71
- Cholmley, Sir Henry. 313, 316
- Church, Master. 415
- Cioches, Gunfrid de. 61
- Clapham, John Esq. 182, 184
- Clare, John de. 106
- Clarell, Richard Esq. 180
- Claridge, George. 533
- Claridge, John. 526
- Claridge, Richard. 510
- Clark, Rev. Samuel. 322
- Clarke, John. 533
- Clarke, Mr. (of Croughton.) 306
- Clarke, Richard. 212, 214
- Clarke, Captain. 353, 356, 366, 404
- Clarkson, Anthony. 79
- Clarson, Samuel. 533, 535
- Clarson, Samuel junr. 535
- Claudius Cæsar. 21, 22
- Claudius Gothicus. 28, 34, 35, 607
- Claveringham, John. 104
- Clavius, Christopher. 386
- Cleaver, Robert (rector of Drayton).
284, 285, 286, 287, 290
- Clement VI. (Pope.) 164
- Clerk, Sir William. 360, 362
- Clerke, Ed. 409
- Clerke, Lieutenant. 393
- Clerke, Richard. 213
- Clerke, Sir William. 211
- Cleveland, Earl of. 359, 360, 373
- Cleveland, John. 342, 460
- Cleves, Anne of. 309
- Cnute. 58
- Coats, Mary. 452
- Cobb, George Esq. 273
- Cobb, Messrs. 567
- Cobb, Thomas Esq. 78, 533
- Cobb, Thomas Esq. 154
- Cobb, T. R. Esq. 154
- Cobb, Sir William. 329, 394
- Cockayne, Dick. 398
- Cockayne, Lieut.-Col. 620
- Cockerill, Mr. Robert. 112, 534, 554
- Cockson, Rev. Edward. 510
- Codrington, Sir William. 518
- Coe, Richard. 365
- Cogibundus. 22
- Cogidunus. 22
- Coingrave, Fr. 447
- Cok', Anthony. 211
- Colborne, Captain. 396
- Cole, John. 485
- Cole, William. 485
- Colingham, William de (prior of Chacombe). 85
- Colles, Humfrey. 248
- Colleshall, Elias de (rector of Broughton). 102
- Colley, Thomas. 544
- Collins, Richard. 353
- Compton, Agnes. 213
- Compton, Sir Charles. 391, 396, 398, 400, 401, 419
- Compton, James, Lord. [See Northampton, Earl of.]
- Compton, James, Earl of Northampton. [See Northampton, Earl of.]
- Compton, Major. 352
- Compton, Spencer, Earl of Northampton. [See Northampton, Earl of.]
- Compton, Sir Spencer. 401, 414, 419
- Compton, Sir William. 205
- Compton, Sir William (Governor of Banbury Castle). 327, 354, 370, 374, 375, 381, 384, 386, 389, 391, 393, 396, 401, 402, 406, 410, 414, 416, 426
- Conant, Mr. 216
- Coney, Rev. — (Broughton). 482
- Connington, Roger. 395
- Constable, Sir William. 313
- Constance, Walter de (Bishop). 71
- Constans. 19, 28, 31, 32, 35, 42
- Constantine the Great. 19, 23, 28, 32, 34, 610
- Constantine junior. 19, 28, 32, 34, 35, 42, 609
- Constantius. 28, 34, 35, 42
- Conybeare, Rev. W. D. 573
- Conyers, James. 183
- Conyers, Sir John. 178, 184
- Cooke, Anthony. 214
- Cooke, Sir Anthony. 219
- Cope, Sir Anthony. 194, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 212, 219, 615
- Cope, Sir Anthony. 79, 118, 230, 236, 238, 244, 248, 249, 251, 252, 253, 256, 260, 272, 283, 285, 286, 287, 290, 615
- Cope, Sir Anthony. 288, 471, 474, 480, 484, 486, 508
- Cope, Edward Esq. 79, 204, 222, 226, 285
- Cope, Jane. 193
- Cope, John Esq. 190
- Cope, Sir John. 264
- Cope, Sir John (of Hanwell). 288, 471
- Cope, Sir John (of Hanwell). 473, 484, 507, 517
- Cope, Sir John (of Bramshill). 97, 193
- Cope, Jonathan Esq. 261, 508
- Cope, Sir Jonathan. 513
- Cope, Lady Anne (wife of the second Sir Anthony). 285, 290

- Cope, Lady Elizabeth (wife of Sir William). 285
 Cope, Lady Elizabeth (wife of Sir John). 288, 301
 Cope, Hon. Lady (wife of the third Sir Anthony). 508
 Cope, Sir Monnoux. 518, 554
 Cope, Richard Esq. 79, 255, 262
 Cope, Stephen Esq. 79, 193, 219
 Cope, William (cofferer). 156, 190, 191, 192, 206
 Cope, Sir William. 261, 285
 Cope, Capt. William. 474
 Cope, William. 508
 Cope, Rev. W. H. 191, 484, 486, 508, 513
 Corbet, Richard (Bishop). 24, 156, 157, 160, 262, 270, 457, 537
 Corby, —. 304
 Cornhull, W. de. 88
 Cornwallis, Sir Frederick. 362
 Cornwall, William. 246
 Cotton, Agnes. 213
 Coumartin, William. 76
 Courtney, Richard. 172
 Courtor (or Contour). 183
 Coutts, Thomas Esq. 539, 541, 542
 Coventry and Lichfield, Bishop of. 296
 Coventry, John. 212, 213.
 Cowly, George. 227
 Cowper, A., R. A. 619
 Cowper, Nicholas. 388
 Craven, Lord. 352
 Craven, Sir William. 99
 Crawford, Major-General. 405, 406
 Crawly (Justice). 296
 Crewe, John Esq. (Baron Crewe.) 280, 331, 435, 477
 Crewe, Sir Thomas. 255, 281
 Crispe, Charles Esq. 516
 Crispus. 28
 Croker, John. 305
 Cromwell, Earl of Essex. 309
 Cromwell, Oliver. 318, 355, 370, 375, 379, 414, 426, 427, 438, 444, 449, 462, 467, 469, 472
 Cromwell, Richard. 450
 Crook, James. 513
 Cropperi, Simon de (Constable of Banbury). 91, 94
 Crotch, Dr. 553
 Cruttenden, Beville. 328
 Cullen, Sir Rushout. 516, 517
 Cumb Martin, William de. 77
 Cunobelin. 21
 Curtis, Thomas. 452, 624, 625
 Cuthred. 52
 Cuthwulph. 49
 Cutts, Robert. 189
 Cwicheim. 50
 Cygoïn', Engel' de. 101
 Cynegil. 50
 Cynric. 47
 Cynwulph. 52
 Dagley, Mr. W. T. 34
 Dalbier, General. 320, 325
 Dalderby, John (Bishop). 99, 104
 Dalton, Mr. 238
 Dalton, Mr. James. 533
 Daniel, Major. 346
 Danvers, George. 189
 Danvers, John. 175, 176, 188, 614
 Danvers, John. 189
 Danvers, John. 615
 Danvers, Richard. 172 188
 Danvers, Sir Robert. 615
 D'Anvers, Roland. 188
 Danvers, Sir Samuel. 358
 Danvers, Sir Thomas. 615
 Danvers, Sir William. 189, 615
 Danvers, William. 189
 Danyes, Tho. 409
 Darbe, Sir. 199
 Darcy, Sir Arthur. 219
 Dartmouth, George Earl of. 543
 Dartmouth, William first Earl of. 543
 Dartmouth, William second Earl of. 543
 Dashwood, Sir Henry. 78
 Dashwood, Sir James. 522
 Dashwood, Sir Robert. 350, 501, 507
 Dauers, Captain William. 354
 Daunt, William. 213
 Davenant, Sir William. 459, 566
 Davies, Stephen. 511
 Davis, John. 503
 Davis, Richard. 535
 Davy, Hugh. 213
 Davye, William. 212, 213
 Davys, Jhon. 224
 Dawborne, Wm. 410
 Dawkins, Robert. 213
 Daylesford, William de (prior of Wroxton). 82
 Dean, Richard de (prior of Wroxton). 82
 Deane, Captain Henry. 365
 Debett, Thomas. 213
 De Foe. 568
 Deibell, Thomas. 478
 Deiklies, Sir John. 351
 Densey, Thomas. 204
 Denton, Alexander Esq. 516
 Denton, Edmund Esq. 516
 Denton, John. 223
 Denton, Thomas Esq. 222, 223
 Denton, — Esq. 223, 225, 226, 227

Denton, Master. 226, 227
 De Oily. [See D'Oyley.]
 Derby, Earl of. 194
 Derick, Mr. 108, 109, 112, 114, 121,
 122, 124, 125, 126, 129, 134, 137,
 139, 141, 142, 144, 558
 Deverell, Captain. 383
 Devill, Richard. 265
 Devon, Earl of. 280
 Deystere, Thomas. 169
 Digby, Sir John. 395
 Digby, Lord. 315
 Diocletian. 23
 Diva, Guy de. 88
 Dix, Humphrey. 304
 Dix, Thomas. 245
 Dixe, John. 254
 Dod, John (rector of Hanwell).
 245, 258, 272, 283, 286, 287
 Dodinge, Miles. 247
 Domitian. 23, 35, 45
 Donanverdh, St. 46
 Done, Harry, ap Pikton. 183
 Done, John, of Kidwelly. 183
 Donewale, Hugh de. 169
 Donewale, Richard de. 169
 Dormer, John Esq. 508
 Dorset, Lord. 372
 Doughty, Tho. 402
 Douglas, Hon. Frederick Sylvester
 North. 542
 Dowbiggin, Mr. Samuel. 532
 Downe, Thomas second Earl of. 333
 Downe, Thomas third Earl of. 500
 Downing, Edmund. 247
 D'Oyley, Bray. 452
 D'Oyley, Dorothy. 465
 D'Oyley, John Esq. 211
 D'Oyley, John Esq. 285, 329
 D'Oyley, Nigel. 61
 D'Oyley, Robert. 59, 61, 189
 D'Oyley, Robert. 68
 Drew, Tho. 409
 Drope, Thomas. 248, 255, 258
 Drous, Robert de. 101
 Dryden, Sir Erasmus. 264
 Dryden, John. 264, 486
 Dryden, Sir John. 355
 Dudely, John. 201
 Dudley, Agnes. 212, 213
 Dudley, Captain. 336, 339
 Dudley, John. 183
 Dudley, John, Duke of Northum-
 berland. [See Northumberland,
 Duke of.]
 Dudley, Oliver Esq. 183
 Dudley, William. 212, 213, 221, 224
 Dugdale, Sir William. 154, 303, 348
 Duke of York's Dwarf. (Qu. Geof-
 frey Hudson?) 372, 373

Dumbleton, Mr. 570
 Duncan, Mr. 41
 Dungan, James. 409
 Dunsmore, Lord. 302
 Durnal, Henry. 100
 Duston, William de. 94
 Dutton, Phil. 328
 Dutton, Lord Gerard. 484
 Dutton, Sir Thomas. 350
 Dyngley, Doctor (vicar of Banbury).
 198
 Dyx, Joyce. 245
 Dyx, Ralph. 255
 Dyx, Thomas. 245.
 Eadbarbury, William de (prior of
 Wroxton). 82
 Eadwold (Priest). 51
 Ealheard (Bishop). 54
 East, Edward. 354
 Easthope, Sir John. 545
 Eata (Bishop). 52
 Edans, Robert. 447
 Edden, Henry. 176
 Edens, Nicodemus. 248, 252, 255
 Edon, Edward. 255
 Edons, Mr. 265, 266
 Edmund Ironside. 58
 Edmunds, Richard. 425, 432, 545
 Ednoth (Bishop). 57, 58
 Ednoth junior (Bishop). 58
 Edrall, James. 212
 Edric. 58
 Edward the Elder. 54
 Edward the Confessor. 58
 Edward III. 165
 Edwin Earl of Mercia. 58, 59, 61
 Edyall, James. 212
 Egbert. 53
 Egleston, Mr. 358
 Ekelfeld, Bartyl. 231
 Eleutherius (Bishop). 52
 Elfric. 57
 Eliot, Sir John. 477
 Eliston, Ed. 409
 Elizabeth, Lady (lady of Banbury).
 212, 215
 Elizabeth (Princess). 219
 Ellit, Robert. 337
 Elseffeld, Robert de. 100
 Elvenston, Captain. 280
 Emson, Sir Richard. 189
 Emson, Thomas Esq. 189
 Englefield, Sir Francis. 194
 Ennis, Captain. 394
 Ennis, Colonel. 315
 Ennis, Major. 398, 405, 408, 409, 410
 Escwin (Bishop). 57
 Essex, Colonel Charles. 313, 316
 318, 321

- Essex, Colonel. 465
 Essex, Robert Earl of. 246
 Essex, Earl of. 295, 305, 308, 320, 325, 329, 348, 351, 357, 384, 404
 Essex, Sir William. 321
 Estebay, John (vicar of Banbury). 173, 176, 187, 199
 Ethelbald. 52
 Ethelred. 52, 53, 58
 Ethelwold. 54
 Ethelwulph. 53
 Ethric (Bishop). 58
 Eton, Richard. 175
 Eton, Richard. 176
 Eugene III. (Pope.) 68, 70
 Everad (or Eneand), John. 183
 Everard, Captain. 443
 Everdon, Richard de (rector of Broughton). 101
 Ewres, Colonel. 439
 Exon (Bishop of). 296
 Eyre, Captain. 407
 Eyre, Da. 465
 Eyre, Francis Esq. 247
 Eyre, Francis Esq. (Earl of Newburgh.) 558
 Eyre, Thomas Esq. 481
 Eyston, Edward. 393

 Fabian, Johanna. 614
 Fabian, Philip. 166
 Fairfax, Francis. 328
 Fairfax, Sir Thomas (Lord Fairfax). 408, 423, 435, 444
 Fairfax, Sir William. 313, 316
 Fairefeld, Richard. 220
 Falkes, John. 100
 Falkesius. 100
 Falkland, Lord. 315, 352
 Falkland, Lord. 474, 480, 481
 Fane, Sir Francis. 508
 Fane, Lady Mary. 484
 Faningho, Robert (prior of Wroxton). 82
 Farmar, Ed. 401, 406, 407
 Farmer, Captain. 439
 Farnes, Joseph. 304
 Farnsworth, Richard. 452, 625
 Faulkner, Charles Esq. 479
 Fausta. 28
 Faustina junior. 45
 Faustina senior. 45
 Fearfelld, Rychard. 225
 Fell, Dr. (Bishop.) 158, 471, 532
 Fenis. } [See Fiennes.]
 Fenys. }
 Ferneall, John (prior of Chacombe). 86
 Ferrer, Colonel. 378, 381, 384
 Ferrer, Mrs. 384

 Ferrers, Edward. 446
 Ferris. [See Fiennes.]
 Fetyplace, Edward. 247
 Frederick, Sir Charles. 348
 Fidoe, John. 437
 Fielding, Col. Richard. 313
 Fielding, Lord. 315
 Fiennes, Captain. 380
 Fiennes, Cecilia. 623
 Fiennes, Elizabeth. 623
 Fiennes, Frances (wife of Nathaniel Fiennes). 476, 623
 Fiennes, Frances. 623
 Fiennes, Francis. 304
 Fiennes, Henry. 305
 Fiennes (Fenys), James de. [See Saye and Sele, James, Lord.]
 Fiennes, James. [See Saye and Sele, James, Viscount.]
 Fiennes, Col. John. 300, 301, 304, 307, 308, 328, 349, 366, 370, 374, 377, 378, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 477, 487, 619
 Fiennes, Master. 226, 230, 349
 Fiennes, Mary. 623
 Fiennes, Hon. Nathaniel. 283, 292, 295, 296, 304, 307, 308, 318, 324, 328, 329, 349, 384, 435, 449, 468, 477, 506, 622
 Fiennes, Nathaniel junior. 450
 Fiennes, Sir Richard. [See Saye and Sele, Richard, Lord.]
 Fiennes, Hon. T. W. Twistleton. 237, 282, 330, 365, 476
 Fiennes, William. [See Saye and Sele, William Viscount.]
 Fines. [See Fiennes.]
 Fisher, E. L. Esq. 238, 359
 Fisher, Mr. (vicar of Kington.) 321
 Fitzcount, Brien. 68
 Fitzhugh, Henry. 178
 Fitz Richard, Roger. 90
 Fitz Robert, John, Lord of Clavering. 88
 Flecher, William. 201
 Fleetwood, Lieut.-Gen. 448
 Fleming, Richard (Bishop). 173
 Floyd, David. 258
 Floyd, Walter. 255
 Fludd, Thomas. 246
 Forest, John. 172, 174, 175
 Fort, Thomas. 188
 Fortescue, Sir Faithful. 315, 328
 Foster, Robert. 409
 Foster, Thomas. 255, 258
 Fountain, Ornall. 328
 Fowler of Buckingham. 615
 Fowler, Richard. 615
 Fox, Charles Esq. 483
 Fox, Mr. 226

- Fox, Michael. 120, 203
 Fox, Michael Esq. 326
 Foxley, Mr. 467
 Franchishe, John. 251
 Francillon, Mr. 322
 Francklin, Jo. 410
 Franklin, Dr. 528
 Franklin, John. 528
 Frederick Prince of Wales. 520
 French, John. 466
 Frogmarton, Mr. Jhon. 225
 Fry, John. 538
 Furnival, Gerard de. 91
 Fyfeild, William. 388
 Fynes. [See Fiennes.]
 Fysher, Mr. 222, 224

 Gage, Sir Henry. 379, 380, 384
 Gainsborough, Lord. 499
 Gale, Mr. 17
 Gallienus. 28, 607
 Gannock, Captain. 419
 Gardner, Robert. 417, 537, 570
 Gardner, Samuell. 538
 Garner, Thomas. 255, 258
 Garney, Jo. 406
 Garway, Thomas. 255, 258
 Gascoigne, Robert, gent. 517
 Gaston, Jo. 409
 Gastrell, Peregrine. 282
 Gaunt, John de. 172
 Gauthern, Mary. 557
 Gaveston, Piers de. 103
 Gazey, Mr. John. 153
 Gee, Edward. 464
 Gee, John. 464
 Gell, Sir John. 341, 342.
 George IV. 540
 Gerard, John. 79, 83
 Gerard, Joseph (vicar of Banbury). 520
 Gerrard, Colonel. 321
 Giffard, Mr. Charles. 449
 Giffard, Walter (Earl of Bucking-
 ham). 60
 Gifford, Mr. 421
 Gill, John. 246
 Gill, Mr. 461
 Gillett, Mr. 567
 Gittings, ——. 304
 Gledston, Sir Roger de. 102
 Glenbervie, Lord. 541, 542
 Glover, Edmund. 212, 220
 Glynn. 450
 Godefrey, Robert. 96
 Godesthough [Godstow], Abbess of. 101
 Godfrey, Mr. 603
 Godolphin, Francis Earl of. 517
 Godrick, Richard. 213

 Golbee, John. 302
 Golby, James. 432, 533
 Golby, J. W. Esq. 187, 432
 Goldsborough, ——. 328
 Gollidge, Thomas. 304
 Goodman, Captain. 394
 Goodwin, Francis, gent. 516
 Goodwin, Dr. Thomas. 289
 Goodwin, Thomas. 449, 465
 Goodwin, William, gent. 516
 Goring, Lord. 315
 Gostelow, Richard. 462
 Gostelow, Walter. 129, 462
 Goughe, John. 246
 Grafton, John. 557
 Grandison, George Earl of. 545
 Grantham, Colonel. 317, 320
 Gratian. 28
 Gravesend, Richard de (Bishop). 93
 Gray, Lieut.-Col. 383
 Gray, Lord. 352
 Gray, Lady Elizabeth. 178
 Gray, Lady Jane. 218
 Greathead, Robert (Bishop). 81, 92, 108
 Green, Colonel (Deputy Governor of Banbury Castle). 354, 369, 370, 374, 375, 377, 381, 389
 Green, George. 432, 533
 Greenhill Robert. 516
 Greenville, Captain. 385
 Greenwood, Rev. Mr. 45
 Gregory, Blagrove. 516
 Grene, John (prior of Clattercot). 88
 Grevile, Sir Edward. 293
 Grevile, Edward. 236
 Grevile, Sir Fulke. 293
 Grevile, Fulke. 477
 Grevile, Ludovick. 117, 174
 Grevile, Ludovick. 235
 Grevile, William. 117, 174
 Greviles. 44
 Grey, William (Bishop). 173
 Griffin, Richard. 255
 Griffin, Richard. 545
 Griffith, John. 452
 Grimby, Samuel. 24, 534
 Grimes, James. 328
 Grostète, Robert (Bishop). [See Greathead.]
 Grove, Thomas de la (prior of Wroxton). 82
 Gubin', Thomas. 95
 Guilford, Earls of. 123. [And see North.]
 Guilford, Barons. [See North.]
 Gulliver, George Esq. 571
 Gunn, John. 533
 Gunthorpe, John. 187, 188

- Gunvyle, John (vicar of Banbury). 105
 Guy, Captain. 400
 Gwyn, Ed. 409
 Gwyn, Sir Rowland. 508
 Gybbes, Richard. 217
 Gyfford, Captain. 383
 Gylborne, Nicholas. 246
 Gyll, Edward. 255
 Gyll, Elizabeth. 388
 Gyll, John. 255, 256
 Gyll, Luke. 388
 Gyll, Peter. 218, 222, 225, 227
 Gyll, William. 217
 Gyllot, William. 100
 Gynwel, John (Bishop). 105, 168
 Gyseleh*^m, William de. 96
 Gyves, John. 212, 213

 Hadley, Humfrey. 245
 Hadrian. 23, 33, 45
 Haie, Guy de la. 90
 Haines, Anthony. 516
 Haines, John. 280
 Hakelinton, David. 90
 Hall, Thomas. 203
 Halfden. 53
 Halhed, Henry. 212, 249, 275
 Halhed, John. 255
 Halhed, Richard. 622
 Halhed, Thomas, elder and younger. 253, 255, 282, 465, 622
 Hall, Anthony. 281
 Hall, John. 478
 Hall, Thomas. 249
 Hall, —. 283
 Hall of Bodicot. 160
 Halse, Richard. 498
 Hampden, John. 293, 294, 295, 296, 304, 305, 306, 308, 313, 317, 320, 325, 340, 342
 Hampton, George, M. A. 524, 557
 Hampton, Thomas. 176, 199
 Hamsterley, Ralph. 187
 Hancoke, William. 232
 Handes, William. 83.
 Hannam, Jam. 304
 Harbage, Mr. John. 10
 Harbarde, William. 183
 Harberd, Richard. 535
 Harcourt, Sir Robert. 191
 Hardy, Robert. 199
 Harleston, Mr. 239
 Harold. 58
 Harpom, Richard. 176
 Harreyes, William. 175
 Harrington, Captain. 413
 Harris, John. 353
 Harris, Rev. Malachi, D. D. 79
 Harris, Mr. 567
 Harris, Dr. Robert (rector of Hanwell). 79, 240, 241, 245, 269, 270, 284, 285, 301, 333, 496
 Harris, Timothy. 496
 Harrison, Colonel. 441
 Harrison, Jam. 328
 Harrison. Rev. Mr. 12
 Harrow, Cha. 328
 Harvey, Dr. William. 322
 Harter, John. 212
 Hartey, Ed. 401, 406, 407
 Hartlet, John. 212, 217, 220
 Hartlett. 226, 331
 Hartridge Geo. 328
 Haselrigg, Sir Arthur. 411
 Hastings (Commander). 399
 Hatton, Lord. 405
 Hauckworth, Captain. 355
 Hausted, Peter. 384
 Hawes, Robert. 252
 Hawse, Rowland. 465
 Hawkins, James, 388
 Hawkins, William. 465
 Hawksford (Governor). 354
 Hawles, John Esq. 505
 Hawntyte, James de. 81
 Hawtayne, Henry. 251, 255
 Hawten, Richard. 516
 Hawtyn, Joseph. 533
 Haydon, Edmund. 394
 Haynes, Tho. 304
 Hazulford, John (rector of Broughton). 173
 Hedda (Bishop). 52
 Hekelfeld, Bartholomew. 212
 Henn, J. 536, 613
 Henrietta Maria (Queen of Charles I). 348
 Henry (Bishop). 168
 Henry VIII. 205
 Henry, Prince (Henry II). 68
 Henry, Prince. 386
 Herast, Lord of. 185
 Herbert, Sir Richard. 179
 Hercye, John Esq. 251, 253
 Herd, John. 201
 Herdson, Henry. 213
 Hericke, — (scout-master). 354
 Herreys, Thomas. 176
 Hervey, Lieutenant. 393
 Hewson, Colonel. 439
 Hibberdine, Benjamin. 478
 Higebright (Bishop). 53
 Higgins, William. 449
 Higham, Sir John. 239
 Hill, Captain. 362
 Hill, Edward. 388
 Hill, Epiphany. 280, 282
 Hill, Nathaniel. 282, 465, 622
 Hill, Dr. Othowell. 268

- Hill, Richard. 281, 493
Hill, Samuel. 533
Hill, —. 283
Hilliard, Robert. 178
Hillsborough, Viscount. 516
Hoare, —. 304
Hobart, Hon. and Rev. H. L. 530, 541, 542
Hobson, Lieutenant. 383
Hodges, John Esq. 516
Holbech, Ambrose Esq. 491
Holbech, Ambrose Esq. 516, 517
Holbech, Henry (Bishop). 214
Holbech, Hugh Esq. 551
Holbech, William Esq. 539
Holbech, William Esq. 551
Holland, Lord. 295
Holland, Philemon. 454, 568
Hollaway, Thomas. 255
Hollead, Henry. 280
Holloed, Mary. 297
Holloed, Tho. 297
Holles, Denzil, Lord. 304, 313, 316, 318, 320, 323
Holloway, Thomas. 258
Holman, George. 481
Holman, Sir John. 481, 483, 506
Holman, Philip. 79, 407, 481
Holmans. 513
Hooper, Captain. 416, 422
Honorius (Pope). 51
Honorius II. (Pope.) 63
Hopcraft, John. 249
Hopkins, Bernard. 212, 224, 226
Hopton, Sir Owen. 264
Hore, Jo. 409
Horn, David. 277
Hornesley, Robert. 220
Horsman, Hester. 388
Horton, Thomas. 248
Horton, William. 570
Horwood, Robert. 248
Houghton, Ralph (vicar of Banbury). 245, 246
House, Thomas. 217
How, Charles Esq. 516
Howard, Robert. 362
Howard, Wil. 304
Howell, Ed. 409
Howes, John (vicar of Banbury). 282, 296
Hudson, Geoffery. [See Duke of York's Dwarf.]
Hubbard, Rev. C. B. 512
Hugh de Barentin. 89
Hugh of Grenoble (Bishop and Saint). 71, 79
Hugh (prior of Wroxton). 81
Hughes, Mr. 557
Hughes, Rev. R. E. 143
Hugoline Filius Pauli. }
Hugolin son of Paul de Adigheriis. }
165, 168
Humphrey, Dr. Laurence. 244
Humphrys, Nathaniel. 516
Hungerford, Sir Anthony. 227
Hungerford, Henry. 474
Hunks, Colonel. 343
Hunt, Mr. George. 268
Hunt, Henry. 479
Hunt, John. 268
Hunt, Martha. 268
Hunt, Thomas. 486
Hunt, Mrs. 434
Hutchinson, Lieut.-Col. Geo. 304
Hutchinson, Col. Hon. H. Hely. 545
Hycrith, Saint. 46
Hyde, Chancellor. 473
Hyggs, Thomas. 213
Hylle, William. 233
Idiall, John. 213
Idyall, James. 212
Ingfeld, Sir Francis. 227
Ingham, Oliver de. 107
Innocent II. (Pope.) 66, 68
Innocent IV. (Pope.) 93
Insula, Brien de. [See L'isle, Brien de.]
Iporegia, George de. 106
Iremonger, John. 512
Ireton, Colonel. 444
Isaac the Jew. 101
Isaacson, James Esq. 507
Jackman, William. 520
Jackson, Major. 354
Jackson, Roger. 221, 233
James I. 240, 261, 262
James II. 503
Jankin, Davy ap, of Lymmeryke. 183
Jaxson, Richard. 353
Jeanes, Thomas, M. D. 437
Jeffery, son of Henry II. and Rosamond. (Bishop.) 71
Jenkinson, Sir Robert. 513
Jersey, Earl of. 145
Jessop, Clarke. 24
Jessop, Mr. Matthew. 326, 538, 582, 596, 600
Jewitt, Mr. O. 151
Joad, Andrew. 533
John. 335
John, Juan ap. 183
Johnson, John. 213
Johnson, Richard. 419
Johnson, Dr. Samuel. 387
Johnson, Thomas. 531

- Johnston, John. 402
 Jones, Sir Henry. 474
 Jones, Rev. J. 183
 Jones, Richard. 225
 Jonson, Ben. 455, 568
 Joynar, William. 225
 Judd, William senior. 207, 541, 542, 545
 Judd, William junior. 541, 542
 Julian. 44
 Juvenal. 40
 Juxon (Bishop). 437

 Kaysthorp, Alexander de (prior of Chacombe). 85
 Keck, Anthony Esq. 499
 Keeling, Edward. 254
 Kegworth, Henry de (prior of Chacombe). 86, 104
 Kelly, Jo. 304
 Kemeswell, Mr. 222, 224, 225, 226
 Kenning, John. 516
 Kenric. 48
 Kenwricke, Richard Esq. 394
 Kerel, Thomas. 101
 Kersey, John. 485
 Kettle, Jo. 410
 Keylwey, Robert. 212, 215
 Keywood, Captain. 407
 Kidd, Benjamin. 523
 Killesby, William de. 168
 Kimbolton, Lord. 316, 374
 King, William. 409
 Kinge, John. 176
 Kinge, Robert. 265
 Kirby, Mr. Alderman. 251
 Kirkeby, John de (vicar of Banbury). 99, 105
 Kirke, Col. Lewis. 336, 339
 Kirton, Thomas. 414
 Knight, Elizabeth. 245
 Knight, Jhone. 277
 Knight, Johan. 249
 Knight, John. 99, 249, 277, 494
 Knight, John, D. D. (vicar of Banbury.) 487
 Knight, Lieutenant. 388
 Knight, Matthew. 249
 Knight, Mr. 281
 Knight, William. 254, 255, 256, 258, 265, 280, 494
 Knightley, Rev. Sir John. 543
 Knightley, Sir Richard. 295
 Knightley, Richard Esq., the elder. 284, 295
 Knightley, Richard Esq., the younger. 295, 296, 408, 409, 410, 428
 Knightley, Robert. 328
 Knightley, Sir. 621

 Knollys, Charles. 267, 519, 617
 Knollys, Sir Francis. 239, 243, 266, 615
 Knollys, Nicholas. 267, 616
 Knollys, Thomas Wood. 520
 Knollys, William, Baron Knollys of Greys, Viscount Wallingford, and Earl of Banbury. 255, 256, 266, 282, 616
 Knollys, William, M. P. (called Viscount Wallingford.) 519
 Knollys, Lieut.-Gen. William. 520
 Knowles, Nathaniel. 453
 Kussere, Matill' de. 94
 Kynton, John. 217

 Laharn, Tho. 328
 Lamb, Rev. George. 535
 Lamb, Rev. J., D. D. (vicar of Banbury.) 28, 535, 541, 542, 543
 Lamb, Rev. Matthew, D. D. (vicar of Banbury.) 526, 535
 Lamphire, Dr. John. 388
 Lamprey, Mary. 452
 Lancaster, Thomas Earl of. 101, 103
 Lancaster, Mr. (Puritan.) 285, 287
 Lancaster, Rev. Thomas William (vicar of Banbury). 543
 Lane, James. 538
 Lane, John. 483
 Langdale, Sir Marmaduke. 396, 399
 Langford, —. 304
 Langley, Christopher. 268
 Langley, John. 463
 Latimer, Sir Thomas. 91
 Latimer, Sir Thomas. 171
 Latimer (Bishop). 204
 Laud (Archbishop). 386, 463
 Laurence de St. Amano. 89
 Laurenc', Gilbert. 95
 Laurence, Roger. 95
 Law, Richard. 528
 Lawson, Captain. 350
 Lawson, Charles Esq. 519
 Ledet, Wischard. 91
 Lee, Ben. 304
 Lee, Thomas. 611
 Legge, Hon. Arthur Charles. 544
 Legge, Hon. Heneage. 543, 544
 Leigh, Sir Edward. 269, 270, 273, 290, 462
 Leman, Rev. T. 33
 Leon, Eustace de. 101
 Leonard, Rev. R. W. 37
 L'Estrange, Roger. 486
 Letherland, John. 512
 Lewelin. 93
 Lewes, Owen ap. 245
 Lewkenor, Mr. 239
 Lexington, Henry (Bishop). 93

- Licinius. 23, 28, 34
 Lidcoat, Rich. 328
 Lidcot, General. 372
 Lilborne, Colonel. 374, 441
 Lindsey, Earl of. 314, 315, 319, 321, 324
 Lindsey, Earl of. 326
 Ling, Van. 263
 L'isle, Brien de. 89, 90
 Lisle, Sir Arnold de. 354
 Lisle, Sir George. 315
 Litchfeild, Edward. 446
 Litcot, Major. 378, 383
 Lloyd, Walter. 304
 Lockier, —. 441
 Lodge, Thomas. 465
 Loftus, Mr. James. 600
 Loggins, Mr. 34
 London, Robert de. 88
 Longe, John. 213, 217, 223, 225, 480
 Longe, Mary. 555
 Longe, Mast'. 233
 Longe, Matthew. 254
 Longe, Thomas. 233
 Longe, William. 233, 254
 Longland, John (Bishop). 197, 204, 253
 Longspear, Stephen. 93
 Lorde, John. 220
 Love, Mr. 407
 Lovelace, Lord. 373
 Lovelace, Lady. 372
 Loveling, Rev. Benjamin (vicar of Banbury). 509
 Lovell, Hen. 328
 Lovell, Mr. 274
 Lovett, John. 222
 Lovytt, Mr. 225, 226, 230
 Lower, Dr. Richard. 498
 Luke, Sir Samuel. 354, 355, 367, 372, 380, 384, 385, 388, 390, 393, 394, 397, 398, 399, 401, 404, 407, 408, 409, 618
 Lucas, William. 410
 Luce, Mr. 226
 Lucilla. 23, 32, 45
 Lumley, Marmaduke (Bishop). 174
 Lunsford, Colonel. 302, 321
 Lush, James. 541, 542, 570
 Luter, John. 212, 220, 447
 Luther, John. 212
 Lutts, Jhon. 224
 Lyndraper, John. 166, 169
 Lyons, Sir John de. 79, 86, 121, 168, 178
 Lytton, Sir Rowland. 240
 Lydcott, Captain. 400
 Lydcott, Colonel. 400, 405, 406, 620
 Lydcott, Major. 367
 Lydyat, Christopher. 386
 Lydyat, Thomas. 144, 386
 Mabbot, Gilb. 420
 Magnentius. 28, 34
 Major, Richard. 372
 Major, Theodore. 254
 Makepace, Ann. 479
 Malet, William, Baron of Curi. 88
 Mallory, William Esq. 183
 Malsbury, Thomas. 528
 Malten, Geo. 305
 Man, Edward. 255
 Manchester, Earl of. 351, 355, 372, 374, 375, 379
 Mander, Thomas. 516
 Mander, William. 477
 Mandeville, Lord. 313, 316
 Mandevill, Richard de. 97
 Manne, William. 218
 Mar, Earl of. 513
 Mar, William. 447, 448
 Marche, Edward. 213, 225
 Mardon, Rev. T. 614
 Marmion, Shakerley. 264
 Marrow, Geo. 304
 Marshall, Rev. E. 8
 Marshall, Samuel. 334, 337
 Marten, William. 213
 Martin, Colonel. 439
 Martin, Captain. 346
 Martyn, Francis. 446
 Martyr, Peter. 204
 Mary. 218
 Mason, Thomas. 176
 Massey, Colonel. 409
 Mathew, Thomas, M. A. (vicar of Banbury.) 482
 Matthews, Lieut-Col. 419
 Maud (Empress). 68
 Mauduit, John. 101
 Mauduit, Robert. 88, 101
 Maunder, William. 265, 266
 Maurice, Prince. 412
 Maximian. 19, 28
 Maximin. 44
 Maynard, John. 212, 213
 Meacock, William. 503
 Meddams, Joseph. 516
 Mede, Dr. Joseph. 387
 Meek, Edmund. 255
 Meek, Edward. 258
 Meldrum, Sir John. 313, 318
 Melton, Tho. 410
 Melvin, Captain. 346
 Merrick, Richard. 247
 Metcalfe, Henry. 251
 Metcalfe, Mary. 197, 250
 Metcalfe, Mrs. 44
 Metcalfe, Thomas. 250
 Mey, Richard. 166, 169

- Middleton, Captain. 367
 Middleton, Colonel. 352
 Middleton, Lieutenant. 366, 368, 388
 Middleton, Ralph de. 81
 Midilton, Richard de (vicar of Banbury). 96
 Mildecu'be, William de. 101
 Mildmay, Robert. 407
 Mildmay, Sir Walter. 253
 Miller, John gent. 516
 Miller, Lieutenant. 383
 Miller, Lieut-Col. 545
 Miller, Sanderson. 24, 516
 Miller, Mistress Sarah. 461
 Mills, John Esq., F. R. S. 527
 Milward, Miss. 78
 Mohun, Walter Esq. 240
 Mole, George. 255
 Molsow, Roger. 213
 Monk, General. 451, 474
 Monmouth, Ed. 410
 Montacute, William de. 107
 Montagu, Colonel. 509
 Monte Florum, Parnolus de. 107
 Monte Florum, Paul de. 165
 Montfort, Sir Simon. 192
 Moore, George Esq. 78
 Moore, James. 305
 Moore, Thomas (vicar of Banbury). 245
 Moore, Hon. William. 520
 More, Richard. 221, 227
 Moreton, John. 516
 Morgan, Charles. 402, 404
 Morgan, Henry ap. 183
 Morgan, Rev. J. 13
 Morrell, William. 488
 Morris, William. 245
 Morwyng, Peter. 242
 Moselye, George. 255
 Moubray, John de. 170
 Mouner, Walter le. 77
 Mund, Robert le. 95
 Munro, Colonel. 321
 Munton, John Esq. 153, 154
 Murimouth, Richard de. 167
 Musgrave, William. 410
 Myldemay, Sir Walter. 212
 Myles, Agnes. 213
 Myller, Elizabeth. 212
 Myllett, Sir John. 199
 Nash, Rev. Mr. 39
 Nayler, Bartholomew. 254, 255, 265
 Nayler, Richard. 213
 Naylor, Anne. 246
 Naylor, James. 467
 Necoll, Thom's. 231
 Needham, Captain. 346
 Needle, William. 343
 Nelson, Rev. G. M. 45
 Nero. 23, 35, 45
 Nerva. 23, 45
 Neve, Sir William le. 326
 Nevil, Christopher. 482
 Nevil, Col. Richard. 360
 Neville, Sir Henry. 178, 183
 Neville, Hugh de. 101
 Neville, Ralph de. 104
 Newton, Sir Adam. 387
 Newton, Sir Hugh de. 167
 Newcomin, Jon. 304
 Newham, Geo. 409
 Newlove, Jane. 258
 Newman, John gent. 516, 533, 535
 Newman, Richard. 462
 Newman, Samuel. 462
 Nicholas (rector of Broughton). 81
 Nicholes, George. 246, 255, 256
 Nicholes, John. 255, 280
 Nicholls, Ed. 407
 Nicholls, Organ. 282
 Nicholls (Secretary). 405
 Nicolas IV. (Pope.) 97
 Nigel (Bishop of Ely). 67
 Norman, John. 175
 Normanton, Sir Hugh. 99
 Norreys, Sir Edward. 508
 Norris, Sir John. 331
 Norris, Lord. 616
 Norris, Thomas. 479
 North, Dudley, third Baron North of Kirtling. 500
 North, Dudley, fourth Baron North of Kirtling. 500
 North, Charles, fifth Baron North of Kirtling. 500
 North, Sir Francis, Lord Keeper, first Baron Guilford. 84, 123, 263, 264, 498, 500
 North, Francis, second Baron Guilford. 177
 North, Francis, first Earl of Guilford, and seventh Baron North of Kirtling. 469, 519, 543
 North, Frederick Lord (the Premier), second Earl of Guilford, and eighth Baron North of Kirtling. 123, 264, 520, 527, 539
 North, George Augustus, third Earl of Guilford, and ninth Baron North of Kirtling. 539
 North, Francis, fourth Earl of Guilford. 263, 540
 North, Frederick, fifth Earl of Guilford. 538, 539, 541
 North, Lady Susan, Baroness North of Kirtling. 539, 540
 North, the Hon. William Henry John. 540

- North, Brownlow (Bishop). 541,
543
North, Hon. Charles. 508, 511
North, Sir Dudley. 500, 501
North, Dudley Esq. 539, 541
North, Ed. 409
North, Edward. 500
North, Lady Georgina. 540
North, Lieut.-Col. John Sidney.
539, 540, 618
North, Dr. John. 500
North, Lady Maria, Marchioness of
Bute. 539
North, Montagu. 500
North, Roger. 500, 501
Northampton, Spencer Earl of. 294,
298, 299, 305, 329, 330, 331, 341,
384
Northampton, James Earl of. 342,
345, 351, 352, 355, 359, 362, 378,
379, 380, 394, 396, 397, 399, 400,
401, 403, 405, 406, 409, 412, 418,
427
Northampton, Countess of. 402
Northan Jhon. 225
Northburgh, Michael de. 167
Northumberland, John Dudley,
Duke of. 215, 216, 218
Northumberland, Earl of. 341, 399
Norton, John de. 166
Norton, Jo. 401
Noy, Attorney-General. 160
Nutt, Thomas. 479

O'Clare, Rev. Michael. 529
Odell, Master. 199
Odo (Bishop). 59, 61
Offa. 52
Okens, Mr. 248, 250
Okey, Colonel. 445
Oldys, Dr. 396, 620
Oldys, William. 523
Ombresleye, John de (Abbot of
Evesham). 170
Orfice, Rich. 328
Osbert, of Grimsbury. 90
Osbert Petrarius. 89
Osborn, Robert. 533
Osbourne, Franc. 469
Osferth. 54
Osketyl (Bishop). 57
Osman, William. 557
Osmund the Dane. 58
Ostorius Scapula. 22, 30, 44, 607
Ostree, William. 245
Ott, Richard. 211
Oughton, Sir Adolphus. 516
Overton. 441
Owen, Captain. 442
Owen, Ed. 409
Owen, George. 213
Owen, Doctor. 212
Owen, Dr. John. 289, 465, 468, 470
Owen, Thankful. 465
Owen, Thomas. 516
Oxenford, John de. 169
Oxford, Captain. 407

Packington, John. 171
Padbury, Mr. Thomas. 570
Padd, Richard. 513
Pain, John. 533, 535, 538
Pain, John. 541, 542
Pain, Joseph. 541, 542
Pain, Rev. Richard. 541
Paine, William. 214
Painter, Mr. John. 17
Painton, Mr. 514
Palmer, Thomas. 212
Parco, Thomas de. 90
Pargeter, W., M. D. 535
Parin, Robert. 305
Park, Thomas de. 104
Park, William de. 104
Parker, J. H. Esq. 102, 108, 110,
112, 114, 115, 117, 118, 119, 120,
123, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 133,
134, 135, 140, 145, 205, 555
Parker, Lord Viscount. 522
Parnam, William. 220
Parr, —. 521
Parr, Queen Catharine. 194
Parr, Dr. Richard (Bishop). 464
Parratt, Symon. 212
Parry, Henry. 215
Parry, Lieutenant. 442, 443
Parsons, John. 453
Paston, Sir William. 261
Paunes, William. 102
Payne, Captain. 397
Payne, Thomas. 212, 213
Payton, Sir Edward. 328
Payne, Rev. E. 613
Payne, John. 159, 249, 275
Pearse, Rev. W. 45, 118
Pearson, John. 538
Pearson, William. 252
Peke, Richard. 213
Pembroke, Earl of (Protector). 91
Pembroke, Earl of. 103
Pembroke, Herbert Earl of. 179
Pembroke, Earl of, Chancellor of Ox-
ford. 289
Penda. 50
Pennard, William. 446
Penny, Philip. 516
Pent, Major. 383
Pentlow, Tho. 407
Percy, Colonel. 362
Pergente, John, Knight. 213

- Perkins. 268
 Perkins, Master. 445
 Pernande, William. 212
 Perren, John, Knight. 212
 Perrins, Isaac. 531
 Perry, Captain. 362
 Person, John. 169
 Person, Laurence. 203
 Person, Richard. 212
 Persons, John. 176
 Pese, Edward. 212
 Peterborough, Earl of. 310, 328
 Peters, Hugh. 449, 467, 470
 Peto, Sir Edward. 303
 Petre, Sir William. 203
 Pettipher, William. 528
 Pew, Jo. 328
 Phelipps, Frances. 446
 Phillips, Mrs. Elizabeth. 343
 Phillips, George. 280
 Phippes, John. 176
 Pierson, William. 200
 Pigot, Baldwin. 82
 Pigot, Sir Roger. 183
 Pigott, Dolly. 556
 Pigott, Eliza Mary. 556
 Pigott, Francis. 556
 Pinchun, Richard. 91
 Pitman, John. 447
 P'kyns, Will'm. 231
 Plancesto, William. 213
 Plecet, Hugh de. 95
 Plesto, Raffé. 224
 Plomer, William. 212, 220, 225
 Plommar, Robert. 199
 Plowden, Colonel. 513
 Plowden, William Esq. 509
 Plumpton, Manasses. 477
 Pole, William de la, Duke of Suffolk. 174
 Pomponia Græcina. 46
 Pope, Alexander. 488
 Pope, Lady Anne. 262
 Pope, Lady Frances. 500
 Pope, John. 219, 263
 Pope, Katern. 213
 Pope, Richard. 213
 Pope, Robert. 233
 Pope, Seth. 252
 Pope, Thomas Esq. 84
 Pope, Sir Thomas. 196, 202, 219, 264
 Pope, Sir Thomas. 333, 348, 618
 Pope, William. 202
 Pope, Sir William, Earl of Downe. 84, 123, 262, 264
 Pope, Sir William knt. 262
 Postumus. 34
 Potman, Thomas. 268
 Potter, John. 516
 Potter, William. 453
 Poultney, Lieutenant. 344
 Powell, Mr. 158, 424
 Praed, William Esq. 541
 Pratt, William. 533, 535
 Prest, Hugh. 166
 Pretty, E. Esq. 22, 28, 607
 Price, Rev. Hugh. 622
 Pride, Colonel. 449
 Prideaux, Bevill. 328
 Prideaux, Prue. 304
 Prime, John. 245, 283
 Prince, ——. 441
 Probus. 35
 Prynne, William. 349, 477
 Puddell, William. 213
 Pulteneye, John de. 168
 Purefoy, Colonel. 355, 357, 367, 368, 391
 Purefoy, Ensign. 391
 Purefoy, Lieutenant. 391
 Purefoy, Major. 391, 397, 400
 Pye, Henry John Esq. 546
 Pye, Sir Robert. 296
 Pym, John. 295, 342
 Pym, John. 249, 255
 Pym, Thomas. 478
 Pym, William. 465
 Pynnes, Robert. 212
 Quintillus. 30, 607
 Radcliffe, Dr. 499
 Rainbow, Fulke. 516
 Rainsborough, Colonel. 415
 Ralph (rector of Wotton). 97
 Ramsay, Sir James. 313, 316, 352
 Ramsey, Captain. 362
 Randall, Richard (prior of Wroxton). 83
 Randall, William Esq. 495
 Rawley, Lieutenant. 443
 Rawlidge, Fras. 402, 404, 406
 Rawson, Richard. 402, 404, 406
 Raynesford, John. 189, 304
 Raynesford, William Esq. 84, 202
 Raynsford, Bartholomew. 226
 Reader, William Esq. 158, 305, 512, 619, 621
 Rede, John. 176
 Redeshawe, John. 217, 220
 Reede, Thomas. 212
 Remigius (Bishop). 51, 60, 61
 Repingdon, Philip de (Bishop). 173
 Reve, Thomas. 212, 213
 Reynde, Henry. 280
 Reynolds, Colonel. 439, 442
 Reynolds, Dr. (Bishop.) 463
 Rice, Jo. 328
 Rich, Robert. 452

- Richard I. 71
 Richard II. 79
 Richard (rector of Gilling). 97
 Richard the Miller. 90
 Richard, Bishop of Winchester. 97
 Richard, prior of Wroxton. 80
 Richard, prior of Wroxton. 80
 Richard, prior of Wroxton. 83
 Richard (Randall), prior of Wroxton. 83, 190
 Richards, Ric. 497
 Richardson. 568
 Risley, Rev. W. C. 135, 611
 Rivers, Lord. 184
 Roads, Hannah. 411
 Robbins, Humphrey. 388
 Robbins, Tho. 404, 406
 Robert, chaplain of the Hospital of St. Leonard. 79
 Robert son of Walchelin. 62
 Roberts, John. 453
 Roberts, John. 533
 Roberts, Lord. 296, 313, 408
 Robin Hood. 71
 Robin of Redesdale. 178
 Robins, George. 282
 Robins, George. 478
 Robins, Richard. 204, 217
 Robins, Thomas. 158, 297, 482
 Robson, Giles. 385
 Robyns, William. 253
 Rochester, Charles Earl of. 488
 Rochester, Henry Earl of. [See Wilmot, Lord.]
 Rochester, John Earl of. 487
 Rochfort, Lord. 317
 Rock, Francis Esq. 516
 Rodney, Colonel. 321
 Roger, Bishop of Salisbury. 63, 67
 Roger, chaplain of Banbury Castle. 90
 Rose, Robert. 409
 Rossiter, Colonel. 412
 Rotheram, Thomas (Bishop). 187
 Rouse, Geo. 328
 Rowell, Mrs. 425
 Rowland, Agnes. 212
 Rowland, Thomas (Bailiff of Banbury). 200, 201, 203
 Ruddell, John Jagoe. 625
 Rumbald (Rumoald), Saint. 51
 Rupert, Prince. 309, 312, 314, 315, 317, 325, 328, 331, 348, 349, 353, 355, 369, 375, 395, 397, 399, 403, 412
 Rupibus, Peter de (Bishop). 91
 Rusher, Mr. J. G. 278, 479
 Rusher, Philip. 149, 380, 566
 Rusher, William. 531
 Rushworth, Jo. 409, 420
 Russel, Elizabeth. 213
 Russel, John (Bishop). 187
 Russel, Lord. 219
 Russel, Robert. 255
 Russel, Robert. 282
 Russell, William Lord. 499
 Ruthven, General. 315, 325
 Rychardson, William. 217
 Rymell, Eleanor. 246
 Ryve, Thomas. 212
 Sacheverell, Dr. 512
 Sadler, Richard. 447
 St. Adrian, Neapolion. 107
 St. Botolph. 195
 St. Edmund's Bury, Abbot of. 608
 St. Giles, John de. 92
 St. John, Lord. 295, 318, 321, 450
 St. John, Rol. 407
 St. Ledger, William de. 26
 St. Paul, Emma de. 101
 St. Walery, Thomas de. 88
 Salerio, Sir George de. 105
 Salisbury, William Earl of. 101
 Salmon, John. 545
 Salo, Master (rector of Banbury). 92
 Samwell, Rich. 407
 Sanders, William. 534
 Sandys, Colonel. 308
 Sansbury, Mansell. 524
 Sansbury, Thomas. 533
 Sartoriis, Bernard de. 169
 Saunders, Sir Edward. 253
 Saunders, Thomas (prior of Chacombe). 86
 Saunders, William Esq. 79, 176, 193, 219
 Saven, John. 217
 Sawyer, Captain. 346
 Sawyer, —. 441
 Saye and Sele, James de Fenys, Baron. 174
 Saye and Sele, James Fiennes, Viscount. 280, 292, 296, 474, 475, 482
 Saye and Sele, Richard Ferris (Fiennes), Baron and Viscount. 236, 237, 246, 248, 251, 252, 256
 Saye, Robert. 484
 Saye and Sele, William, Baron. 175, 238
 Saye and Sele, William, Viscount. 237, 253, 255, 260, 281, 282, 291, 292, 295, 296, 297, 298, 304, 306, 307, 308, 318, 323, 326, 328, 329, 330, 341, 349, 412, 422, 428, 430, 435, 447, 451, 471, 475, 477, 621
 Scaliger, Joseph. 386
 Schutteford, Thomas de. 82
 Scot, Thomas. 166, 169

- Scott, Thomas (Bishop). 187
 Scott, Sir Walter. 461
 Scotte, John. 172
 Scottesburgh, Jankin Perot ap. 183
 Scroggs, Sir William (Chief-Justice). 487
 Scroop, Colonel. 441
 Scudder, Henry. 270, 273, 286, 290
 Sedgley, Mr. 573
 Segrave, John. 104
 Segrave, Sir John. 104
 Settle, Elkanah. 492
 Severne, S. A. Esq. 31
 Severus. 19
 Shakspeare. 568
 Shareshull, William de. 83
 Sharp (Churchwarden of Banbury). 157, 460
 Sharpe, Henry. 265
 Shaw, William. 437
 Sheffeld, Colonel. 405
 Sheffield, Earl of. 544
 Sheldon, Geo. 409
 Sheldon, Ralph. 7
 Shenstone, Rev. William. 558
 Sherfield, Henry. 160
 Shilborn, Captain. 383
 Shirley, William. 534
 Shirwood, Henry. 254
 Short, Richard. 479
 Short, Rev. T. 196
 Showell, Henry. 248, 254, 255, 256
 Shuckburgh, Mr. Richard. 309
 Shugborough, Edward. 247
 Shuttlworth, Henry. 227
 Shutwell, Henry. 220
 Sidnall, T. 190
 Silby, Roger de (prior of Chacombe). 85
 Silveston, Humphrey de. 169
 Sindercom, —. 443
 Skelton, Mr. 42
 Skipton, General. 379, 441
 Slade, Anne. 497
 Slade, Captain. 383
 Slade, John. 212
 Slaney, Captain. 408
 Slead, John. 213
 Sleugh, William. 171
 Sley, Hugh. 213, 224, 231
 Sloath, Richard. 388
 Smith, Captain. 319, 439
 Smith, Lieut.-Col. 381
 Smith, Henry. 251
 Smith, Cornet. 368, 478
 Smith, John. 528
 Smith, Matthew, A. M. 197
 Smith, Matthew. 478
 Smith, Thomas (prior of Wroxton). 83
 Smith, William. 528
 Smyth, Henry Esq. 37
 Smyth, William (Bishop). 77, 188, 195, 197
 Smythe, Doctor Matthew. 198, 215
 Smythe, Thomas. 213
 Smythe, William. 202
 Snow, Joseph. 535
 Snyfeild, William. 410
 Solar de Po'raya, George de. 100
 Somerset, Duke of. 212, 215
 Sowtham, William. 254
 Sparrow, Jo. 409
 Spencer, Sir John. 192
 Spencer, Lord. 298, 309
 Spencer, Hon. W. 508
 Spicer, Captain. 351
 Spillman, Rev. Robert. 535
 Sprigge, Joshua. 281, 292, 349, 417, 424, 437, 459, 466
 Sprigge, William. 466
 Sprigge, William. 469
 Sprignell, Thomas. 213
 Stacey, John. 171, 172
 Stafford, Captain. 354
 Stafford, Rev. J. C. 108, 127, 132, 133, 134, 136, 144, 145, 146, 147
 Stafford, Lord. 179
 Stafford, Robert. 226
 Staford, Lorde Henry. 222
 Stalworth, Simon. 187
 Stampford, Roger de. 93
 Stanbridge, John. 194
 Stanbridge, Thomas. 194, 202
 Standelf, Robert. 169
 Stanhope, Sir Philip. 261
 Stanier, Francis (vicar of Banbury). 503
 Stanley, Sir William. 184
 Stapleton, Sir Philip. 313, 318, 323
 Staunton, W. Esq. 316, 321, 323, 334, 339, 348, 512
 Stephen. 67, 111
 Stokes, Geoffrey. 79
 Stokes, Robert de. 94
 Stokes, Thomas. 516
 Ston', Thomas (sub-prior of Chacombe). 86
 Stone, Nicholas. 123
 Stradling, Colonel. 321
 Stratford, Ralph de. 165
 Stratton, G. F., Esq. 41
 Stretele, John de. 167, 169
 Strode, Sir George. 321
 Strowe, Thomas. 86
 Stuart, Lord Bernard. 361
 Stuart, Lord Henry. 545
 Stuart, Henry Villiers (Baron de Decies). 544
 Stubbe, Henry. 469

- Stuchfield, Mr. James. 45
 Sturge, —. 212
 Sturges, Nycolas. 225
 Style, John Gent. 517
 Style, Philip. 258
 Style, Philip Gent. 538
 Subford, Thomas de. 82
 Suffolk, Charles Duke of. 201
 Sunderland, Countess of. 509
 Sussex, Duke of. 540
 Sutton, Mr. 301
 Sutton, Oliver (Bishop). 96, 99
 Sutton, Thomas. 478, 538
 Swaleclive, Lady Extranea de. 85
 Sweeper, Tho. 304
 Sweyn. 57
 Swift, Dean. 518
 Swynfen, Mr. 621
 Symons, Richard. 212, 213
 Symonds, Rev. T. 479

 Tack, Richard. 528
 Talemasche, Peter. 94
 Talfourd, Mr. Serjeant. 547
 Tancred, Henry William Esq. 546,
 550, 551
 Tancred, Sir Thomas. 546
 Tankrevy, John. 100
 Tanner, Margaret. 213
 Tarrall, William. 410
 Tarry, James. 530
 Tateham, Samuel. 506
 Tatham, Rev. Dr. 531
 Tawney, Henry Esq. 550
 Taye, Henry. 202
 Taylor, Elyn. 201
 Taylor, John (of Broughton). 290,
 465
 Taylor, Jo. 409
 Taylor, Robert. 533, 535
 Taylor William. 255, 258
 Taylor, William. 533
 Temple, Dr. 465
 Temple, Capt. Edward. 383
 Temple, Jam. 304
 Temple, Major. 383, 619
 Temple, Purbeck. 383
 Terrill, William. 528
 Terrington, Rev. M. 12
 Tetricus, pater and junior. 19, 23,
 28, 32, 34, 35, 609
 Thame, Robert de. 169
 Thelwall, Colonel. 359
 Thicknesse, Rev. John. 523
 Thicknesse, Philip. 523
 Thomas son of Alured. 89
 Thompson, Cornet. 444
 Thompson, Richard Esq. 516
 Thompson, Simon. 453
 Thompson, Captain William. 438, 440

 Thornton, Christopher. 213
 Thorp, Edmund de (prior of Cha-
 combe). 86
 Thorp, Mr. 509
 Thorp, William. 328
 Thorpe, John de. 83
 Thorpe, William. 213
 Thory, Alex. 328
 Throgmorton, Captain. 383
 Thynne, Sir John. 215
 Timms, Sarah. 451
 Tims, John. 506
 Tims, T. Esq. 247, 425, 432, 537,
 548
 Tinne, Morgan. 304
 Titus. 23, 45
 Toden, Berenger de. 61
 Togodumnus. 21
 Tong, William. 512
 Torkington, Lieut.-Col. 383
 Toucet, John. 175
 Trajan. 23, 45, 607
 Treist, Tho. 328
 Trenchard, Mr. Serjeant. 505
 Tresham. 204
 Trist, Captain. 343, 345, 354
 Trotman, Fiennes Esq. 477
 Trotman, Misses. 477
 Troughton, John. 512
 Trymenel, John. 78
 Tubbe, Nicholas. 83
 Tugges, John. 220
 Tunney, Thomas. 254
 Turketil. 57
 Turner, Sir Edward. 522
 Turner, Dr. Peter. 387
 Turney, Tho. 409
 Tustian, John. 281, 282, 283
 Tustian, Joyce. 273
 Twistleton, Fiennes Esq. 516, 517
 Twistleton, Hon. and Rev. T. 626
 Typet, John. 170

 Udall, Thomas. 265
 Ule, John de. 96
 Ulf (Bishop). 58, 60
 Ulston, Rice ap Morgan ap. 183
 Undertrey, Henry. 212, 220
 Unitt, Captain. 381
 Unsolls, Organ. 622
 Upcott, W. Esq. 345
 Upton, William. 499
 Urry, Colonel. 353, 379
 Usher, Dr. (Archbishop.) 386

 Valens. 19, 28, 34, 42
 Valentinian. 19, 28
 Vane, Sir Harry. 295, 468
 Vaudvaske, Colonel. 367
 Vaughan, Sir Roger. 183

- Vaughan, Sir Roger of Tretower. 186
 Vaughan, Thomas ap Roger. 183, 185
 Vaughan, Watkin Thomas. 183
 Vauhans, Captain. 388
 Vaux, Lord. 267, 616
 Vavasour, Colonel. 321
 Venables, Richard. 212, 213
 Verney, Sir Edmund. 315, 318, 321, 336, 339
 Verney, Grevill Esq. 330
 Verney, Sir —, of Compton. 189
 Verney, William. 615
 Vernon, Lieutenant. 381
 Verus. 45
 Vespasian. 23, 32, 37, 45
 Victorinus. 28, 42
 Vincent, Mr. Henry. 551
 Vincent, Thomas. 213
 Vivers, Ann. 297
 Vivers, Captain. 301
 Vivers, Edward. 158, 480, 482
 Vivers, Margaret. 452
 Vivers, Nathaniel. 478
 Vivers, Richard. 254, 282, 509
 Vivers, Robert. 212, 213, 224, 297
 Vortigern. 47

 Waddop, Tho. 410
 Waget, John. 176
 Wagstaffe, Lieut.-Col. 340
 Wagstaffe, James. 477, 480
 Wagstaffe, John. 478
 Wagstaffe, Thomas. 526
 Wagstaffe, William. 478
 Wainman, Captain. 336
 Wake, Sir John. 395
 Wakelin. 88
 Waldo, Daniel gent. 497
 Walford, Rev. E. G. 28, 44, 185, 541, 542, 545, 608, 613, 614
 Walford, William. 535, 541, 542
 Walford, William Esq. 223
 Walkelin, Abbot. 85
 Walker, Clement. 477
 Walker, Edward. 252
 Walker, Sir Edward. 359, 363
 Walker, William. 322
 Wall, Mr. 432
 Waller, Jo. 410
 Waller, Sir William. 357, 379
 Wallingford, Viscount. 266
 Wallsole, John. 212, 225
 Walrond, Mrs. Mary. 494
 Walser, Humfrey. 212
 Walser, John. 212
 Walsingham, Sir Francis. 230
 Waltham, Nicholas de. 99
 Walton, Ailie. 388
 Walton, Isaac. 388
 Walton, Mary. 388
 Walton, Tho. 409
 Walwyn, —. 441
 Wamsley, Jo. 297
 Warberton, William. 213
 Ward, John. 131
 Ward (Quartermaster). 388
 Ward, Thomas. 516
 Wardle, John (vicar of Banbury). 520
 Wardon, Robert de (prior of Chacombe). 85
 Warne, Jo. 410
 Warner, Edward. 255
 Warwick, Thomas de Beauchamp, Earl of. 88
 Warwick, Countess of. 213
 Warwick, Countess of. 215
 Warwick, Earl of. 178
 Warwick, Earl of. 295, 296
 Warwick, Ela Countess of. 93
 Warwick, Richard Neville, Earl of. 310
 Warwick, Henry de Newburgh, Earl of. 148
 Wase, John. 252, 447
 Washington, Colonel. 315
 Washington, General. 528
 Washington, John. 528
 Washington, Lawrence. 528
 Washington, Robert. 528
 Watervill, Osbert. 166
 Watson, Mr. 281
 Watson, Sir Thomas. 262
 Watts, Tho. 410
 Waugh, Jane. 451
 Waure, John. 175
 Waver, John. 176
 Webb, Colonel. 380, 381
 Webb (of Drayton). 235
 Webb, Hugh. 447, 448
 Webb, John. 282, 297, 465
 Webb, John. 622
 Webb, Thomas. 249, 255, 282, 402, 404, 406
 Webbe, Sir William. 199
 Weekins, Luke. 304
 Welch, John. 516
 Welch, William. 533
 Welchman, John. 516
 Wells (Farmer). 521
 Wells, Rev. Francis. 482, 621
 Wells (or Wallis), Hugh (Bishop). 79, 88
 Wells, Hugh (Bishop). 90, 92
 Wells, Joseph. 535
 Wells, Samuel (vicar of Banbury). 289, 435, 436, 437, 451, 464, 482, 623

- Wells, William. 465
 Welshman, Edward. 522
 Welshman, John. 522
 Wem, Colonel. 364
 Wenman, Sir Thomas. 474
 Wenman, Lord Viscount. 522
 Wentworth, Lord. 360
 Wentworth, Mr. 239
 Wentworth, Sir Peter. 351, 422
 Wert, Captain. 362
 Wesley, John. 461
 West, Aholiab. 423, 625
 West, James. 465, 516
 West, John. 504
 West, John. 249, 541, 542, 538
 West, Richard. 224
 West, Thomas. 622
 Westmorland, Francis Fane, Earl of. 471, 484
 Weston, —. 212
 Weston, Colonel. 362
 Weston, Edward. 242, 252
 Weston, Nathaniel. 452
 Weston, Thomas. 212
 Weston William. 203, 224
 Wetherall, John. 211, 212
 Wever, Margaret. 213
 Wever, Walter. 213
 Weymes, General. 361
 Whalley, Edw. 305
 Whalley, Col. Edward. 413, 416, 438
 Wharton, Lord. 296, 313, 316
 Whateley, Cresswell. 347
 Whateley, Martha. 273
 Whateley, Mawde. 246
 Whateley, Thomas. 179, 248, 255, 265, 267, 282, 287, 496
 Whateley, William (vicar of Banbury). 267, 277, 282, 283, 286, 287, 455, 457, 458, 495, 496, 622
 Whateley, William junior. 273
 Whateley, William. 465, 496
 Wheate, George Esq. 516
 Wheate, Thomas Esq. 516
 Wheate, Sir Thomas. 516, 517
 Wheatley, John. 281
 Wheatley, John Esq. 273
 Wheatley, Mr. 302
 Wheatley, Nathaniel. 282, 388, 449, 478, 505, 622
 Wheeler, Jonas. 242
 Whetham, Colonel. 355, 368, 370, 372, 378, 416, 419
 Whitbread, Captain. 407
 White, —. 446
 White, Betty. 569
 White, James. 497
 White, Jarvis. 568
 White, Mary. 388
 White (Puritan). 342
 White, Dr. Richard (vicar of Banbury). 466, 483
 White, William. 281
 White, William. 526
 White, William. 533
 Whitehead, Richard. 477
 Whitgift, Archbishop. 615
 Whiting, John. 510
 Whitlock, B., M. P. 328, 450
 Whorwood, Thomas Esq. 516
 Whytstons, James, D. D. 188, 197
 Whyttington, John. 212, 213
 Wickham, Edward. 255, 256, 258
 Wickham, Capt. Humphrey. 489, 491
 Wickham, Mr. 447
 Wickham, Mary. 247
 Wickham, Richard. 258
 Wickham, Simon. 247
 Wickham, Thomas. 172, 173
 Wickham, Thomas. 247
 Wickham, Thomas. 255, 258
 Wickham, Sir Thomas. 238
 Wickham, William. 175, 491
 Widerin (Bishop). 51
 Wideville, Sir John. 184
 Wideville, Sir Richard, Baron Rivers. 178
 Wigget, Matthew. 242
 Wiggett, Stephen. 220
 Wiglaf. 53
 Wigod. 59
 Wilbraham, Sir Roger. 256
 Wild, Lydia. 521
 Wild, Dr. Robert. 436, 470, 482
 Wilkins, Robert. 388
 Willes, John Esq. 520
 Willes, Sir John. 520
 William the Conqueror. 24, 58, 59
 William Rufus. 62
 William IV. 540
 William de St. Mary Ecclesia. 71
 Williams, Dr. 78
 Williams, Edward Lloyd Esq. 546
 Williams, Sir Edward. 260
 Williams, John. 402, 404
 Williams, Sir John. 211
 Williamson, William. 213
 Willis, Browne. 149
 Willis, Dr. Thomas. 498
 Willoughby, Lord. 315, 318, 319, 321
 Willoughby de Broke, Lord. 330
 Willoughby de Earsby, Lord. 296
 Wilmot, Henry Lord (Baron Adderbury and Earl of Rochester). 302, 315, 351, 359, 362, 379, 394, 487
 Wilson, Cristin. 213
 Wilson, Mr. John. 115, 522, 537, 558, 612, 614

- Wilson, William. 533
 Wimbledon, Edward Viscount. 468
 Windham, W., M. P. 541
 Wine (Bishop). 51
 Winge, John. 255
 Winman, Captain. 339
 Winstanley, Rev. Charles. 12, 42, 43, 104
 Wisdome, Edward. 254, 255
 Wisdome, John. 232
 Wis'dome, Wm. 409
 Wise, Mr. F. 17
 Wise, John. 220
 Wise, Mr. 274
 Wise, Richard. 522
 Wodarde, John. 171
 Wodhull, Mr. 230, 420
 Wodhull, Nicholas. 161, 258
 Wolfin (Bishop). [See Ulf.]
 Wolsey (Bishop and Cardinal). 112, 197
 Wood, Anthony à. 425
 Wood, Captain Stenhouse. 39
 Wood, William Esq. 334, 337
 Wootten, William. 249
 Wootton, Captain. 402, 404, 405
 Wootton, Peter. 252
 Worcester, Earl of. 330
 Wordsworth, William. 147, 184
 Wotton, Master. 353
 Wotton, Peter de. 170
 Wray, Tho. 410
 Wrigham, William. 248
 Wright, John. 402, 404, 406
 Wright, Martin. 255, 258
 Wright, William. 201, 255
 Wrighton, Mr. 533
 Wrocest' Nicholas de. 101
 Wulfhere. 51
 Wulfstan (Bishop). 57, 60
 Wyatt, Charles. 535, 541, 542
 Wyatt, Mr. 535
 Wyb'tones, Jone. 231
 Wycherley (Poet). 509
 Wygatt, Steven. 212, 213, 224, 225, 226
 Wyk', Richard de. 96
 Wykeham, John. 173
 Wykeham, Sir Robert de. 102
 Wykeham, Sir Thomas. 172, 173
 Wykeham, William of (Bishop). 109, 173, 611
 Wylliames, Lord. 227
 Wylsher, John. 213
 Wylson, John. 199
 Wyltesshyer, Henry. 213
 Wynge, Thom. 266
 Wynlow, William. 212
 Wyse, John. 212
 Wyt, Walter. 95
 Wytham, William, LL. D. 175, 187
 Wyvers, Robert. 213
 Yate, Dr. Thomas. 425
 Yelverton, Sir Christopher. 260
 Yewicke, Ales. 246
 Yewicke, Richard. 246
 York, Duke of. (James II.) 322, 348, 372
 Yorke, Edward. 255
 Young, Arthur. 552
 Young, Mr. 319
 Yoyke, Thomas. 225

INDEX OF PLACES.

- ABERDEN. 77
 Abergavenny. 183
 Abingdon. 61, 219, 330, 379, 444
 Adderbury. *Abberbury, Atherbury, Edburgherie, Edburggebir', Elbrebyr'*. 2, 10, 19, 58, 61, 69, 82, 83, 90, 91, 95, 109, 117, 230, 245, 329, 352, 353, 354, 359, 380, 383, 384, 393, 396, 400, 402, 403, 415, 430, 452, 479, 482, 485, 486, 488, 523, 557, 558, 564, 610, 611, 616, 620
 Ælia Castra. 25
 Alauna. 4, 26
 Alcester. 322
 Alchester. 4, 25, 38, 39, 47, 53
 Aldridge. 536
 Alkerton. *Alcrintone, Olkerton, Okerton*. 59, 142, 386, 387, 564
 Alton. 101
 Ambrosden. 47, 223
 Andover. 379
 Andrews' Pits. 573
 Antona River [Nen]. 22
 Appletree. *Apeltree*. 491, 565
 Arberry Hill (Thenford). 9, 13, 15, 22, 30
 Arbury Banks (Chipping Warden). 22, 30, 608
 Arbury Hill (Badby). 22, 30
 Ardley. 38
 Ashbank. 29, 38
 Ashe Meadow. *Ast-mead*. 443
 Ashendon. 53
 Aston-le-Walls. 3, 14, 28, 146, 509, 565
 Astrop. 35, 52, 395, 498, 502, 609, 626
 Athelney. 54
 Auborn. 465
 Avesditch. 29, 38, 39, 52, 56
 Avon River. 308, 311, 607
 Avon Dasset. 565
 Ayles Bridge. 361
 Aylesbury. *Egelesburh, Eilesberi*. 50, 325, 367, 524
 Aynho. *Aynho on the Hill, Ano, Aino, Aynehoo, Ayno, Einko, Eynhoo*. 20, 27, 30, 37, 88, 90, 104, 134, 167, 264, 325, 326, 351, 365, 384, 393, 399, 400, 402, 436, 470, 479, 482, 483
 Badby. 22, 608
 Baldon. 164
 Balscot. *Balescote, Balnescot, Beltscot*. 22, 44, 79, 80, 83, 123, 203, 565
 Balscot Mill. 573
 Bambrough Castle. 48
 Bamburgh. 48
 Bampton. 46, 50
 Banburg. 48
 Banburn. 48
 Banbury. *Bambury, Banber, Banebery, Baneberi, Baneberia, Banebir, Ban'ebur', Banesberie, Banesbyrig, Banneb', Banneberi, Banneberia, Bannebiri, Bannebiria, Bannebur', Banneburi, Bannebury, Bannebyr', Bannebyri, Baranbirig, Baranbyrig, Beranbirig, Beranburi, Beranbyrigi*. [See Index of Subjects.]
 Banbury, Hundred of. 1, 94, 200, 206, 216, 237, 333, 447, 477, 564
 Banbury Lane. 15, 22, 30, 55, 607
 Banbury Rings. 1
 Bandon Leys. 358
 Bannockburn. 104
 Barbury Castle. 1
 Barbury Hill. 48
 Barford St. John. *Little Barford*. 136, 564
 Barford St. Michael. *Bereford, Great Barford*. 59, 69, 85, 135, 565
 Barrow Hill. 15
 Barton. 557
 Barton, Steeple. 13
 Basing. 368, 378
 Bath. 489
 Battersea. 465
 Battleton. 313, 322
 Bayard's Green. 71, 93, 408
 Beaconsfield. 351
 Beaconsfield Farm. 39
 Beccaule. 54
 Beckley. 46, 54
 Bedenham. 193
 Bedford. 50, 57
 Bedhampton. 79, 193
 Bedworth. 375
 Benaventa. 25, 607
 Bennonis [High Cross]. 26
 Benson. 50
 Bernwood Forest. 53

- Berryfields Farm. 15
 Bewdley. 219
 Bicester. *Bercester, Bistor, Burcester, Burchester.* 4, 25, 68, 93, 104, 173, 202, 204, 207, 238, 343, 410
 Black Grounds (Chipping Wardon). 26, 608
 Black Land (near Madmarston). 17, 607
 Black-Lands-piece (near King's Sutton). 33
 Blacklow Hill. 103
 Blackthorn. 223
 Blakesley. 171
 Bletchington. 38
 Bloxham. *Blochesham.* 10, 58, 61, 69, 71, 81, 109, 110, 117, 394, 430, 482, 560, 564, 608, 609, 620
 Bloxham Grove. 45
 Bloxham, Hundred of. 95, 333, 564
 Boddington, Lower; and Boddington, Upper. *Bottenden.* 90, 354, 565
 Bodicot. *Boducote, Bodycott.* 2, 16, 20, 69, 114, 249, 345, 402, 403, 485, 488, 558, 564, 612
 Borough Hill. 22, 25, 607
 Borstall. 410
 Bostock. 380
 Bourton, Great; and Bourton, Little. *Great Borton and Little Borton, Burton, Burton Magna and Burton Parver.* 94, 104, 128, 204, 217, 237, 359, 362, 447, 564
 Brackley. *Braceleam, Brackelye.* 51, 57, 69, 71, 171, 212, 293, 305, 340, 351, 358, 384, 404, 405, 406, 408, 435, 436, 461
 Bradford. 456
 Brailes. 14, 20, 489
 Bramshill Park. 507
 Branavis. [See Brinavis.]
 Bredon Hill. 1, 311
 Brentmarsh. 181
 Bretch. 43, 296, 572, 573
 Brewern. *Bruerne.* 240, 508
 Bridecote. 164
 Bridgenorth. 101
 Bridgewater. 181
 Brill. *Brukul.* 70, 330
 Brinavis. 26, 63, 608
 Brinklow. 245
 Brinkworth. 465
 Bristol. 349, 477, 489
 Broadway. 307
 Brook. 194
 Broughton. *Brocton, Broghton, Brohtune, Broucton.* 61, 81, 84, 100, 101, 102, 115, 119, 127, 172, 175, 238, 247, 273, 290, 291, 292, 294, 295, 326, 366, 384, 451, 453, 465, 466, 472, 475, 483, 487, 564, 616
 Buckden. 93
 Buckingham. *Buccingaham.* 51, 57, 293, 348, 356, 358, 365, 393, 402
 Buggeden. 87
 Bullet Hill. 310, 312, 320
 Burford. *Burghford.* 52, 167, 170, 293, 395, 444
 Burton Dasset. *Burton Derset, Cheping Derset.* 13, 57, 311, 318, 323
 Buston. 16, 32, 608
 Byfield. 28, 331, 615
 Calthorp. *Calthropp, Colthorp, Corthorp, Cothorp, Cothroppe, Cowthrope.* 1, 2, 78, 104, 171, 188, 189, 201, 204, 237, 249, 251, 254, 262, 447, 484, 546, 561, 564, 614
 Campden, Broad. 285
 Canons Ashby. 26, 90, 264, 355
 Castle Ashby. 427
 Castle Bank. 16, 22, 43
 Castle Hill (Brailes). 9, 13
 Castle Hill (Chacombe). 32
 Catesby. 614
 Causeway. 626
 Caversham. 239
 Chacombe. *Cheekham, Chaucoumbe, Chaucumbe.* 32, 85, 90, 104, 119, 170, 199, 203, 212, 326, 358, 395, 538, 546, 565, 570, 610
 Chadlington. 41
 Chadlington, Hundred of. 217, 565
 Chappel of Heath. 307
 Charinge. 246
 Charlbury. 94, 564
 Charlton. 36, 134
 Charwelton. 26, 543, 608
 Chastleton. 22, 474
 Cherwell River. *Charwell.* 1, 3, 16, 28, 29, 33, 39, 65, 90, 98, 159, 180, 205, 206, 220, 252, 254, 277, 309, 312, 358, 359, 365, 401, 431, 572, 573
 Cherwells. 561
 Chesterton. 22, 39
 Cheyneys. 264
 Chilgrove. 38, 57
 Chipping Norton. *Chepyng Norton.* 69, 167, 170, 293, 307, 352, 418, 442, 573
 Chipping Wardon. 20, 22, 26, 29, 35, 57, 69, 91, 130, 171, 180, 361, 365, 509, 526, 528, 530, 543, 565, 608, 613. [And see Brinavis.]
 Chiselhampton. 46, 164, 285
 Church Balk. 45

- Church Bickenhill. 312
 Cirencester. 4, 50, 54, 77, 439, 453
 Clattercot. *Clat'cott.* 88, 94, 201, 203, 564, 611
 Claydon. *Claendon, Clayton, Cleydon.* 94, 145, 237, 447, 564
 Clifford's Hill. 22
 Clifton. *Cliftone, Clyfton.* 93, 135, 164, 173, 202
 Codsbury. 412
 Cogges. 333
 Colchester. 426
 Cold Norton. *Colde Norton, Colnorton.* 93, 199, 212
 Collingborne Ducis. 268, 290
 Compton Verney. 330
 Compton Wynyate. *Compton, Compton Vineyatys.* 205, 294, 302, 356, 381, 383, 390, 397, 427, 433
 Constitution Hill. 572
 Corinium. 4
 Cornburye. 217
 Coton. *Coots, Cotes, Cottas, Cott, Cotty.* 94, 104, 204, 217, 237, 564
 Cotswold. *Cottishold.* 179
 Coventry. 192, 246, 293, 305, 308, 311, 356, 370, 381, 619, 621
 Coway Stakes. 20
 Crayford. 468, 469
 Cropredy. *Crapriden, Cropelie, Cropperi, Cropperia, Cropperie, Cropsedy.* 61, 62, 63, 91, 94, 104, 127, 164, 202, 204, 216, 237, 309, 311, 312, 360, 364, 365, 373, 433, 491, 564, 565, 613, 619
 Crouch. *Crouche, Cruch, Cruche.* 88, 164, 252
 Crouch Hill. *Crowtch Hill.* 9, 13, 14, 15, 16, 31, 33, 300, 358, 380, 573, 519
 Croughton. *Crouleton.* 90, 306, 436
 Culworth. 15, 27, 30, 69, 180, 345, 358, 405, 480, 528, 615
 Cumgresbir'. 100
 Cumner. 608

 Danesmoor. *Danesmore, Dunsmoor.* 28, 30, 56, 180
 Daventry. *Daintrey.* 22, 25, 192, 293, 353, 359, 396, 399, 405, 406, 408, 412, 413, 519, 608
 Deddington. *Dadenton, Dadington, Dadintone, Dadyngtone, Dedinton, Dedyngeton, Doddington, Dodyngton, Duddington.* 59, 82, 88, 93, 100, 103, 135, 173, 202, 226, 287, 332, 340, 351, 354, 365, 381, 400, 415, 438, 446, 466, 479, 482, 487, 573
 Dennington. 378
 Denshanger. 190
 Derby. 263, 341
 Devizes. 67
 Diccanlingum. 54
 Ditchley. 501
 Dobuni Dofn. 8
 Dorchester (Oxfordshire). 26, 51, 52, 54, 57, 60, 164
 Dorchester, Hundred of. 60, 94, 96, Dorchester (Dorsetshire). 609
 Dorocina. 26
 Dove Bridge. 26
 Dover. 473
 Drayton. *Draiton.* 43, 44, 106, 107, 117, 164, 174, 235, 284, 285, 286, 293, 465, 564, 573
 Droitwich. 33
 Dublin. 469
 Ducklington. 54
 Dunkirk. 473
 Dunsmore (Warwickshire). 311, 618
 Dunstew. *Dunstuwe.* 39, 59, 107
 Durham. 469

 Easceasdune. 53
 Easington. *Easingdon, Essendon, Essingdon.* 1, 2, 200, 203, 251, 254, 380, 484, 519, 521, 546, 561, 564
 East Greenwich. 213, 247, 446
 Eccleston. 464
 Edgcot. *Edgecote, Eggecote, Hedgecot.* 56, 129, 179, 309, 311, 325, 381
 Edgehill. 10, 288, 294, 308, 310, 334, 348, 349, 354, 382, 406, 618, 619
 Ellenhall. 261
 Ensham. *Egnesham, Egonesham, Eynesham, Henesham.* 50, 62, 71, 92, 202, 616
 Enstone. *Ennestan.* 7, 91, 190
 Epwell. *Ep'pwelle, Ipwell.* 94, 141, 564, 615
 Ethandune. 54
 Evenley. 35, 71
 Eversley. 508
 Evesham. 33, 307, 366, 375, 421
 Ewelme. 446
 Eydon. 26, 30, 480

 Fanflur. 94
 Farnborough. 97, 145, 510, 539, 551, 565
 Farthingho. 133, 523
 Fawler. 94, 564
 Fawsley. 284, 295
 Fenny Compton. 192, 284
 Finstock. 94, 564
 Flaxlands. 32
 Flore. *Flower.* 395, 457

- Forster's Booth. 16
 Frellesworth. 85
 Fringford. *Frenckford*. 437
 Fritwell. *Fertwelle*, *Fretwell*. 16,
 29, 38, 59, 402
 Garsington. 289
 Glastonbury. 114
 Gloucester. 351, 355, 357, 397, 421,
 463
 Glympton. 92
 Godstow. *Godestow*, *Godesthough*.
 66, 71, 81, 201, 608
 Grafton. 184, 403
 Grave Grounds. 322
 Great Tew. 39, 41, 352, 573
 Gredenton Hill. 9, 13
 Grenoble. 71
 Gretworth. 32, 133, 436
 Grimesdike. 3
 Grimsbury. *Grimberie*, *Grimes-*
 bery, *Grimesbor'*, *Grim'esbur*,
 Grimesbury, *Grimsberi*, *Grims-*
 bery, *Grymesberie*, *Grymesbury*,
 Grymmsbury. 1, 3, 29, 58, 61, 71,
 78, 79, 90, 93, 97, 161, 168, 173,
 194, 202, 204, 219, 238, 247, 359,
 393, 408, 481, 546, 560, 561, 565.
 573, 615
 Grove Mill. 69
 Guilsborough. 607
 Guy's Cliff. 103

 Halford. 398
 Hallam. 384
 Halstead. 262
 Hampstead. 263
 Hampton Poyle. 38
 Hanwell. 23, 44, 57, 79, 107, 117,
 118, 143, 191, 238, 245, 261, 283,
 285, 286, 288, 289, 301, 358, 364,
 380, 471, 484, 486, 507, 513, 564,
 573, 612
 Hardwick. *Hardewike*, *Hardewyk*,
 Heord-wic, *Herdwick*. 1, 2, 104,
 190, 191, 200, 203, 237, 238, 261,
 301, 484, 508, 546, 561, 564, 615,
 616
 Harrow on the Hill. 323
 Hassop. 481
 Hastings. 59
 Hedington. 88, 95
 Helmdon. 146, 404
 Hempton. *Hampton*, *Heentone*. 93
 173
 Hertford. 538
 Hethcotun. 2
 Heyford (Northamptonshire). 195
 Heyford (Oxfordshire). 38
 Heythorp. 109

 Higham Ferrers. 219
 High Cross. 26
 Highgate. 468
 Highthorns Hill. 16, 33
 Holdenby. *Homeby*. 408, 435
 Holy Well. 12
 Honiborne. 409
 Hooknorton. *Hochemeretune*,
 Hochenartone, *Hocheneretune*,
 Hocnera-tune, *Hogenorte*, *Hog-*
 genorton, *Hognorthon*, *Hokener-*
 tune, *Hokenorton*. 15, 43, 54, 55,
 58, 59, 61, 93, 174, 217, 557, 565
 Hopton Heath. 341
 Horley. *Hornle*. 107, 124, 168, 564
 Hornton. *Horington*, *Horinton*,
 Hortone. 59, 107, 125, 564
 Hull. 304
 Hunsborough Hill. 16, 22
 Huscot. 194
 Huscot Mill. 364

 Idon. 84
 Ilbury. 8, 12, 16
 Ilmington. 398
 Irchester. 22
 Isannavaria. 25
 Islip. 58, 395
 Ivinghoe. 312, 323

 Kendal. 623
 Kenilworth. 92, 308
 Kidderminster. 483, 490
 Kidlington. 38, 395
 Kilsby. 26, 389, 390
 Kineton. *Keinton*, *Kenton*, *Kington*.
 309, 317, 324, 334, 337, 348, 357
 Kineton, Hundred of. 564, 565
 Kingis-clipston. 77
 King's Sutton. *Kyngessotton*, *Sud-*
 tone, *Sutthun*, *Suttune*. 20, 33, 35,
 51, 54, 57, 61, 93, 96, 109, 112, 168,
 172, 173, 199, 205, 393, 400, 402,
 479, 499, 528, 544, 612
 Kingsthrupp. 400
 Kirtlington. 3, 14, 25, 28, 38, 161,
 350, 507
 Knollbury. 41
 Kyldesby. 187

 Lambourn. 510
 Langley. 217
 Lapworth. 275
 Ledwell. *Ludewelle*. 59
 Lee. 237
 Leicester. 54, 55, 59, 187, 305
 Leigh Grounds. 358
 Leighton. 50, 171
 Lestithioll. 384
 Lichfield. 52, 341

- Lidinton. 88
 Lincoln. 60, 66, 70, 92, 114
 Litchborough. 91
 Little Compton. 437
 Little Karleton. 91
 Liverpool. 569
 London. 16, 33, 287
 Long Buckby. 353
 Long Compton. *Cumpton.* 7, 50, 84
 Loughborough. 399
 Ludlow. 489
 Lundy Island. 451
 Lyme. 230

 Madmarston. 8, 10, 14, 17, 28, 31,
 35, 57, 607
 Maiden Bower. 13
 Manchester. 42, 196
 Marnham. 261
 Marston St. Lawrence. 132, 195,
 197, 204, 436
 Melton Mowbray. 399
 Mercia. *Mearc-lond, Myrcna-ric.*
 46, 50
 Merton. *Meretune.* 53
 Middleham. 184
 Middleton Cheney. *Middleton*
 Chenduit. 81, 120, 145, 194, 326,
 345, 347, 359, 425, 436, 558, 565,
 570, 609
 Middleton Stony. 39, 68, 373
 Midelinton. 101
 Milcombe. *Mildecumb, Mildecu'be.*
 81, 101, 137, 564
 Milcot. 235
 Milton. *Middelton.* 83, 84, 122,
 482, 564, 608
 Minster Lovell. 217
 Mixbury. 69, 71
 Mollington. 94, 127, 312, 365, 564, 565
 Money Acre. 17
 Monks Kirby. 312
 Monks' Toft. 148
 Monmouth. 219
 Moriton. 364
 Moulsoe. 402

 Nadbury. 8, 10, 14, 31, 33, 45
 Naseby. 408, 411
 Neithorp. *Neithrop, Neithroppe,*
 Netherthorp, Nethorp, Nethrope.
 1, 2, 83, 104, 176, 199, 201, 202,
 204, 209, 212, 222, 226, 237, 249,
 251, 254, 359, 374, 434, 447, 484,
 546, 560, 561, 564
 Nell Bridge. 16, 394
 Nen River. 22, 607
 Nethercot. *Nothercot, Nethercote.*
 1, 3, 78, 194, 247, 366, 434, 546,
 560, 561, 565
 Nettlebed. 312
 Newark. 66, 88, 190, 375, 395, 412,
 418, 422
 Newbottle. 36, 134
 Newbottle Hill. 27
 Newbottle Spinney. 35
 Newbury. 352, 379
 Newcastle. 304, 378
 Newenham. 396
 Newington. 59
 Newmarket. 440
 Newport Pagnell. 354, 355, 356, 372,
 384, 394, 402, 407, 619
 Newton. 508
 Newton Toney. 476, 622
 Northampton. 12, 15, 16, 22, 54,
 55, 57, 90, 91, 121, 184, 192, 293,
 294, 296, 300, 308, 345, 351, 355,
 365, 368, 369, 371, 373, 375, 382,
 390, 395, 396, 401, 402, 406, 411,
 413, 414, 445
 Northbrook. 38
 North Newington. *Newenton,*
 North Newenton. 16, 22, 43, 44,
 101, 102, 104, 117, 172, 557, 564,
 573
 Nottingham. 59, 72, 263, 305, 307,
 618

 Offord. 92
 Onnesby. 80, 82
 Oseney Abbey. 188
 Ostor Hill. 607
 Ouessbrige. 226
 Ouse River. 57, 71
 Overthorp. *Overthroppe.* 3, 79,
 194, 247, 359
 Oxford. *Oxenford, Oxon.* 38, 54,
 55, 57, 58, 59, 61, 67, 68, 88, 91,
 170, 171, 215, 289, 293, 294, 303,
 305, 307, 325, 329, 330, 331, 345,
 346, 348, 349, 352, 357, 365, 367,
 372, 379, 380, 382, 383, 385, 386,
 390, 395, 402, 403, 410, 412, 418,
 445, 450, 465
 Oxfordshire. *Oxenefordscire, Oxen-*
 fordscyre, Oxnafordscyre. 53, 57,
 60

 Partenay. 90
 Pendennis. 416
 Peopleton. 510
 Petersfield. 289
 Pimlico House. 306
 Ploughley Hill. 16, 38
 Plymouth. 304, 377
 Pontefract. 399
 Porchester. 89
 Portlow Hills. 26
 Port Meadow. 38

- Portway. 14, 16, 20, 25 to 39, 52, 608
 Potterspury. 51
 Powick Bridge. 308, 349
 Prescott. *Prestecote*. 94, 129, 237, 447, 462, 564
 Preston Capes. 26, 365
 Preston, Little. 365
 Preston Mills. 364
 Prince Rupert's Headland. 317
 Priors Marston. 28
 Purston. 133
 Putney. 485

 Radnall Bush. 20
 Radway. 312, 313, 354, 565
 Rainsborough. 9, 13, 23, 36
 Ranton Abbey. 261
 Ratley. 10, 88, 144, 565
 Reading. 245, 379, 618
 Rehoboth. 463
 Remenham. 465
 Richborough. 609
 Ritherumfield. 54
 Rockingham. 101
 Rollrich. 4, 12, 14, 15, 16, 43, 606
 Rollwright, Great. 15
 Rotherfield. 54
 Rotherfield Greys. 266
 Rouen. 70, 472
 Round Hill. 608
 Rowbarrow. 17
 Royston. 263
 Rugby. 395

 Saint Walery. 59
 Salisbury. 379, 444
 Saltway. 16, 33
 Sandwich. 170
 Sarsden. 41
 Saybrook. 293
 Severn River. 22, 607
 Shelswell. 508
 Shenington. *Schynnyngdon*. 83, 141, 188, 565
 Shipston on Stour. 357, 364
 Shipton. 217
 Shocklach. 283
 Shotswell. 126, 565
 Shrewsbury. 308
 Shuckburgh. 309
 Shutford, East; and Shutford, West. *Shelford, Setteford, Shuttersford*. 82, 94, 140, 237, 238, 397, 434, 447, 526, 557, 564, 573, 613
 Sibford Gower; and Sibford Ferris. 82, 557, 565
 Silchester. 609
 Siston. *Sichestan, Sythestone*. 80, 81, 83, 84

 Slate Mill. 360, 363
 Sleaford. *Lafford*. 66, 88
 Slough. 489
 Somerton. 38, 59, 69, 437
 Souldern. 16, 25, 37, 147, 402, 436
 Southam. 192, 207, 308, 462
 South Newington. 136, 247, 557, 565
 Spaldewik. 88
 Stafford. 341
 Stamford. 88
 Stanton Harcourt. 113
 Stavenhul. 26
 Steane. 57, 134, 477
 Steeple Aston. 45, 355
 Stodham. 164
 Stone Green. 31, 57,
 Stow. 87, 175, 263
 Stow on the Wold. 307, 352, 364, 418
 Stratfield Brake. 38
 Stratfield Farm. 38
 Stratford on Avon. 236, 248, 268, 287, 293, 308, 311, 343, 348, 397, 413, 523
 Sulgrave. 15, 16, 69, 491, 528, 529, 615
 Sumerton. 101
 Sun-Rising Inn. 312
 Sutton, King's. [See King's Sutton.]
 Sutton Bog. 499
 Sutton, Hundred of. 1, 61, 194, 565
 Swalcliffe. *Sualcclive, Swacliffe, Swakliffe, Swaleclive, Swaleweclis, Swaleweclyve*. 10, 17, 85, 94, 107, 139, 237, 447, 488, 564, 565
 Swale River. 605
 Swere River. 605
 Swerford. 43, 69

 Tadmarton. *Tadmertune*. 8, 11, 15, 16, 17, 31, 42, 43, 55, 61, 139, 436, 565
 Tadmarton Heath. 571, 573
 Tew. 59
 Tewkesbury, Hundred of. 565
 Thame. 92, 164, 167, 170, 172
 Thame, Hundred of. 94, 96
 Thenford. 27, 30, 31, 133
 Thistleton. 313, 322
 Thorp Bellar. 84
 Thorp Mandeville. 27, 58, 97, 131, 180, 414
 Thorpe near Rowell. 80
 Thorpe Underwood. 83
 Tickhill. 625
 Touton. 310
 Towcester. *Torciter, Tossiter*. 57, 350, 352, 365, 439, 441, 461, 529
 Trafford Bridge. 28, 180

- Tredington. 398
 Triplo Heath. 440
 Tripontio. 25
 Tuderley. 477
 Tunbridge. 498
 Tusmore. *Turesmere*. 173
 Twyford. 33
 Twyford Bridge. 394
 Tysoe. 310, 625

 Uppingham. 384
 Upton. 189

 Vineyards. 205, 249

 Wallingford. 59, 68, 330, 380, 410, 414
 Wallow Bank. 29, 56
 Waltham. 121
 Walton. 122
 Walton Chapel. 29
 Walton Grounds. 29, 36, 52
 Wandsworth. 465
 Wardington. *Wardenton, Wardyngton*. 94, 104, 129, 204, 217, 237, 264, 360, 364, 479, 503, 510, 564
 Wardlinton. 56
 Wardon, Hundred of. 565
 Ware. 441
 Warkworth. *Warcworth, Werkworth, Workworth*. 3, 23, 32, 79, 86, 105, 120, 161, 168, 194, 247, 366, 367, 408, 443, 481, 542, 558, 560, 565, 573, 609, 612
 Warmington. 127, 133, 144, 148, 312, 353, 565
 Warwick. 59, 103, 179, 183, 184, 192, 206, 248, 263, 294, 298, 302, 308, 311, 316, 321, 325, 341, 353, 354, 355, 356, 370, 381, 382, 383, 386, 395, 398, 512
 Water Eaton. 373
 Waterford. 172
 Wattlebank. 29, 38, 39, 56
 Wedon. *Weeden*. 395, 396
 Weeping Cross. 2, 16, 115, 522, 612
 Welland River. 607
 Wellingborough. 22, 445

 Wells. 174, 188
 Wendlebury. 4, 25
 Wessex. 47
 Westbury (Bucks.) 191
 Westbury (Gloucestershire). 240
 West Chester. 413
 Westcot. 618
 West Haddon. 607
 Westminster. 77
 Weston Favell. 481
 Whichwood Forest. 217
 Wickham. *Wicha', Wicheam, Wicumb, Wikham, Wykam, Wykham*. 1, 2, 58, 61, 62, 71, 77, 94, 107, 160, 176, 249, 252, 349, 447, 484, 507, 546, 561, 564
 Wigginton. 41, 137, 436, 565
 Wight, Isle of. 435
 Williamscot. *Walmescote, Williams-cote, Williscot, Willscot*. 94, 237, 249, 360, 362, 363, 365, 447, 503
 Winchester. 51, 52, 386
 Windmill Bank. 16, 519
 Witham. 53, 608
 Witney. *Witteneye*. 167, 170
 Wodesdon atte Grene. 92
 Wolvercot. 373
 Wolverhampton. 485
 Woodford. 26
 Woodstock. 62, 89, 101, 263, 293, 296, 329, 348, 395, 403, 414, 415
 Wootton, Hundred of. 565
 Worcester. 307, 308, 324, 357, 413, 418, 421, 449, 488
 Wormleighton. 192, 309, 311, 390
 Wotton-under-Edge. 4
 Wroxton. *Wrokestan, Wrokstan, Wroxstan*. 79, 80, 101, 122, 190, 201, 202, 219, 262, 348, 498, 501, 502, 540, 565, 613, 618
 Wroxton Mill. 573
 Wycombe (Bucks.) 167
 Wylvescote. 173
 Wynwyk. 195

 Yolghbury. 107
 Yolingbury. 107
 York. 57, 178

INDEX OF SUBJECTS

NOT EMBRACED IN THE INDEXES OF PERSONS AND PLACES.

American War. 527
 Anagrams. 272, 495
 Animals of the Neighbourhood of Banbury. 600
 Astrop Wells. 498
 Atmospheric Phenomena. 334
 Aurora Borealis. 281, 340

BANBURY:—

Accounts of the Corporation. 223, 230, 248, 265, 281
 Acreage of the Parish. 561
 Almshouse. 177, 248, 265
 Altar Stone. 23, 460
 Animals of the Neighbourhood. 600

Armed men in 1346. 167

Armed men in 1350. 170

Banbury given to the see of Dorchester. 51

Banbury in the Reign of Edward the Confessor. 58

Banbury. Situation, boundary, and members of the Parish. 1

Banbury Lane. [See Index of Places.]

Banbury Marble. 572

Baptisms, Burials, and Marriages. 563

Bars or Gates. 206, 207 :—Also—
 Bridge Gate. 209

Cole Bar. 208

North Bar. 208, 220, 254, 274, 374, 519

St. John's Bar. *South Bar, Oxford Bar.* 76, 207, 220, 254, 274

Sugarford Bar. *Schoccarfar-barre, Sugar Bar, Bull Bar, West Bar.* 99, 160, 207, 213, 220, 274, 279, 519

Barhouse Leys. *Burrows Leys.* 208, 254

Battle in 556. 48

Bells. 245, 538

Berrymoor. *Berrey Moor, Berimore.* 25, 249, 252

Biographical Notices. [See Index of Persons: *Baxter, John; Berrian; Brasbridge, Thomas; Cartwright, Dr. N.; Colley; Compton, Sir W.; Cope, Wil-*

BANBURY:—

liam; Gee, Edward; Hampton, George; Hausted; Hunt, Thomas; Kidd; Knight, Dr. John; Langley, John; Leigh, Sir. E.; Loveling; Morrell; Needle; Newman, Samuel; Phillips, Mrs. E.; Sansbury, Mansell; Sprigge, Joshua; Sprigge, William; Stanbridge, John; Stanbridge, Thomas; Wells, Samuel; Welshman, Edward; Whateley, William; White, Betty; White, Jarvis; White, Dr. Richard.]

Bishop of Lincoln's Park at Crouch. 87, 164, 171

Blue-Coat School. 510, 542

Borough. 95, 200, 219, 281, 561, 564

Botany of the Neighbourhood. 571, 626

Boundaries in 1554. 220

Boundaries in 1606. 253

Boundary. 274

Bread Cross. 160, 213, 230, 265

Bridge. 78, 98, 206, 207, 220, 273, 332, 519

British Schools. 559

By-Laws in 1558. 227

By-Laws in 1573. 234

By-Laws in 1612. 258

Cakes. 455, 568

Calthorp Hamlet. [See Index of Places.]

Calthorp House. 78, 188

Calvinists. 558

Canal. 431, 559

Castle erected. 63

Castle, Description of the. 63

Castle, Prison of the Bishop in the. 190, 201, 206

Castle, Recusants confined in the. 260

Castle, Gatehouse of the. 64, 432

Castle, Records relating to the. 87, 88, &c. &c., 217

Castle, Lease of the, in 1595. 237

Castle, Sieges of the. [See Civil War.]

Castle destroyed. 427

Castle, Remains of the. 431

Castle Close. 431

BANBURY:—

- Castle Cottage. 431, 432
 Castle Gardens. 431
 Castle Orchard. 432, 447
 Castle Wharf. 431, 432
 Causeway. 626
 Chantry of the Blessed Mary. 175, 199, 211, 212, 213, 214, 249, 446
 Chantry Priests, Houses for. 158
 Chantry in Grimsbury. 161
 Chapel of Our Lady in Banbury Church. 156, 176, 211
 Chapel of the Resurrection in Banbury Church. 156, 187
 Chapel of the Trinity. 158, 206
 Chapel at Wickham. 160
 Charitable Institutions. 99, 248, 558
 Charter of Mary. 218, 219
 Charter of James I. 254
 Charter of Charles II. 484
 Charter of James I. restored. 504
 Charter, Right of Voting under the. 505
 Charter of James I. forfeited. 514
 Charter of George I. 516
 Cheese. 225, 567
 Church (Old) erected. 66
 Church (Old), Description of the. 148
 Church (Old). 183, 192, 193, 206, 368, 424, 457, 622
 Church (Old), Demolition of the. 532
 Church (New). 538, 553, 626
 Civil War, Events during the. [See Civil War.]
 Commonwealth:—
 The Levellers appear at Banbury. 438
 Captain Thompson. 438
 Declaration of the Levellers at Banbury. 439, 440
 Instructions to the Lord General. 441
 The Levellers defeated at Banbury. 442
 They congregate near Burford. 444
 Outreached by Cromwell. 444
 Captain Thompson appears in Northamptonshire. 445
 He is slain. 445
 Communion Plate. 554
 Conduit. 210
 Constitution Hill. 572
 Conveyance of Banbury, by the Bishop of Lincoln, to the Crown. 215

BANBURY:—

- Coronation of Queen Victoria, Celebration of the. 550
 Corporation Commissioners, Report of the, in 1835. 546
 Court of Record. 221, 229, 256, 517, 547, 549
 Court of Sessions. 547, 549
 Cross. 206
 Cross destroyed. 245
 Crouch. } [See Index of
 Crouch Hill. } Places.]
 Cucking pool. 275
 Cucking-stool. 223, 225, 275
 Cuttle Brook. *Cuttel brouke*. 210, 232, 254, 275, 432
 Cuttle Mill. 252, 254, 275
 Domesday Survey. 60
 Earldom of Banbury. 266, 519, 616
 Easington Hamlet. [See Index of Places.]
 Election Riot in 1754. 522
 Election Riot in 1820. 544
 Execution of the Murderer Parr. 521
 Executions. 522
 Fairs, 70, 162, 163, 171, 200, 221, 224, 227, 232, 257, 517, 560
 Fee-farm Rents. 446
 Fight between Johnson and Perrins. 531
 Fire of 1628. 273, 275, 277
 Fire of 1628, Whateley's Sermon on the. 278
 Fish House. 274
 Freemen. 547
 Free warren. 62, 70, 95, 164, 171
 Gallows. 256, 517, 519
 Gallows Stone. 274
 Gaol. 223, 256, 257, 424, 433, 517, 548
 Geology of the Neighbourhood. 572
 Goose Leys. *Goose Leysew, Gallows Leys*. 209, 231, 253, 522
 Grammar School. 195
 Grimsbury Hamlet. [See Index of Places.]
 Hamlets of Banbury. [See Index of Places: *Neithorp, Calthorp, Wickham, Hardwick, Easington, Grimsbury, Nethercot*.]
 Hardwick Hamlet. [See Index of Places.]
 Hardwick House. 191
 Hermitage at the Bridge Foot. 161
 High Cross. 160, 212
 Hospital of St. John. 76, 187, 195, 197, 204, 519, 610

BANBURY :—

- Hospital of St. John, Seal of the. 610
- Hospital of St. Leonard. 78, 610
- Hospital of Our Lord James the King. 257
- Houses, Ancient. 209, 276
- Hundred of Banbury. [See Index of Places.]
- Independents. 557
- Infant School. 559
- Inns :—
 - Altar Stone. 23, 59, 273, 504, 609
 - Bell. 504
 - Bear. 275
 - Bull. 504
 - Cock. 275
 - Crown. 212, 504
 - Flower-de-Luce. 273
 - Flying Horse. 249
 - George. 354, 388, 504
 - George and Altar Stone. 277
 - Holy Lamb and Christopher. 504
 - Jacob's Well. 504, 524
 - King and Queen at Neithorp. 504
 - Lyon. 504
 - Old George. 277
 - Plough. 232, 275, 431, 504
 - Raindeer. 275, 277, 504
 - Red Lion. 209, 302, 504
 - St. Sunday's House. 504
 - Salutation. 504
 - Star. 276
 - Swan. 226, 245, 353, 504
 - Three Tuns. 504, 626
 - Unicorn. 276, 504
 - White Hart. 353, 504
 - White Horse. 158, 209
 - White Lion. 504
- Leather Hall. 251, 265, 353, 448
- Local Regulations in 1564. 231
- Local Sayings. 210, 561
- Lodge Close. 252
- Maces. 449, 548
- Manor. 215, 216
- Manufacture of Agricultural Implements. 569
- Manufacture of Plush. 566
- Manufacture of Webbing. 566
- Marches. 66, 216, 432
- Market. 70, 91, 159, 171, 200, 206, 218, 224, 227, 248, 257, 287, 517, 522, 559
- Market Cross. 160
- Meeting-Houses of Dissenters. 482, 511, 556
- Mill Meadow. 573

BANBURY :—

- Monuments in the Old Church, and in the Church-yard. 271, 273, 492, 524, 614
- Municipal Act. 548
- Murder of Mrs. Wild. 521
- National Schools. 511, 542, 559
- Neithorp Hamlet. [See Index of Places.]
- Nethercot Hamlet. [See Index of Places.]
- New Land Wake. 274
- Ninths collected in 1340. 166
- Nonjurors. 514
- Organ. 538
- Origin of the name of Banbury. 1, 48, 606, 609
- Origin of the names of the Hamlets. 2, 3
- Orthography of Banbury. [See Index of Places.]
- Orthography of the Hamlets. [See Index of Places.]
- Pageants. 160, 222, 226
- Parr's Piece. 521
- Parson's Meadow. 99, 249, 253, 275
- Particular Baptists. 558
- Pavage in 1328, Tolls taken for. 162, 164
- Paving and Lighting Act. 553
- Pembroke, Earl of, and Lord Stafford; Dispute between them in 1469. 181
- Pembroke, Earl of, beheaded. 182
- Pillory. 223, 224, 248
- Plague. 205, 264, 334, 353, 388
- Poor Rates. 560
- Population. 210, 277
- Population in 1547. 563
- Population in 1628. 563
- Population in 1801. 563
- Population in 1811. 563
- Population in 1821. 562
- Population in 1831. 562
- Population in 1841. 561
- Possessions of Charles I. 447
- Prebend and Prebendaries. 62, 92, 98, 99, 105, 165, 166, 167, 168, 170, 171, 172, 174, 175, 187, 188, 197, 198, 206, 215, 216, 246
- Presbyterians. 511, 524, 557
- Primitive Methodists. 558
- Procession Way. 253, 446
- Provincial Tokens. 528
- Puritanism. 287, 455, 457
- Puritan Lecture. 287
- Puritans, Injuries done to Ecclesiastical Edifices by the. 157, 160, 244

BANBURY:—

Quakers. 451, 480, 481, 482, 509, 523, 556

Quakers and Lord Saye. 451

Quakers and Samuel Wells. 623
Rectory. 246, 251

Reform Bill. 545

Reform Celebration. 546

Registers. 245, 282, 333, 388, 413, 426, 449, 456, 513, 521

Rents &c. of Banbury in the reign of Edward I. 100

Representatives in Parliament:—

Brereton, Owen. 230

Chambre [Chambers], Calcot. 280

Chauncy, Toby. 519

Cope, Anthony. 236, 238

Cope, Sir Anthony. 474

Cope, Sir John. 507

Cope, Sir Jonathan. 513

Cope, Monnoux. 518

Cope, Sir W. 261

Crewe, John. 280

Dashwood, Sir Robert. 504, 507

Denton, John. 223

Denton, Thomas. 223

Douglas, Hon. F. S. N. 542

Dryden, Sir E. 264

Easthope, Sir John. 545

Ferris [Fiennes], Richard. 236

Fiennes, James. 280

Fiennes, Nathaniel. 283, 296

Fiennes, Nathaniel junior. 450

Holbech, William. 539

Holman, Sir John. 481, 483

Isaacson, James. 507

Knollys, William, Viscount Walsingham. 519

Legge, Hon. A. C. 544

Legge, Hon. Heneage. 543, 544

Moore, Hon. William. 520

North, Hon. Charles. 508

North, Sir Dudley. 500

North, Dudley. 539, 542

North, Hon. Francis. 519

North, Frederick Lord (Premier). 520, 527

North, Hon. Frederick. 539

North, George Augustus Lord. 539

Praed William. 541

Stuart, Henry Villiers, Baron Stuart de Decies. 544

Tancred, Henry William. 546, 550, 551

Walsingham, Sir Francis. 230

Willes, John. 520

[And see the respective names in the Index of Persons.]

BANBURY:—

Return to a Council 11th Edward III. 166

Rhubarb. 570

Riots in 1800. 539

Robin Hood and the Tinker of Banbury. 72

Roman Catholics. 557

Roman Remains:—

Altar. 23

Amphitheatre. 25

Coins. 23

St. Stephen's Well. 97, 519

Saltway. [See Index of Places.]

Savings' Bank. 559

Shepherd of Banbury. 526

Small Pox. 483, 513, 520, 522, 544

Streets &c.:—

Back Lane. 275, 432

Barkhill Street. *Birchley Street, Brickley Street, Breechlesse Street.* 249, 251, 275

Beast Market. 212, 251, 252, 273, 425, 448

Bolting Street. 99, 160, 274

Boxhedge Lane. 209

Breadcross Street. 99, 160, 274

Bridge Street. *Bridge-end Street, Bridge North, Bridge South, Bridge Street North, Bridge Street South.* 99, 213, 251, 265, 273, 276, 425, 448

Broad Street. *Broad Lane.* 208, 210, 273, 279, 521

Bull Bar Street. 207, 274, 448, Butchers' Row. 99, 265, 276, 425

Calthorp Lane. 208, 252, 275, 279, 425, 448

Caltrop Lane. 275

Castle Orchard Lane. 275

Castle Street. 276, 432

Church Lane. 216, 251, 276, 448

Church Passage. 276

Colebar Street. *Coale Bar Street, Cobar Street, Coule Bar Street.* 2, 99, 208, 249, 251, 252, 273, 274, 276, 279, 448

Cornhill. 275

Cornmarket Street. 252, 275

Fish Shambles. 212

Fish Street. 208, 274, 275, 276, 279

Flexchepinge. 212

High Street. *Red Lion Street.* 99, 160, 249, 251, 252, 265, 273, 274, 275, 276, 573

Hogmarket. 251, 252, 275, 276, 425, 448

BANBURY:—

Streets &c.:—

- Horse Fair. *Horsemarket*,
Horsemarket Street. 159, 207,
 212, 251, 252, 265, 274, 277,
 521
- Market Place. 159, 210, 212,
 223, 224, 232, 249, 265, 275,
 276, 344, 374, 397, 425, 432,
 433
- Mill Lane. *Myllane*, *Mylne*
Lane. 209, 232, 251, 252, 276,
 425, 448
- New Land. *Newland Street*.
 249, 251, 265, 274, 572
- North Bar Street. 99, 208, 231,
 251, 252, 265, 274, 275, 425,
 448
- Parson's Street. *Parson's Lane*,
Persones Lane. 99, 213, 216,
 224, 231, 249, 265, 275, 276
- Parson's Meadow Lane. 277
- Pepper Alley. 276
- Pepull Lane, *Pibble Lane*.
 201, 251, 276
- St. John's Street. *St. Jones*
Street, *Oxford Bar Street*,
South Bar Street. 76, 78, 160,
 231, 251, 252, 265, 274, 275,
 279, 433, 448, 469
- Scalding Lane. 231, 232, 274,
 277
- Shades. 207, 274
- Shambles. *Shampulls*. 99, 213,
 252, 276, 447, 448
- Sheep Street. *Shepemarkett*
Street. 99, 160, 213, 224, 251,
 252, 257, 265, 274, 275, 276,
 277, 448
- Shop Row. 201, 251, 273
- South Bar Street. [See St.
 John's Street.]
- Sugarford Bar Street. *Sugar*
Bar Street, *Bull Bar Street*,
West Bar Street. 207, 251,
 252, 254, 274, 277, 279, 425,
 448, 521
- Tink-a-Tank. 276
- Ture, Great. 276
- Ture, Little. 276
- Waterloo. 561
- West Bar Street. [See Sugar-
 ford Bar Street.]
- Sunday Schools. 543
- Survey of Banbury in 1552. 217
- Survey of Banbury in 1606. 251
- Taxation of Pope Nicolas. 97
- Tithes. 62, 92, 168, 216, 246, 247,
 251, 434
- Tithe Barn. 251

BANBURY:—

- Town (The), in the Reign of Hen-
 ry VIII. 205
- Town (The), in 1628. 273
- Town, View of the, in 1730. 150,
 519
- Town, Description of the. 552
- Town Armour. 265, 281
- Town Hall. 223, 224, 225, 230,
 234, 248, 252, 353, 519
- Town Seal. 233, 548
- Trackways, Ancient. [See Index
 of Places: *Banbury Lane*, *Salt-*
way.]
- Trade. 552, 559, 560
- Tradesmen's Tokens. 477, 625
- Trading Companies. 222, 226, 266
- Valor Ecclesiasticus. 197
- Vicarage, 62, 105, 187, 198, 242,
 246, 282, 296, 434, 435, 487, 509,
 543
- Vicarage, Augmentation of the.
 433
- Vicarage House (old). 279
- Vicarage House. 424, 433, 622
- Vicars. [See Index of Persons:
Asplin; *Atneston*; *Brancestr'*;
Brasbridge; *Dyngley*; *Esteby*;
Gerard; *Gunvyle*; *Houghton*;
Howes; *Kirkeby*; *Knight*;
Lamb, Dr. J.; *Lamb, Dr. M.*;
Lancaster; *Loveling*; *Mathew*;
Midilton; *Moore*; *Stanier*;
Wardle; *Wells*; *Whateley*;
White.]
- Vineyards. 249
- Warren. 252
- Water of deep Wells. 573
- Wesleyans. 557
- White Cross. 160, 220, 254, 274
- Wickham Hamlet. [See Index of
 Places.]
- Wickham, Sir Robert de Arden's
 fortified mansion at. 107
- Wickham Mansion. 350
- Widows' Groats. 177
- Windmill Bank. 16, 519
- Woolhouse. *Wool Hall*. 212, 213,
 257, 265
- Wool Market. 257, 518
- Workhouse. 433, 469
- Zeal. 454, 461
- Barnaby, Drunken. 456
- Battle between the Britons and Sax-
 ons in 556. 48
- Battle of Cropredy Bridge. 360
- Battle of Danesmoor (first). 56
- Battle of Danesmoor (second). 180
- Battle of Edgehill. 288, 310 &c.

Battle of Hooknorton. 54
 Beacon-House at Burton Dasset.
 311, 323
 Bearbaiting. 25, 262, 608
 Beasts of the Neighbourhood. 600
 Bell Foundery. 538
 Biographical Notices. 63, 92, 190,
 195, 202, 204, 238, 241, 267, 283 &c.,
 291 &c., 322, 343, 349, 384, 386,
 426, 449 &c., 462 &c., 471, 475,
 476, 485 &c., 500, 501, 522 &c.,
 542, 568
 Birds of the Neighbourhood. 601
 Botany of the Neighbourhood. 571,
 626
 British Tribes :—
 Dobuni or Boduni. 4, 8, 13, 20,
 21, 22, 51, 606
 Carnabii. 4, 13
 Coritani. 4
 Cassii or Cattieuchlani. 4, 21
 Wiccii. 51
 British Remains :—
 Beads. 19, 28
 Black Land of the British Sites.
 19, 27, 33, 35, 607
 Camps. 8, &c., 30, 36, 607
 Celts. 7, 30, 34, 37
 Cistvaens. 19, 33, 34, 37, 607
 Cromlech at Enstone. 7
 Druidical Temple at Rollrich. 4,
 606
 Hoarstones. 7
 Line of Vallum. 14, 28, 38
 Sites. 17, 25, 27, 33, 35, 37, 607
 System of Signals. 9
 Trackways. 12, 14, 15, 16, 25, 35,
 37, 38, 607. [And see Index
 of Places : *Banbury Lane, Port-
 way, Saltway.*]
 Tumuli. 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 27, 32,
 38, 607, 608
 Broughton Castle. 100, 295
 Cave near Broughton. 296, 572
 Chapels of the Neighbourhood :—
 Balscot. 123
 Barford St. John. 136
 Bodicot. 114
 Bourton, Great. 128
 Chapel of the Blessed Mary in
 Banbury Church. 156
 Chapel of the Resurrection in
 Banbury Church. 156
 Chapel of the Trinity at Banbury.
 158
 Charlton. 134
 Claydon. 145
 Clifton. 135
 Epwell. 141

Chapels of the Neighbourhood :—
 Milcombe. 137
 Milton. 122
 Mollington. 127
 Prescot. 129
 Purston. 133
 Shutford. 140, 613
 Walton. 122
 Wardington. 129
 Wickham. 160
 Christianity in Britain. 45, 50
 Chronograms. 272
 Churches of the Neighbourhood :—
 Style of. 108
 Adderbury. 109, 611
 Alkerton. 142
 Aston-le-Walls. 146
 Aynho. 134
 Banbury Old Church. 66, 148,
 613
 Banbury New Church. 553
 Barford St. Michael. 135
 Bloxham. 110
 Broughton. 115, 475
 Burton Dasset. 13
 Chacombe. 119
 Chipping Wardon. 130, 613
 Compton Wynyate. 357
 Cropredy. 127
 Deddington. 135
 Drayton. 117
 Edgcot. 129
 Farnborough. 145
 Farthingho. 133
 Gretworth. 133
 Hanwell. 118, 612
 Helmdon. 146
 Horley. 124
 Hornton. 125
 King's Sutton. 112, 612
 Marston St. Lawrence. 132
 Middleton Cheney. 120
 Newbottle. 134
 Ratley. 144
 Shenington. 141
 Shotswell. 126
 Sibford. 565
 Souldern. 147
 South Newington. 136
 Steane. 134
 Swalcliffe. 139
 Tadmarton. 139
 Thenford. 133
 Thorp Mandeville. 131
 Warkworth. 120, 612
 Warmington. 144
 Wigginton. 137
 Wroxton. 122, 613
 [And see Chapels of the Neigh-
 bourhood.]

CIVIL WAR, EVENTS OF THE:—

- Influence of Lord Saye. 291
- Of Nathaniel Fiennes. 292
- Banbury Castle strengthened. 292
- Refusal to pay Ship Money. 293
- Lord Brook. 293
- Spencer, Earl of Northampton. 294
- Conferences at Broughton and Fawsley. 295
- Second Parliament of 1640. 296
- Lord Saye and the Vicar of Banbury. 296
- The Crisis. Preparations for War. 298
- First Military Proceedings at Banbury. 298
- Meeting of Lord Brook and the Earl of Northampton. 299
- The Earl of Northampton takes the Ordnance from Banbury. 302
- The King's summons to Banbury. 303
- Arming of the Parliamentarians. 304
- Lord Saye's Regiment. 304
- Lord Saye's Troop of Cavalry. 305
- Nathaniel Fiennes's Troop of Cavalry. 305
- Francis Fiennes's Troop of Cavalry. 305
- John Fiennes's Troop of Cavalry. 305
- Erection of the Royal Standard. 305, 617
- Affair at Brackley. 305
- Lord Saye and Hampden enter Oxford. 306
- Nathaniel Fiennes and John Fiennes at Banbury. 307
- Affair at Powick Bridge. 308
- Object of the King. 308
- Disaffection of the Neighbourhood to the King. 308
- The King at Southam. 309
- The King at Edgcot. 309
- Design upon Banbury. 309
- The Field of Edgehill. 310
- Beacon-House. 311
- Line of Battle at Edgehill. 312
- The Parliament's Army. 313
- The King's Army. 314
- The Advance. 314
- The Battle. 315, &c.
- Misconduct of Prince Rupert. 317
- Oliver Cromwell. 318
- The Royal Standard taken, but recovered. 318
- Bullet Hill. 320

CIVIL WAR, EVENTS OF THE:—

- Undecisive result of the Battle. 320
- The Slaughter. 320
- Battleton and Thistleton. 322
- Firing the Beacon. 323
- Alarm in London. 323
- Tracts relating to the Battle of Edgehill. 323
- Hamlet of Westcot destroyed. 618
- The King marches to Aynho. 326
- King's Stile. 326
- Banbury Summoned. 326
- The King takes Broughton Castle. 326
- The King takes Banbury. 327
- The Earl of Peterborough's Regiment. 328.
- The Town plundered. 328
- The King quarters at Oxford. 330
- Lord Saye proclaimed a Traitor. 330
- Protection for the Property &c. of Sir Thomas Pope. 618
- Banbury attacked by the Northampton forces. 331
- Winter quarters. 332.
- Effects of the first Campaign. 333
- Remarkable Appearances in the Heavens. 334, 619
- The Year 1643. 340
- Deddington Bells. 340
- Lord Brook and the Earl of Northampton slain. 341
- James, Earl of Northampton, appointed Governour of Banbury Castle. 343
- William Needle and Mrs. Phillips. 343
- Banbury fired. 345
- Battle of Middleton Cheney. 345
- Meeting of the King and Queen at Edgehill. 348
- Their Majesties' stay at Wroxton. 348
- Nathaniel Fiennes surrenders Bristol: he is sentenced to be beheaded, but pardoned by the Lord General. 349
- Affair at Deddington. 352
- Death of Lord Falkland. 352
- The Plague at Banbury. 353
- The Year 1644. 354
- Colonel Green, Governour of Banbury. 354
- Affair at Adderbury. 354
- Oliver Cromwell arrives at Banbury. 355
- Affair at Canons Ashby. 355
- Compton Wynyate taken by the Parliament. 356

CIVIL WAR, EVENTS OF THE:—

Movements of the King and Sir William Waller. 357
 The King at Culworth. 358
 The King at Leigh Grounds (Castle Hill, Chacombe). 358
 Waller at Hanwell. 358
 Attempts of the King and Waller to gain Crouch Hill. 358
 Skirmish at Neithorp. 359
 The King sleeps at Grimsbury. 359
 The King moves northward. 359
 Cropredy Bridge: Wardington Ash. 359
 Battle of Cropredy Bridge. 359
 Affair at Slate Mill. 363
 The King rests at Williamscoth. 363
 Banbury fired. 364
 Painting of the Fight at Cropredy. 619
 The King at Aynho. 365
 The King at Deddington. 365
 Banbury besieged by the Parliamentarians. 366
 Guns planted in the Church. 368
 Sir William Compton. 370
 Progress of the Siege. 371 &c.
 Attempt to Storm the Castle. 376
 The Earl of Northampton is ordered to the relief of the Castle. 379
 He arrives at Adderbury. 380
 Affair near Farm Field. 380
 The Parliamentarians retire towards Warwick. 381
 The Castle relieved. 381
 Misconduct of Major Temple. 619
 New works of defence. 385, 395, 397, 401
 Hardships endured. 387
 The Plague. 388
 The Year 1645. 388
 Affair at Kilsby. 389
 Wormleighton House burned. 390
 Attack on Compton House. 390
 Letter-Book of Sir Samuel Luke. 394
 Making of Gunpowder. 395
 Affair near Daventry. 396
 Dr. Oldys (vicar of Adderbury) slain. 396, 620
 Affair near Tredington. 398
 Affair near Northampton. 401
 Correspondence between Sir William Compton and Sir Samuel Luke. 402, 406
 Contributions paid to Banbury. 411

CIVIL WAR, EVENTS OF THE:—

Desolation of the Town. 411
 The King at Banbury. 412
 The Year 1646. 413
 Siege of Banbury Castle by Col. Edward Whalley. 413
 Correspondence between Col. Whalley and Sir William Compton. 416
 Decline of the King's Cause. 418
 The King delivers himself up to the Scots. 418
 Banbury Castle yielded. 418
 Articles of Surrender. 419
 Thanksgiving ordered by the Parliament. 422
 Government of the Town provided for. 423
 Desolation of the Town. 424
 Sir William Compton. 426
 Destruction of Banbury Castle. 427, 621
 Remains of the Castle. 431
 Banbury partially rebuilt. 433
 Lord Saye a Commissioner at the Treaty of the Isle of Wight. 435
 Efforts to save the Life of the King. 435
 Commonwealth. 438 &c.
 Compton Wyniate House. 356, 390
 Cropredy Bridge, Battle of. 360 &c.
 Crosses of the Neighbourhood:—
 Adderbury. 611
 Aynho. 134
 Banbury. 159. [And see under "Banbury."]
 Bodicot. 115, 612
 Cropredy. 613
 Drayton. 118
 North Newington. 117
 Ratley. 144
 South Newington. 137
 Weeping Cross. 2, 115, 612
 Crustaceans of the Neighbourhood. 695
 Culworth Gang. 528
 Danes:—
 Arrival of. 53
 Their conflicts with Alfred. 53
 Battle of Hooknorton. 54
 First Battle of Danesmoor. 56
 Ravages of the Danes in these parts. 56
 Massacre of the Danes. 57
 Sweyn marches into these parts. 57
 Danesmoor, First Battle of. 56
 Danesmoor, Second Battle of. 178

- Danesmoor, Second Battle of, Relic of the. 614
Deddington Castle. 69, 103
Domesday Survey. 60
Dorchester, See of. 51, 52, 54, 57, 58, 60
Druids. [See British Remains.]
- Edgehill, Battle of. 288. [And see Civil War.]
Edgehill, Prospect from. 310
- Fire at King's Sutton. 528
Fire, Frederick North's Library destroyed by. 541
Fire at Warkworth. 542
Fishes of the Neighbourhood. 604
Five-Mile Act. 466, 482
- Geology of the Neighbourhood. 572
Gulliver's (Lemuel) Travels. 518
- Hanwell Castle. 191
Hanwell Castle, Proceedings at, prior to the Restoration. 471, 472
Holy Wells:—
Well near Tadmarton Camp. 12
St. Rumbald's Well. 51, 96, 498
St. Botolph's Well. 97
St. Stephen's Well. 97
Jacob's Well. 524
Hooknorton Camp and Battle. 43, 54, 55
- Impostor, A noted. 488
- Jackson's Oxford Journal. 521
Jew's Interlude, or Hob in the Well. 524
- King's Evil, Touching for the. 503
- Levellers. 438 &c.
Lincoln, See of. 60, 62, 70, 71, 87, 88, 92, 93, 96, 99, 100, 167, 168, 170, 172, 173, 174, 175, 187, 188, 197, 203, 204, 215
Lollards. 171
- Murder of Webb of Drayton. 236
- Normans, Arrival of the. 59
Normans, Lands held by the, in these parts. 59, 61
Norman Castles. 35, 43, 69
Northumberland's (John, Duke of) Rebellion. 218
- Oxford, See of. 246
Oxfordshire Elections. 508, 522
- Popes, Dispute with the, regarding the Prebend of Banbury. 105, 164, 167, 168
Population of the Neighbourhood. 564
Priory of Chacombe. 85, 203, 610
Priory of Clattercot. 87, 201, 203, 611
Priory of Warmington. 148
Priory of Wroxton. 79, 190, 202
Protectorate. 445 &c. Nathaniel Fiennes proposes to Oliver Cromwell to take the title of King. 450
Puritan Divines of the Neighbourhood. 283
Puritans. 238, 241, 615
- Quakers, Rise of the. Lord Saye. 451
Quakers. [See Banbury.]
- Red Land of Oxfordshire. 552
Reptiles of the Neighbourhood. 604
Restoration, The. 474
Romans:—
Invasion. 20
Alliance with the Dobuni. 21
Spread of Civilisation. 21, 45
Fortified Line of Ostorius. 22, 607
Roman Remains.—
Altars. 23, 40
Amphitheatre. 25, 609
Baths. 41, 44
Burial Places. 31, 39
Camps. 22, 30, 43, 607
Coins &c. found. 12, 19, 23, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 37, 41, 42, 44, 45, 607, 609, 610
Pavements &c. 31, 32, 39, 40, 41, 42, 44, 45
Urns. 28, 31, 32, 33, 35, 45
Royal Progresses. 205, 239, 240, 262, 616
- Saints. 46, 51, 52
St. Bartholomew's Day. 482
St. Rumbald, Legend concerning. 51
- Saxons and Angles:—
Arrival of the Saxons. 47
Defence of the Britons, led by Arthur. 47
Kingdom of Wessex. 47
Battle of Beranbyrig [Banbury]. 48
Arrival of the Angles. 50
Kingdom of Mercia. 50
Debatable Land in these parts. 50 &c.

Saxons and Angles :—

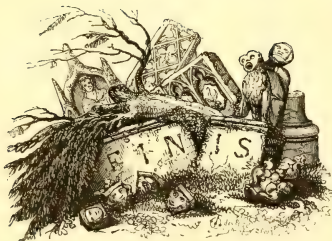
- The West Saxons and Angles converted to Christianity by St. Birinus. 51
- Offa crosses the frontier line in these parts. 52
- Conflicts with the Danes. 53 &c.
- Saxon Coins found. 58, 608
- Sea-green Men. 438 &c.
- Ship Money. 282, 293
- Silk Stockings, Manufacture of. 570
- Sun-Rising Inn. 310

- Tournaments. 71, 93
- Trackways. 14 &c., 25 &c., 180, 607, 608

- Tradesmen's Tokens. 477, 625
- Traditions. 7, 10, 16

- Vale of Red Horse. 310

- Warkworth House. 481
- Welsh Elegy of Thomas ap Roger, slain at Banbury. 185
- Welshmen slain at Danesmoor. 183
- Worcester, Battle of. 449
- Wroxton, Mansion at. 84, 263
- Wroxton Obelisk. 520, 540
- Wroxton, Visit paid to, by James the First. 262
- Wroxton, Festivities at. 540



CORRIGENDA.

- Page 2, note 6. For "were carried to Adderbury" read—*were mostly carried to Adderbury.*
- 40, line 24. In a few copies, a comma is wanting after the word *dark.*
- 41, line 10, and in note 15. For "M. Bolton Esq." read—*M. R. Boulton Esq.*
- 57, line 13. For "built" read—*rebuilt.*
- 79, note 45. Stephen Cope Esq. was of Bedenham [query Bedhampton?] Hants. William Saunders Esq. is styled of Banbury. See page 193.
- 82, last paragraph. For "William be Abberbur" read—*William de Abberbur.*
- 94, note 32. Mollington, one of the chapelries to Cropredy, is not in Banbury Hundred (see pp. 564, 565). Williamscoth is not itself a chapelry, but is associated with that of Wardington, at which place the Chapel stands.
- 114, line 36. For "chapelry to" read—*chapel under.*
- 128. In the account of Cropredy Church it is inaccurately stated that "the Roodloft and Screen were wantonly destroyed." They were suffered to go to decay for lack of reparation.
- 133, line 12. In a few copies, for "roll-moulded" read—*roll-moulding.*
- 177, in line 3 of note 23 omit the words "North and."
- 185, note 44. The bolt-head is now, by the kindness of Mr. Walford, in my own possession.
- 190, fourth line of note 20. For "John Spencer of Hodnell co. Warwick; her only daughter (and heiress) was Jane," &c., read—*John Spencer of Hodnell co. Warwick, whose daughter and coheiress (either by her or by his second wife) was Jane, &c.*
- 195, line 25. For "Plate 21," read—*Plate 26.*
- 214. The date of the Act for selling the fee farm rents is 11th March 1649-50; but the account made under it, quoted in this page, was rendered in 1651.
- 254, note 34. For "Banbury" read—*Banbury.*
- 261, last line but four of the text. Omit the reference to page 240.
- 262, note 47. For "Drunilly" read—*Drummilly.*
- 432, line 23. For "in the first March," read—*in the first of the fields called the Marches.*
- 452, note 36, line 11. For "Farnworth" read—*Farnsworth.*
- 499, line 2. For "Lord William Russell," read—*William Lord Russell.*
- 500, note 55. The quarts were 32 ounces each.
- 525, line 1. For "1616 or 1617," read—*1716 or 1717.*
- 532, line 7. For "preserved in the clergyman's retiring-room," read—*preserved in the room over the clergyman's retiring-room.*
- 536, line 10. See corrections in the Addenda, pp. 613, 614.
- 565, 566. The Population of Wigginton should have been given thus:—*Males 161, Females 149, Total 310*: the whole numbers within the Union, given in p. 566, should therefore be:—*Males 14,186, Females 14,286, Total 28,472.*



ROLLRICH STONES W



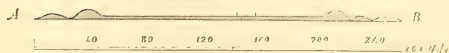
FIVE KNIGHTS ROLLRICH SW



CROUCH HILL E

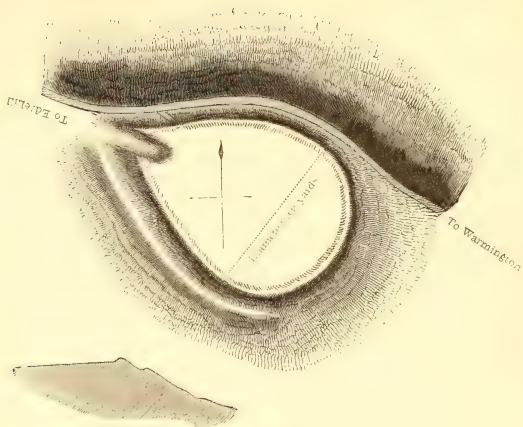


Section of the ground plan at the dotted line



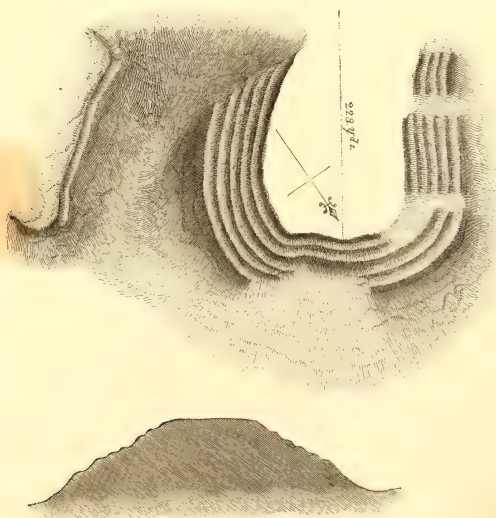
BRITISH CAMP AT TADMARTON Ground Plan.





Section- S W. side

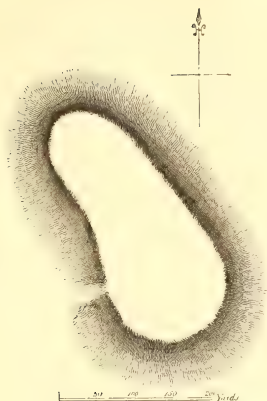
NADBURY BRITISH CAMP. Ground Plan.



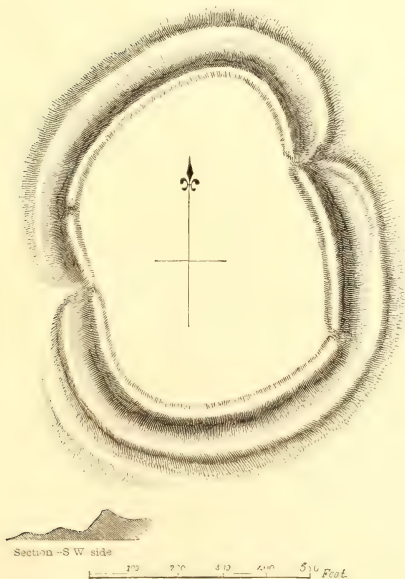
Section of Gredenton hill

BRITISH CAMP AT GREDENTON HILL. Ground Plan.





ILBURY BRITISH CAMP Ground Plan.



RAINSBOROUGH BRITISH CAMP. Ground Plan.



Fig 1. NERO A.D. 54.

Found at Warkworth



Fig 2. TITUS A.D. 79

Found at Hanwell



Fig 3. NERVA A.D. 96

Found at Hanwell



Fig 4. AURELIUS A.D. 161

Found at Hanwell



Fig 5. DIOCLETIAN A.D. 284

Found at Banbury



Fig 6. CONSTANTINE THE GREAT A.D. 300

Found at Drayton



Fig 7. FAUSTA A.D. 307

Found at Black Grounds Chipping Warden



Fig 8. CRISPUS A.D. 316

Found at Black Grounds, Chipping Warden



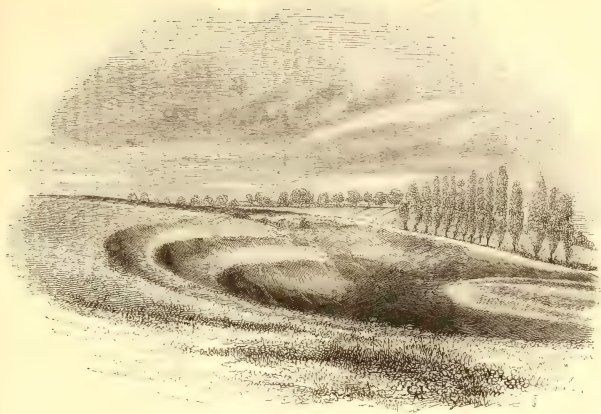
Fig 9. CONSTANTINUS A.D. 337

Found at Drayton

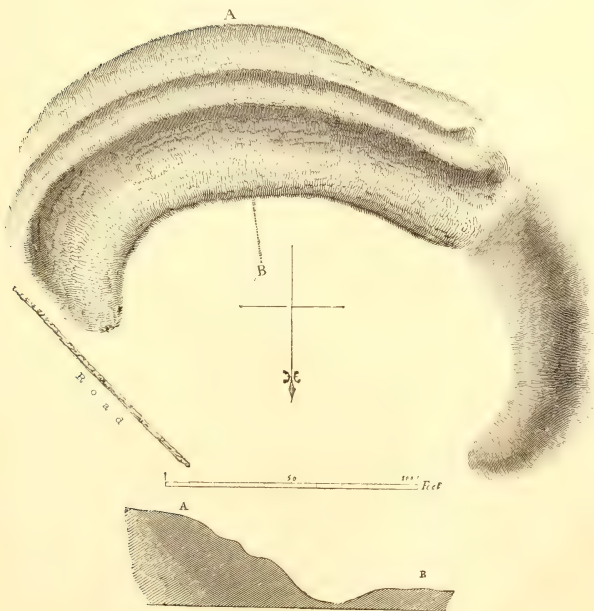


Fig 10. CONSTANS A.D. 337

Found at Black Land near Marnarston



ROMAN AMPHITHEATRE BANBURY. E



Section from A to B

ROMAN AMPHITHEATRE AT BANBURY Ground Plan

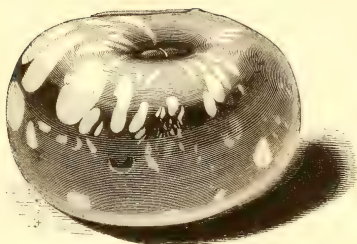


Fig 1. ANCIENT BEAD FOUND AT ADDERBURY
Actual Size.



Fig 2. DRUID'S HEAD
FOUND AT BLACK GROUNDS
CHIPPING WARDON
Actual Size.



Fig 3. ROMAN URN, FOUND AT BLACK
GROUNDS CHIPPING WARDON



Fig 4. ROMAN URN FOUND AT
THENFORD.



Fig 5. ROMAN KNIFE BLADE FOUND AT THENFORD

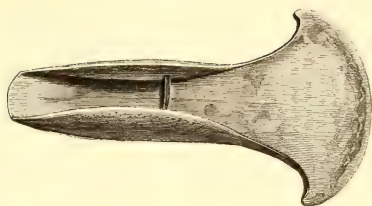


Fig. 1. METAL CELT FOUND AT AYNHO

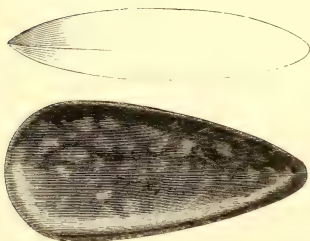


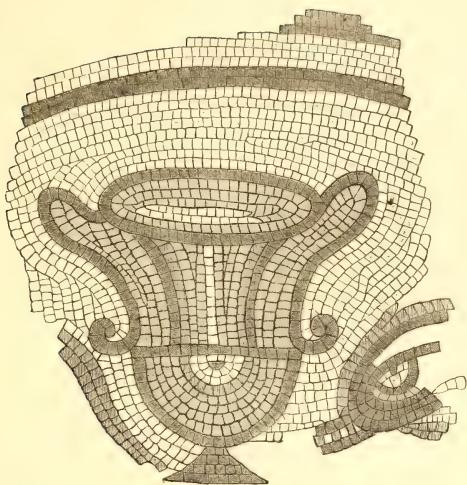
Fig. 2. CELT OF SERPENTINE FOUND AT BLACK LANDS PIECE, KING'S SUTTON



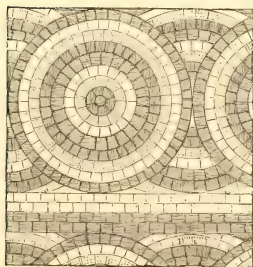
Fig. 3. BONE PIN FOUND AT BLACK LANDS PIECE,
KING'S SUTTON.



Fig. 4. BOTTLE
FOUND AT
WIGGINTON.

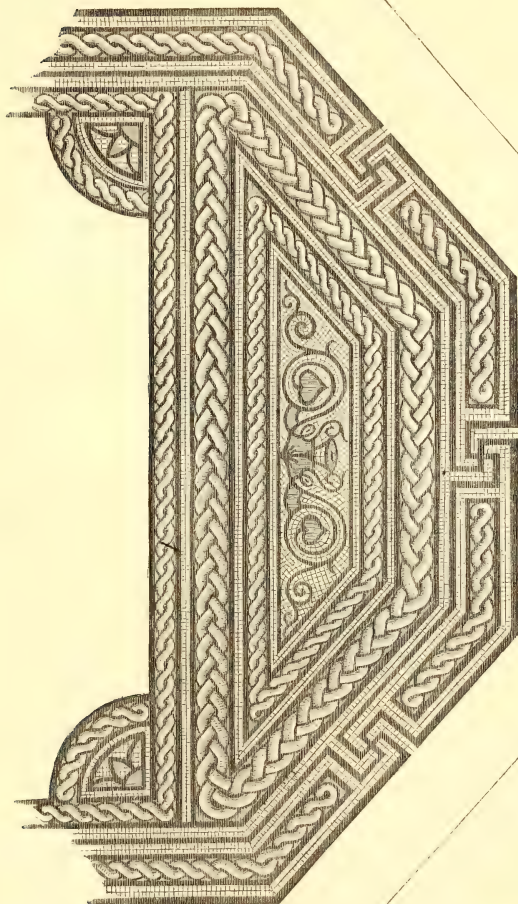


ROMAN PAVEMENT AT BEACONSFIELD PARK



ROMAN PAVEMENT AT GREAT TEW





ROMAN PAVEMENT AT WIGGINTON





Fig. 1. CRUCIFIX FOUND ON THE SITE OF ST JOHN'S HOSPITAL.
Actual Size.

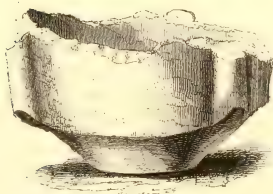


Fig. 2. STOUP, FOUND ON THE SITE OF ST JOHN'S HOSPITAL.

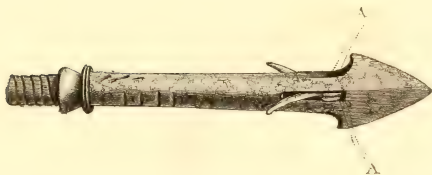


Fig. 3. ARROW HEAD FOUND AT CHIPPING WARDON.



THE FORMER CHURCH OF EANEURY. W S W.



THE FORMER CHURCH OF DANBURY. N N W.



Fig. 1.
CORBEL HEAD



Fig. 2
KING'S HEAD



Fig. 3.
BISHOP'S HEAD.

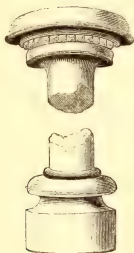


Fig. 4.
CAPITAL AND BASE



Fig. 5.
GURGOYLE



Fig. 6.
GROTESQUE FIGURE

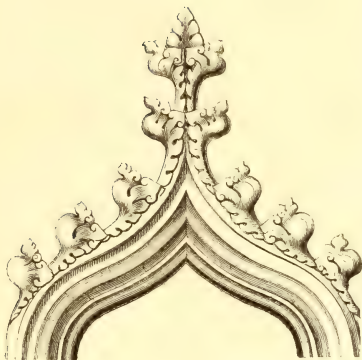


FIG. 1. DOOR HEAD OF CHANCEL.



FIG. 2. PINNACLE.



FIG. 3. ARCH AND SPANDRELS.

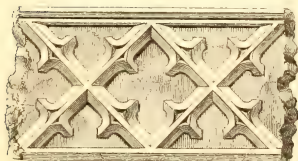


FIG. 4.

STONE PANELLING



FIG. 5.

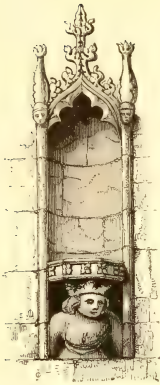


Fig. 1. NICHE AND CANOPY.



Fig. 2. TRACERY OF WINDOW

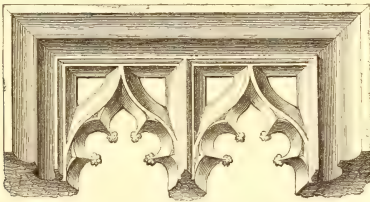


Fig. 3. WINDOW HEAD

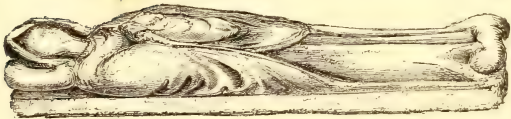


Fig. 4. EFFIGY OF AN ECCLESIASTIC.



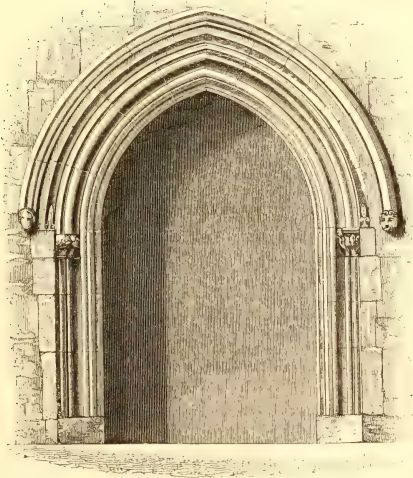
WEEPING CROSS



WEST ARCHES OF RANBUTH BRIDGE SW



BURTON DASSET BEACON W

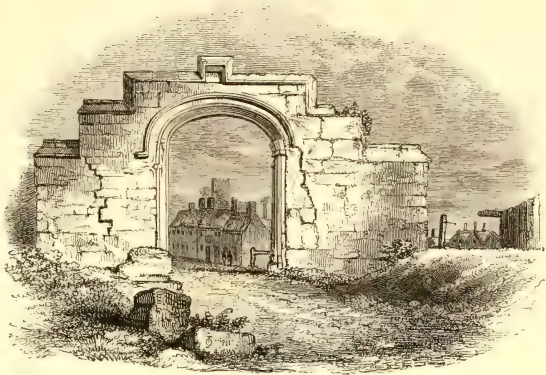


ANCIENT DOORWAY OF THE WHITE HORSE INN



HANWELL CASTLE. REMAINS NW





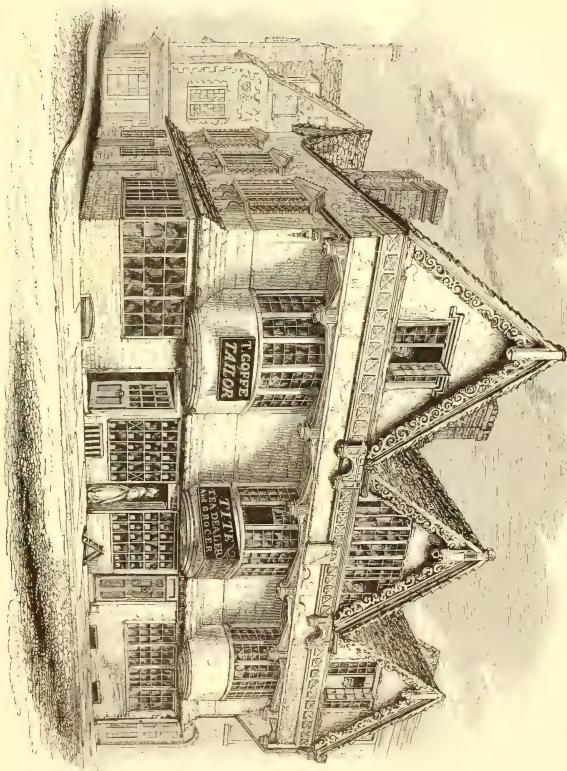
ST. JOHN' GATE, BANBURY. S. 1781



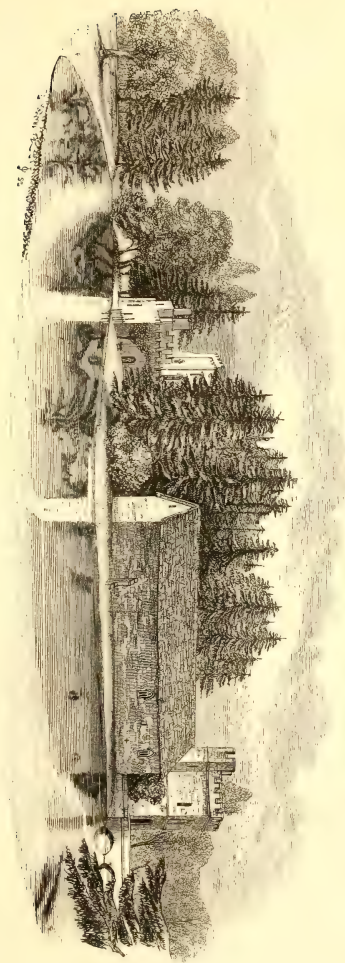
THE VICARAGE HOUSE NW



WILLIAM WHATELEY VICAR OF BANBURY ÆT. 56.



ANCIENT HOUSE, HIGH STREET, BANBURY.



MOAT, GATEHOUSE, AND EASTERN PART OF THE CASTLE OF BROUGHTON

4970



MAP ILLUSTRATING THE





JOHN STANBRIDGE.

From a very rare Print in the Gulston Collection



Fig. 2 BANBURY TOWN SEAL, 1374

Fig. 3



Fig. 4



ARMS OF THE CORPORATION

Fig. 5.



Fig. 6



TAVERN TOKENS, UNICORN AND RAINDEER

